

IBN KHALLIKAN'S

# BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY.

VOL. I.

* كتـــاب وفـــيـــات الاعـــيـــان *

IBN KHALLIKAN'S

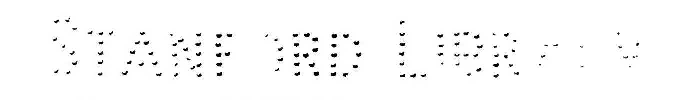
# BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY

TRANSLATED FROM THE ARABIC

BY


Bn MAC GUCKIN DE SLANE,

MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF PARIS, CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF TURIN, ETC.

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TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF MUNSTER,

*President of the Royal Asiatic Society of London, etc. etc. etc.*,

This Work

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY THE

TRANSLATOR.

# INTRODUCTION.

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Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary has always been considered as a work of the highest importance for the civil and literary history of the Moslim people. From its first appearance till the present day, its reputation has continued undiminished, and the judgment of the author's countrymen has been confirmed by the unanimous voice of Oriental scholars. If the later Arabic historians filled their pages with extracts drawn from it as from a pure and abundant source,—if rhetoricians, grammarians, and compilers of anecdotes have culled from it the choicest passages,—if learned men essayed to complete it by supplements, or to condense it by abridgments with the design of rendering its utility more general,—we find, nearer home, an equally valid testimony borne to its merit by the suffrages of the illustrious Pococke, Schultens, Reiske, and De Sacy.

The variety of its subject might have alone sufficed to fix the attention of every person who took an interest in Moslim history and Arabic literature, but when that quality was combined with others which clearly indicated the intelligence, learning, and abilities of the author, the work had an undoubted right to general estimation. None felt this more deeply than Sir William Jones, and none expressed their opinion in stronger terms. When that accomplished scholar penned his *Poeseos Asiaticæ Commentarium*, he traced these lines, in which, notwithstanding the heightened tone of his colouring, there is a degree of truth such as precludes me from adding any eulogy of my own: "Scriptoris politissimi Ebni Khallikan opus historicum non magis "verborum elegantiâ et ubertate commendatur, quàm illustriorum poetarum "versibus quibus conspergitur. Ac nescio an hic omnibus vitarum scripto-

"ribus (*non*) sit anteponendus. Est certè copiosior Nepote, elegantior Plutar-"cho, Laertio jucundior : et dignus est profectò liber, qui in omnes Europæ "linguas conversus prodeat."

Were the work of Ibn Khallikân not before the reader, it might be necessary to point out the sources which he consulted and the plan which he adopted; but the author here speaks for himself, he names the writers whose works he has consulted, he or his translator gives their lives in nearly every case, and he follows the natural system of noticing those persons only who held a conspicuous place in the Moslim world. It is true that when he treats of those men whose names figure in history, he prefers relating anecdotes illustrative of their personal character to the less amusing duty of fully sketching out their lives. For this, however, a reason subsists: the great historical work of his friend and professor, Ibn al-Athîr, contained all the requisite information, and was then generally read; he did not think it necessary to repeat the tale more fully set forth in a book the well deserved popularity of which he could not suppose would ever be rivalled by the reputation of his own. We might even add that those very anecdotes with which he fills his articles are more precious to a European reader than the fullest narrative of the series of events which mark the life of any individual, since from them we acquire a clearer insight into the manners of the different classes, and collect more useful hints on the civil organisation of the Moslim people, than any indications which a notice exclusively biographical could supply. It must also be observed that in judging a work of this kind, the European reader may find faults where the Moslim sees only beauties, and *vice versâ*. The former will blame Ibn Khallikân's idea of giving the lives of those persons only, the date of whose death was known; of quoting poetry too frequently, and of showing bad taste in the selection; of giving too many notices on doctors of the law, and too few on historians, poets, and other literary men. Yet we find that a native of Aleppo, the *shaikh* Nûr ad-dîn Hasan Ibn Habîb, who died A. H. 779 (A. D. 1377-8), extracted from Ibn Khallikân's work the lives of two hundred and thirty persons with the passages from their books, and this selection he published under the title of *Maâni Ahl il Bayân min Wafayât Ibn Khallikân*, or *Beauties of eminent writers extracted from Ibn Khallikân's biographical work*. It would appear from this

that our author's taste in his quotations was not considered as bad in the country where his language was spoken and in which the writings of the poets were read and understood. Ibn Habîb composed also a history of Egypt from A.H. 648 to A.H. 761. It is entitled *Durrat al-Aslâk fi Dawlat al-Atrâk;* there is a copy of it in the Leyden library and another in the *Bibliothèque du Roi.* We shall next allow Hajji Khalîfa to speak: "Some "historians," says he, meaning of course Moslim writers, "have blamed Ibn "Khallikân for his concision in the lives of men eminent for their learning "in the law; in some cases he confines his notice of them to a few lines, "whilst he fills pages, nay sheets, with the life of a single poet or of a lite-"rary man. It happens also, in more than one case, that those to whom "he has allotted the longest articles were persons accused of laxity in their "religious belief, and yet he mentions them with praise and quotes passages "from their poems. But it may perhaps be offered in extenuation of this, "that the history of the man learned in the law was already well known, and "that the lustre of his reputation, like the light of the sun, could not possi-"bly be hidden from any, whilst the renown of the poet was by no means "general." Be the imperfections of his work what they may, we must yet take into consideration that it was the first of its kind in the long series of Arabic literature. Before him, none ever thought of combining in one treatise and in alphabetical order, the lives of the most remarkable man of Islamism, no matter to what class they belonged. There existed, it is true, a great number of biographical dictionaries composed anteriorly to his, and some of them dating from a remote period, but they were works of a special cast and limited in their subject: some treated of eminent jurisconsults, to the exclusion of every other profession; others contained notices on the learned men who inhabited a particular city; some again gave the lives of such persons as were mentioned in the *Sunan*, or Collections of Traditions. The only book which bore any resemblance to his by the generality of its contents was the *Fihrist*, composed in the fourth century of the Hijra, but that curious biographical and bibliographical work is formed of six sections, each of which is devoted to one particular class of persons, to the total neglect of alphabetical or chronological arrangement.

During many years my attention was directed towards Ibn Khallikân's

work, knowing that from it, above all others, the clearest and most correct ideas could be acquired of the rise and progress of Arabic literature, and that it furnished many facts of the utmost importance for general history, and not to be found in any other writer. A natural transition led me from the work to the author, and in my endeavours to attain a fair appreciation of the one, I was led to inquire into the life and times of the other. In pursuing this task, I collected from different sources a great number of notices respecting him, his masters, his disciples, and his acquaintances; whilst the indications furnished by his own work, enabled me to fix with precision the dates of the principal occurrences which marked his life. But the circumstances which influenced his character in youth, the relations which subsisted at different periods between him and the masters of the empire, the great political events which occurred during his career in the world and always attracted his attention; — these were subjects which required long study and extensive researches. The results which I have already obtained encourage me to proceed yet farther, and for this reason I shall reserve my notice on *the Life and Times of Ibn Khallikân* till the last volume of this translation shall be given to the press. The materials collected by me will be then better digested, and form an article more complete than any which I could draw up at the present moment. But as the just curiosity of some readers may require a more immediate satisfaction, I shall give here the text and translation of a notice on Ibn Khallikân by the celebrated historian Abû 'l-Mahâsin. It is extracted from the first volume of his *al-Manhal as-Sâfi*, a work on which some observations will be found in a subsequent page. Another life of the same writer by an anonymous author has been given in Arabic and in Latin by Tydeman, in his *Conspectus operis Ibn Challikani,* and a note on the same subject has been inserted by M. Quatremère in his translation of al-Makrîzi's History of the Mamlûk Sultans, vol. I. part 2, p. 180.

احمد بن محمد بن ابرهيم بن ابى بكر بن خلكان بن باوَك بفتح الواو بن شاكل بفتح الكاف بن الحسين بن مالك بن جعفر بن يحيى بن خالد بن برمك الامام العلامة شمس الدين ابو العباس البلخى الاصل الاربلى المولد الدمشقى الدار والوفاة الشافعى قاضى قضاة دمشق وعالمها ومورخها مولده باربل فى يوم الخميس حادى عشر شهر ربيع الاخر سنة ثمان وستماية

وامه من نسل خلف بن ايوب صاحب ابى حنيفة رضى الله عنه ونشا باربل وتفقه بالموصل ثم قدم دمشق فى عنفوان شبيبته فاقام بها مدة يسيرة وتوجه الى ديار مصر واشتغل بها ايضا وحصل من كل علم طرفا جيدا وبرع فى الفقه والاصول والعربية وغير ذلك وافتى ودرس ونظم ونثر ولى قضاء دمشق من القاهرة وخرج منها فى السابع والعشرين من ذى الحجة سنة ست وستين وستماية وتوجه الى دمشق فدخلها فى ثالث المحرم سنة سبع وستين فباشرها مدة عشر سنين وفى اول ولايته للقضاء كان منفردا الى ان ورد عليه الخبر بان برز المرسوم الشريف الظاهرى بان يكون بدمشق اربع (اربعة .l) قضاة ووصل ثلاثة تقاليد لشمس الدين عبد الله بن محمد بن عطا الحنفى ولزين الدين عبد السلام الزواوى المالكى ولشمس الدين عبد الرحمن الحنبلى وكانوا قبل ذلك نوابا للشافعى قال الشيخ شهاب الدين ابو سامة ومن العجيب اجتماع ثلاثة القضاة بدمشق لقب كل واحد منهم شمس الدين فى زمن واحد فقال بعض الادباء

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | بدمشق اية قد | ظهرت للناس تهاما |
| | كلما ازدادوا شموسا | زادت الدنيا ظلاما |
| وقال غيره | اهل دمشق استرابوا | من كثرة الاحكام |
| | اذ هم جميعا شموس | وحالهم فى ظلام |

ثم صرف قاضى القضاة شمس الدين بن خلكان هذا عن قضاء دمشق وقدم القاهرة ودام بها نحو من سبع سنين وتولى الحكم بها نيابة عن قاضى القضاة بدر الدين السنجارى ودرس بالقاهرة وافتى وصنف الى ان اعيد الى دمشق قاضيا بعد القاضى عز الدين بن الصائغ وتوجه الى دمشق فلما قرب منها خرج نائبها عزالدين ايدمر بجميع الموكب والامراء وارباب الوظائف لتلقيه واما روساء دمشق فانهم تلقوه من عدة مراحل وهناه الشعراء بعدة قصائد من ذلك ما انشده الشيخ رشيد الدين عمر بن اسمعيل الفارقى

انت فى الشام مثل يوسف فى مصر وعندى ان الكرام جناس
لكل سبع شداد وبعد السبع عام فيه يغاث الناس

قلت هذا القول لمدة مفارقته لدمشق الى ان عاد ثانيا اليها وقال فيه نور الدين بن مصعب

| | |
|---|---|
| رايت اهل الشام طرا | ما فيهم قط غير راض |
| اتاهم الخير بعد شر | فالوقت بسط بلا انقباض |
| وعوضوا فرجة بحزن | قد انصف الدهر فى التقاضى |
| وسرهم بعد طول غم | قدوم قاض وعزل قاض |
| فكلهم شاكر وشاك | بحال مستقبل وماض |

ودام فى هذه الولاية بدمشق الى سنة ثمانين وستمائة وصرف عن القضاء ولزم داره الى ان توفى يوم السبت سادس عشرين شهر رجب وقيل سادس عشره سنة احدى وثمانين وستمائة بالمدرسة النجيبية بدمشق ودفن بقاسيون وكان اماما عالما بارعا متفننا كثير الفضائل اديبا شاعرا جامعا مورخا وتاريخه وفيات الاعيان مشهور وهو فى غاية الحسن وكان جوادا ممدحا مدحه شعراء عصره بغرر القصائد وكان يجيزهم عليها الجوائز السنية وكان عنده عقل واحتمال وستر عن العورات ولما كان معزولا بالديار المصرية حصل له ضائقة فبلغ الامير بدر الدين الخازندار ذلك فامر له بنفقة طائلة ومائة اردب قمح فامتنع عن قبولها وذكره الحافظ قطب الدين فى تاريخه وقال كان اماما اديبا بارعا حاكما عدلا مورخا جامعا وذكره ايضا الحافظ ابو محمد البرزالى فى معجمه وقال فيه احد علماء عصره المشهورين وسيد ادباء دهره المذكورين جمع بين علوم جمة فقه وعربية وتاريخ ولغة وغير ذلك وجمع تاريخا نفيسا اقتصر فيه على المشهورين من كل فن وولى قضاء الشافعية مدة ودرس وافتى وسمع الحديث من ابن الكرم الصوفى باربل وسمع منه البخارى عن ابى الوقت وسمع من التاوى وابن الجميزى واجازه المويد الطوسى وابو روح وابن الصفار والحسين بن احمد القشيرى واسمعيل بن محمد بن على بن عبد الله السيد الحسينى واخرون من نيسابور وذكر مولده ثم قال له يد طولى فى علم اللغة ولم ير فى وقته من يعرف ديوان المتنبى كمعرفته وكان مجلسه كثير الفوائد والتحقيق والبحث لا يوجد فيه غير ذلك انتهى وقال الشهاب محمود فى تاريخه كنت كثير الاجتماع به فى مباشرته الثانية للاقتباس من فوائده رحمه الله انتهى قلت واثنى عليه ايضا غير واحد وقد طال الشرح فى ذلك ولا بد من ذكر شىء من شعره فمن ذلك

تمثلتم لى والبلاد بعيدة     فخيل لى ان الفؤاد لكم مغنى
وناجاكم قلبى على البعد والنوى     فانستم لفظا واوحشتم معنى

وله ايضا   يا جارة الحى هل من عودة فعسى     يفيق من سكرات الوجد مخمور
اذا ظفرت من الدنيا بقربكم     فكل ذنب جناه الحب مغفور

وله ايضا   يا رب ان العبد يخفى عيبه     فاستر بحلمك ما بدا من عيبه
ولقد اتاك وما له من شافع     لذنوبه فاقبل شفاعة شيبه

"Abû 'l-Abbâs Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ibrahîm Ibn Abi Bakr Ibn Khallikân Ibn Bâwak Ibn Shâkal Ibn al-Husain Ibn Mâlik Ibn Jaafar Ibn Yahya Ibn Khâlid Ibn Barmak (1), surnamed Shams ad-dîn (*sun of religion*), drew

(1) This genealogy is incomplete; the descent of Ibn Khallikân from the Barmekide family is a poir which I shall examine when treating of his life and times.

his descent from a family of Balkh. This very eminent scholar and follower of as-Shâfi's doctrines was born at Arbela, but resided and died at Damascus, where he had filled the place of chief kâdi. By his talents and his writings he merited the honourable title of the most learned man and the ablest historian of that city. He was born on Thursday, the 11th of the latter Rabî, A. H. 608 (22nd Sept. A.D. 1211). His mother descended from Khalaf Ibn Aiyûb, a disciple of Abû Hanîfa. He passed the first years of his life at Arbela and then proceeded to Mosul, where he studied jurisprudence, and was still in the prime of youth when he went to Damascus. After a short residence in that city he travelled to Egypt, where he resumed his studies and acquired a competent knowledge of all the sciences, whilst he attained a great pre-eminence as a jurisconsult, a theologian, and a grammarian. In that country he acted in the capacities of a *mufti* and a public teacher, but without neglecting to cultivate his talent as a prose-writer and a poet. Having been appointed kâdi of Damascus, he left Cairo on the 27th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 666, and arrived at the former city on the third of Muharram, A. H. 667 (1). During a period of ten years he fulfilled in person the duties of his office; at first he exercised his authority without a colleague, but he then received information that a decree had been issued by order of the noble prince al-Malik az-Zâhir (*Bîbars*), declaring that there should be four kâdis at Damascus. Three acts of investiture then arrived, drawn up in favour of Shams ad-dîn Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ata the Hanifite, Zain ad-dîn Abd as-Salâm az-Zowâwi the Malekite, and Shams ad-dîn Abd ar-Rahmân the Hanbalite. Before that time they were merely the deputies of the Shafite kadi. It was remarked as an extraordinary circumstance by the *shaikh* Shihâb ad-dîn Abû Sâma that there should be at the same time three kâdis at Damascus, all surnamed Shams ad-dîn (*sun of religion*). It was on this occasion that the following lines were composed by one of the literary men in the city:

The people of Damascus have witnessed a perfect miracle: the greater the number of *suns*, the more the world was in the dark.

(1) These dates are wrong. Ibn Khallikân was appointed kâdi of Damascus, A. H. 659.

Another poet said on the same subject:

> The men of Damascus are bewildered with the multitude of legal decisions; their kâdis are all *suns*, and yet they are in the dark.

"Ibn Khallikân was afterwards removed from the kâdiship of Damascus, and proceeded to Cairo, where he was nominated deputy to the chief kâdi Badr ad-dîn as-Sinjâri. During his residence there he pursued his literary labours, and discharged the duties of a professor and *mufti* till his reappointment to the place of kâdi at Damascus, as successor to Izz ad-dîn Ibn as-Sâigh. He then set out for that city, and at his approach the governor Izz ad-dîn Aidmor went out in state to receive him with the emirs and the persons in office; as for the principal inhabitants, they had already made a journey of some days to meet him on the road. Numerous *kasîdas* were composed by the poets, in which they congratulated him on his reinstatement; and one of these pieces, which was recited to him by the *shaikh* Rashîd ad-dîn Omar Ibn Ismaîl al-Fâriki, contained the following passage:

> Like Joseph in Egypt, you have now completed your probation, and in my opinion all generous men form a race apart. They all have seven years of suffering to undergo, but then cometh a year which sheds joy and abundance upon mankind.

"In this he alludes to the length of time Ibn Khallikân was away from them. The piece which follows was composed by Nûr ad-dîn Ibn Musâb:

> Among all the people of Damascus, I did not find one displeased. After evil, good has come unto them; it is the time for joy unrestrained. The pleasure which he had already inspired was succeeded by grief, but fortune acted justly in the end: after protracted sadness they were restored to joy by the arrival of one kâdi and the dismissal of another. They are now all grateful for what is coming, and all complaining of what is past.

"He continued to fill the post of kâdi at Damascus till the year 680, when he was dismissed, and from that period till the day of his death, he never went out of doors. He died on Saturday the 26th of Rajab,—some say, the 16th,—A.H. 681 (29th Oct. A. D. 1282), in the *Najîbiya* College at Damascus, and was interred at Mount Kâsiyûn. He was a man of the greatest reputation for learning, versed in various sciences, and highly accomplished; he was a scholar, a poet, a compiler, and an historian. His celebrated biographical

work, the *Wafayât*, is the acme of perfection. The contemporary poets were encouraged by his generous character to celebrate his praises in poems of great beauty, certain of obtaining an ample recompense from his liberality. His conduct was marked by prudence, moderation, and indulgence for the failings of others. When residing in Egypt, subsequently to his (*first*) removal from office, he was for a time much reduced in circumstances, and the lord-treasurer Badr ad-dîn, who happened to be informed of his situation, ordered him a large sum of money as a present, with one hundred *ardebs* of wheat besides; this gift however he would never consent to accept. The *hâfiz* Kutb ad-dîn mentions him in his History, and styles him an *imâm*, a learned scholar, a man of superior abilities, an equitable judge, an historian, and a compiler. He is also spoken of by the *hâfiz* Abû Muhammad al-Berzâli in his *Mojam*, as "one of the most illustrious scholars of his time, the "chief of the learned men of the age, even the most famous; master of a "great variety of sciences, such as law, grammar, history, philology, etc. "He compiled a valuable historical work, in which he gives the lives of those "persons only who had attained celebrity in the class to which they be- "longed. He filled for a time the place of Shafite kâdi and was also a pro- "fessor and a *mufti*. He learned the Traditions at Arbela from Ibn al-Karm "as-Sûfi, who also explained to him the *Sahîh* of al-Bukhâri, after having "been taught it himself by Abû 'l-Wakt. He received also Traditions from "at-Tâwi and Ibn al-Jumaizi, and was licensed to teach Traditions by al- "Muwaiyad at-Tûsi, Abû Rûh Ibn as-Saffâr, al-Husain Ibn Ahmad al- "Kushairi, Ismail Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn as-Saiyid al- "Husaini, and others at Naisâpûr." The historian then gives the date of his birth, and continues: "He was profoundly learned in the pure Arabic lan- "guage, and no person of that time was better acquainted with the poems "of al-Mutanabbi than he. When he received company, the conversation "was most instructive, being entirely devoted to learned investigations and "the elucidation of obscure points." Shihâb ad-dîn Mahmûd says in his history: "The second time that he filled the place of kâdi, I used to visit him "very often, that I might profit by his instructive conversation." Many other writers have spoken of him in equally favourable terms, but the details which have been given on that subject are already sufficiently copious. It is now

absolutely necessary that we should give some passages of his poetry; such are the following:

I had your image before my eyes, though you dwelt in a distant land; and it seemed to me that my heart was your place of abode. Though absent and far away, my heart held converse with you; you seemed to speak familiarly (*with your lover*), but in reality you were still afflicting him with your aversion.

Maiden! thou who dwellest near our tribe, can I dare to hope for thy return? Then perhaps, may thy lover, who now suffers from the intoxication of passion, recover his reason. There is but one thing in the world which I desire: let me meet there and all the cruelties of love shall be forgotten!

O Lord! thy humble creature strives to conceal his faults: in thy kindness, cast a veil over his faults when they appear. He has come unto thee, but has no friend to intercede for him; receive then the intercession of his hairs hoary with age."

The well merited celebrity which Ibn Khallikân's work rapidly acquired, and the esteem in which it was justly held for its exactness, induced many learned men to undertake the task of rendering it still more complete. I shall here enumerate those different essays as I find them indicated in the Bibliography of Hajji Khalifa and other sources.——"Tâj ad-dîn Abd al-"Bâki Ibn Abd al-Hamîd al-Makhzûmi, a member of the sect of Mâlik, added "to it about thirty articles. This writer, who died A. H. 743 (A. D. 1342-3), "blames the poverty of Ibn Khallikân's style, and gives the preference to "that of Ibn al-Athîr."—He cannot mean Ibn al-Athîr the historian, whose style is remarkably simple; but as there were three brothers who bore this name and who are all noticed by our author, Tâj ad-dîn may perhaps have had in view some work composed by one of the two others, and written in the full dignity of what the Arabs consider a fine style, and which is always the more admired the less it is intelligible to the ordinary reader. Indeed many of their authors explained their own works to students, who rendered the same service to others; but when this traditional exegesis was interrupted, a consummation which happened sooner or later, no person was tempted to take up a book which he could not hope to understand, and the masterpiece of style reposed undisturbed on the shelf and finally sank into oblivion.

"A continuation of Ibn Khallikân's work was written by Husain Ibn Aibek

"who died in the year (*no date given*)." I suspect that Hajji Khalifa never saw the work and that he knew nothing of the author. There was an Ibn Aibek who wrote a supplement to Ibn Khallikân, but of this more hereafter. —"To this supplement a continuation of thirty articles was added by Zain "ad-dîn Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn al-Husain al-Irâki, who died A. H. 806 (A. D. "1403-4)."—"Another supplement, bearing the title of *Okûd al-Jinân* (*buds* "*of the garden*), and containing the lives of many persons mentioned inci-"dentally in Ibn Khallikân's Biographical Dictionary, was drawn up by the "*shaikh* Badr ad-dîn az-Zarkashi, who died A. H. 994 (A. D. 1586)."— "Salâh ad-dîn Muhammad Ibn Shâkir composed a work called *Fawât* "*al-Wafayât* (*omissions of the* Wafayât)." — *Wafayât al-Aiyân*, or *deaths of eminent men*, is the Arabic title of Ibn Khallikân's book.—"Ibn Shâkir "died A. H. 764 (A. D. 1362-3)."—This is probably the work of which a volume is described by Casiri in his *Biblioth. Arab. Hisp*. No. 1774.—Another supplement, not noticed by Hajji Khalifa, is the *Tâli Kitâb Wafayât al-Aiyân* (*continuation of Ibn Khallikân's biographical dictionary*), by al-Muwaffak Fadl Allah Ibn Abi Fakhr as-Sakkâi الصقاعى. This is a short work arranged alphabetically and accompanied with a supplement, which is arranged chronologically and extends from A. H. 660, to A. H. 725. A copy of the *Tâli* is in the *Bib. du Roi*, under the No. 732. It appears from an inscription on the first page of this MS., that it once belonged to Khalîl Ibn Aibek, the author of the following work: "*Wâfi 'l-Wafayât* (*supplement to the* Wafayât), by "Salâh ad-dîn Khalîl Ibn Aibek as-Safadi. This author died A. H. 764 "(1362-3). In it he has collected the lives of all the illustrious and eminent "men who fixed his attention; thus he gives notices of the principal compa-"nions of Muhammad and the next class (*Tâbis*) of the early Moslims; he "mentions also princes, emirs, kâdis, governors, *koran-readers*, Tradition-"ists, jurisconsults, *shaikhs*, holy men, saints, grammarians, literary men, "poets, philosophers, physicians, followers of heretical sects, authors, etc." —Hajji Khalifa does not say expressly that this work was intended as a supplement to that of Ibn Khallikân, but the title is a sufficient proof that it was so. And what a supplement! — *twenty-six* large volumes! This enormous compilation had the usual fate of works too extensive; it was seldom copied, and remained almost unknown. Eleven detached volumes of it are

preserved in the Bodleyan Library, another is in the possession of M. de Hammer, and one, as I have been informed, was lately acquired by M. Gayangos. This unwieldy supplement was not however sufficiently complete in the opinion of a very learned Egyptian historian. "The "emir Jamâl ad-dîn Abû 'l-Mahâsin Yûsuf Ibn Taghri Bardi"—or Tangri Verdi—"who died A.H. 874 (A.D. 1469-70), composed"—as a supplement to this supplement—"three volumes, which he entitled *al-Manhal as-Sâfi wa "'l-Mustawfi baad al-Wâfi* (*the pure source and the full complement, after "the* Wâfi). This work, forming three volumes, contains the lives of emi-"nent men, drawn up in alphabetical order."—The copy in the *Bib. du Roi* is composed of five volumes, and yet the last two or three letters are wanting. The same writer drew up the history of Egypt in the form of annals, and entitled *an-Nûjum az-Zâhira;* which, though very voluminous (eight *folio* volumes), has survived; but his *al-Bahr az-Zâkhir*, or annals of Islamism, was not so fortunate; only one volume of it, the *fifth*, exists in the *Bib. du Roi;* it contains a part of the reign of the khalif Othmân, the reign of Ali, that of Moawia, and the first years of Yazîd; a space of about thirty-nine years; and for this he has required a large *quarto* volume. If he brought the history down to his own time, the work must have formed twenty volumes at the lowest evaluation.

We now come to the abridgments: "*Al-Jinân* (*the garden*) by Shams ad-"dîn Muhammad Ibn Ahmad at-Turkomâni; this writer died some time "after the year 750 (A.D. 1349-50), Another abridgment of it was made by "al-Malik al-Afdal Abbâs Ibn al-Malik al-Afdal al-Mujâhid Ali, sovereign of "Yemen; he died A.H. 778 (A.D. 1376-7)."—See Johannsen's *Historia Yemanæ.*—"A third was made by Shihâb ad-dîn Ahmad Ibn Abd Allah, a "member of the sect of as-Shâfi and a native of Ghazza (*Gaza in Palestine*); "he died A. H. 822 (A. D. 1419)." A fourth was made subsequently to the appearance of Hajji Khalîfa's bibliographical dictionary. In the MS. of that work, *Bib. du Roi, fonds Schulz*, the following additional article is found: "An abridgment of the original work was also made by Ibrahîm Ibn Mus-"tafa al-Faradi, who died A. H. 1126 (A. D. 1714). He entitled it *at-Taj-"rîd* (*superfluities stripped off*)."

We learn also from Hajji Khalîfa that the biographical dictionary was trans-

lated into Persian by "Zahîr ad-dîn al-Ardebîli, who died at Cairo, A. H. "930 (A.D. 1523-4). I have read," says he, "in a Persian epistle composed "by Karîn Ibn Uwais Ibn Muhammad, but better known by the name of "Kâzi Zâda, who died A. H. 930, that the sultan Selîm Khân the First" —the son of Bayazîd; he came to the throne A.H. 918 (A.D. 1512-13) and died 926 (1520)—"had been making searches for books on history, and "that he paid a particular degree of attention to the work of Ibn Khallikân. "This induced al-Ardebîli to translate it into Persian for his use, but he had "only executed the half of his task when the sultan died. This is probably "the same person as the Zahîr ad-dîn above-mentioned."

The facts and observations here presented refer directly to Ibn Khallikân or to his work, but some further remarks are requisite in order that a number of allusions peculiar to Arabic literature, and frequently occurring in the course of these volumes, may be clearly understood. The points intended to be elucidated are the manner in which learning was developed by the influence of Islamism, the distinction between the sciences positively encouraged by it and those which it merely tolerated, the difference between Moslim schools and Moslim colleges, the special cast of the sciences taught equally in each, the character of Arabic poetry and the nature of the *kasîda*. Had a regular treatise on the history of Arabian literature existed in that language, these particularities could not have long escaped notice; but as they are only mentioned incidentally by native writers, they have been usually passed over without receiving that attention which they deserved. These points, however, are of such material importance for the literary history of the Arabs that I felt it my duty to investigate them; the extreme difficulty of discovering the scattered facts serving to establish them was amply repaid by occasional success, and the results to which I have been led shall be confided to the following pages, with other observations which, though familiar to Orientalists, are not on that account less requisite for most readers. And yet it must be acknowledged that much more remains to be done; the foundations are indeed laid out, but the edifice is yet to be reared; a task which no doubt will sooner or later be accomplished by the zeal and learning of European scholars.

The oldest monuments of Arabic literature which we still possess were

composed within the century which preceded the birth of Muhammad (1). They consist in short pieces of verse uttered on the spur of the moment (2), narrations of combats between hostile tribes, passages in rhythmical prose (3), and *kasîdas*, or elegies. The study of these remains reveals the existence of a language perfect in its form and application, admirably suited to express the various ideas which the aspect of nature could suggest to a pastoral people,

(1) M. de Sacy, in his *Mémoire sur les anciens monumens de la littérature arabe*, has fully established this point in refuting Albert Schulten's extravagant opinions on the antiquity of Arabic literature. The celebrated poem attributed to Abû Adîna, or Odaina (see Schulten's *Monumenta vetustiora Arabiæ*, p. 57), is one of the few pieces which M. de Sacy considers as of genuine antiquity, and according to him it was composed towards A. D. 460. I am by no means inclined to admit this opinion; the language and style of the piece are comparatively modern and such as denote an author who lived in the second century after the Hijra, a period in which many literary forgeries of a similar kind were committed. The real author was perhaps Khalaf al-Ahmar, whose character as a *fabricator of ancient poems* was notorious (see page 571 of this volume). The poems of Amro 'l-Kais, or, as the name should be properly pronounced, Imro-'l-Kais, are the sole pieces extant of an undeniable antiquity: they were composed at least fifty years before the birth of Muhammad, as I have shown in my preface to his *Diwân*, and my deduction is fully confirmed by the following passage, which the learned author of the History of Aleppo, Kamâl ad-dîn Omar Ibn al-Adîm, has inserted in his biographical dictionary of the remarkable men who lived in or visited that city (*Bughyat at-Talab fi Târîkh Halab*, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, ancien fonds, No. 726, fol. 194 verso): "The *hâfiz* Abû "Amr Othman Ibn Bakr estimated that Amro 'l-Kais was anterior to Muhammad by one hundred and fifty "or two hundred years; but al-Wazir al-Maghribi observes that by estimation and approximation it has been "established that the interval between the death of Amro 'l-Kais and the birth of the Prophet was really "fifty or fifty-five years."

(2) These pieces of verse are almost always of the measure called *rajaz*, one of the simplest and also the very earliest of the systems of versification employed in Arabic poetry. The old *rajaz* verses were considered by Arabic philologers and grammarians as of the highest importance for their favourite study, on account of the rare words, expressions, and constructions with which they abound. To a person familiar with the Arabic of the Moslim writers, these productions of the old pagan Arabs seem to belong to another language, as it frequently happens that in a fragment of five or six lines he will not meet a single word with the meaning of which he is acquainted. They are the remains of the different dialects once spoken in the Arabian peninsula and in the plains which separate Syria from Mesopotamia, before the period in which the Koran, that great monument of the Koraish dialect, had fixed the Arabic language.

(3) When the Arabs of the desert wished to express themselves with elegance, they adopted a rhythmical arrangement of words and that parallelism of phrase which is the characteristic of good Arabic prose. This peculiarity is evident in all the pieces which have been handed down to us as specimens of the idiom spoken in the Desert, and is by no means an innovation of Moslim writers; the *Hamâsa*, the *Kitâb al-Aghâni*, and the *Amâli* of Abû Ali 'l-Kâli furnish a copious supply of examples which prove that the art of composing in rhythmical prose not only existed before Muhammad's time, but was even then generally practised and had been brought to a high degree of perfection.

and as equally adapted to portray the fiercer passions of the mind. The variety of its inflections, the regularity of its syntax, and the harmony of its prosody are not less striking, and they furnish in themselves a sufficient proof of the high degree of culture which the language of the Arabic nation had already attained (1). The superior merit of this early literature was ever afterwards acknowledged by the Arabs themselves; it furnished them not only with models but ideas for their poetical productions; and its influence has always continued perceptible in the *kasîda* (2), which still contains the same thoughts, the same allusions as of old, and drags its slow length along in monotonous dignity.

A great change came over the spirit of Arabic literature on the appearance of the Koran, an extraordinary compound of falsehood and truth, which moulded a people of shepherds and robbers into a nation and launched them forth to the conquest of the world. It is considered by Moslims as the word of God,—his eternal, uncreated word,—revealed to mankind in the language of Paradise, to remain a standing miracle by its admirable style. This opinion deterred nearly every attempt at imitation (3); the book stood apart in the majesty of its supposed excellence, but the study of its contents, combined with that of the Traditions relative to its author, gave rise to almost all the branches of Arabian learning. The mode by which this was effected shall be here briefly explained, but it is requisite to make some previous observations on the Traditions.

The sayings of Muhammad were considered by his followers as the result of divine inspiration, and they therefore treasured them up in their memory with the same care which they had taken in learning by heart the chapters

(1) This is in some degree attributable to the annual meetings of the poets at the fair of *Okâz*, but the poems of Amro 'l-Kais are a proof that the language had acquired its regularity and flexibility from some other source, as he never attended these assemblies. His was the dialect of the Himyarite Arabs, and it was most probably at the court of his ancestors, the kings of the tribe of Kinda, that it received its polish.

(2) See Introduction, page xxxiv.

(3) Ibn al-Mukaffa, al-Mutanabbi, Abû 'l-Alâ al-Maarri, and a few others who like them did not hold very orthodox opinions, essayed in some of their writings to surpass the style of the Koran, but their attempt was naturally considered as a failure. Were we to examine the Koran by the rules of rhetoric and criticism as they are taught in Moslim schools, we should be obliged to acknowledge that it is the perfection of thought and expression; an inevitable result, as the Moslims drew their principles of rhetoric from that very book.

of the Koran. They recorded also his behaviour under particular circumstances, the acts of his daily life, even the most trifling, and they related them to the rising generation as examples of conduct for every Moslim (1). It may be easily imagined that the mass of these Traditions increased rapidly: the different accounts of the same event, the same thoughts expressed in other terms, and even fabricated statements were received with equal avidity by the followers of Islamism, and soon became so numerous that no single man could recollect them all. It was therefore necessary to put them down in writing, and the first essay of this kind was made by Ibn Shihâb az-Zuhri during the reign of the khalif Omar Ibn Abd al-Azîz (2). Other doctors in different cities of the Moslim empire, and between the years 140 and 150 of the Hijra, classed the Traditions according to the subjects which they served to illustrate (3), and towards the beginning of the third century, al-Bukhâri undertook to reduce their number by selecting those only which were supported by the best authority. In discriminating between the true and the false, he was guided by the character of the persons through whom they had passed down, and he rejected those which could not be traced up through an unbroken series of Traditionists, all men of unimpeached veracity and acknowledged piety. His example was followed by other doctors, and the united contents of the six *Sahîhs*, or genuine collections, form to the present day one of the four columns which support the edifice of Moslim law. These Traditions serve to explain points of doctrine not set forth with sufficient clearness in the Koran, and they are therefore considered as the indispensable supplement to that book. Their style is concise and elliptic, but pure and elegant; abounding with idiomatic expressions peculiar to the Arabs of the desert, and not to be perfectly understood without a commentary. The perusal of these documents is however most instructive, and the European scholar who makes it his task to study them will acquire not

(1) The distinction between the *Hadîth* (*sayings*) and the *Sunan* (*doings*) is not attended to by doctors of the Moslim law; both are equally authoritative.

(2) The author of the *Muhâdârat al-Awâil* mentions this fact on the authority of as-Soyûti, most probably from the *Awâil*, one of the numerous treatises by that writer.

(3) Of this further notice will be taken; see page xxiv.

only a profound knowledge of pure Arabic, but a deep insight into the manners and character of every Moslim people.

The necessity of distinguishing the genuine Traditions from the false gave rise to new branches of literature. A just appreciation of the credit to which each Traditionist was entitled could only be formed from a knowledge of his moral character, and this could be best estimated from an examination of his life. Hence the numerous biographical works arranged in chronological order and containing short accounts of the principal Traditionists and doctors of the law, with the indication of their tutors and their pupils, the places of their birth and residence, the race from which they sprung, and the year of their death. This again led Moslim critics to the study of genealogy and geography.

The use of writing existed in Arabia before the promulgation of Islamism, but grammar was not known as an art till the difficulty of reciting the Koran correctly induced the khalif Ali to make it an object of his attention. He imposed on Abû 'l-Aswad ad-Duwali the task of drawing up such instructions as would enable the Moslims to read their sacred book and speak their language without making gross faults (1).

The sense of the Koran was felt to be obscure in many places, and this was justly attributed to two causes: indirect allusions to circumstances of which no further notice was taken, and the use of many words and phrases borrowed from the tribes of the Desert. The allusions were explained by the companions of Muhammad, and these explanations, handed down by tradition, are still preserved in the commentaries on the Koran; but the meaning of its obscure expressions could only be obtained from a comparison of the passages in which they are found with similar passages preserved in the early monuments of the Arabic language. It was this reason which induced Ibn Abbâs, soon after the death of his cousin Muhammad, to encourage the study of poetry, and from that time it became an indispensable branch of education. But the poems of the ancient Arabs were usually made on some particular occasion, and to understand them well it was necessary to know the motive which led the author to compose them; and

(1) See the life of Abû 'l-Aswad in this volume, page 662.

as it generally happened that he was not only a poet, but a warrior, they often contained allusions to the battle-days wherein he himself had fought. This led the Moslim scholar to study the history of the old Arabic tribes, and here again he could not see his way without the help of genealogy.

The duty of pilgrimage contributed to turn their attention to geography. The believers who dwelt in distant lands required to know the towns and countries through which they had to pass before arriving at Mekka: lists and itineraries were drawn up for this purpose, and hence all their geographical works received the general title of *Masâlik wa Mamâlik* (*Roads and Realms*). Every mosque in the Moslim empire must be turned towards Mekka, and the founder had therefore to ascertain previously the latitude and longitude of the place where the edifice was to be erected. This required some knowledge of astronomy, a science of foreign growth, but which had been encouraged from the earliest period of Islamism, since some knowledge of it was requisite to ascertain the hours of prayer, which could only be determined by means of the altitude of the sun. In the latitude of Mekka the daily variation of the hours, caused by the sun's movement in the ecliptic, was so slight, that it produced very little change in the times of prayer throughout the year; but in higher latitudes the difference became perceptible, and it was only by tables or almanacs that the *muwazzin* was enabled to know the precise moment at which he should call the faithful to public worship (1). The Moslim Lent begins on the first appearance of the new moon in the month of Ramadân. The *sunnite* doctors require that the moon should be seen before the fast can commence; but in Egypt, under the Fatimides, and in the countries where the *shîite* doctrines prevailed, the day of the new moon was fixed beforehand by calculations to which lunar tables served as a basis, and these tables were gradually improved by the assiduity of astronomers, encouraged in their labours by the patronage of government.

In their arithmetical calculations the Arabs employed certain letters of the alphabet with a numerical value, but they afterwards adopted the Indian

(1) The works serving to point out the precise hours of prayer were called *Mawâkît* مواقيت and their authors were entitled *Muwakkit* موقت; the *muwazzins* of mosques were sometimes *muwakkits*.

ciphers (1). The arithmetic of fractions was cultivated by them very early; the Koran, in fixing the shares of inheritance to which the nearer and the more distant heirs are entitled, rendered it indispensable (2). The first principles of algebra seem to have been known to them even in the lifetime of Muhammad (3).

General history was not at first considered by Moslims as a lawful science, and many doctors were led by religious scruples to condemn its study. But the history of literary men, that is, of doctors of the law, poets, philologers, and grammarians, received their approval, inasmuch as the writings of such persons were connected with those branches of learning, the germs of which had expanded under the influence of the Koran and the Traditions. All the great cities had their literary history, into which the patriotism of the author, anxious to exalt the glory of his native place, sometimes introduced the lives of great princes, generals, vizirs, and other public officers (4). It was only when pious Moslims had been led to believe that political history was instructive and edifying, since it marks the ways of God towards man, that writings of this cast obtained at length a hesitating approval.

The documents relative to Muhammadan history were transmitted during the first centuries by oral tradition from one *hâfiz* to another, and these persons made it an object of their particular care not to alter, in the least degree,

(1) In their astronomical works they employ both systems of notation, but in the tables they generally make use of letters, as by their means they can express all numbers below two thousand.

(2) The art of reckoning fractions was known to Zaid Ibn Thâbit, one of Muhammad's companions, and he applied it, with the approbation of his master, to the division of inheritances. The imâm as-Shâfî improved on Zaid's principles, and his system was taken by the author of the *Sirâjiya* as the basis of his work.

(3) Though the history of algebra was not the immediate object of my studies, I met in Arabic writers some particular circumstances relative to it which have fixed my attention and led me to the conclusion which I here announce; but more extensive researches must be made before I can furnish the complete proofs of my assertion.

(4) Some of these histories with their continuations formed collections of from eighty to one hundred large volumes, a few of which are yet to be found in European libraries. The *Bibliothèque du Roi* possesses a folio volume closely written and containing a very small part of the *Khâtib's* History of Baghdad—a portion only of the letter *aîn*. Another large volume on the History of Aleppo contains only a small part of the first letter of the alphabet. The extent of some of these collections may be best appreciated from Hajji Khalifa's account of them in his Bibliographical Dictionary; see the articles *Tarîkh Baghdâd, Tarîkh Haleb, Tawârîkh Dimesch*, etc.

the narrations which they had received. The pieces thus preserved were generally furnished by eye-witnesses of the facts which are related in them, and are therefore of the highest importance not only for the history of the Moslim people, but for that of the Arabic language. The *hâfiz* who communicated a narration of this kind to his scholar, never neglected indicating beforehand the series of persons through whom it had successively passed before it came down to him, and this introduction, or *support, Isnâd* as the Arabs call it, is the surest proof that what follows is authentic. The increasing number of these narrations became at length a burden to the best memory, and it was found necessary to write down the more ancient of them lest they should be forgotten. One of the first and most important of these collections was Ibn Ishâk's History of the Moslim wars, a work of which we possess but a small portion, containing the life of Muhammad, with notes and additions by a later editor, Ibn Hishâm; this is a book of the highest authority and deservedly so, but it is unfortunately of great rareness. The History of Islamism by at-Tabari was formed also in a similar manner; being merely a collection of individual narrations preceded by their *isnâds:* many of them relate to the same event, and from their mutual comparison a very complete idea can be acquired of the history of that early period. These collections of original documents were consulted by later historians, such as Ibn al-Jawzi, Ibn al-Athîr, and others, and it was from these sources that they drew the facts set forth in their respective works. It may be laid down as a general principle that Islamic history assumed at first the form of a collection of statements, each of them authenticated by an *isnâd;* then came a writer who combined these accounts, but suppressed the *isnâds* and the repetitions; he was followed by the maker of abridgments, who condensed the work of his predecessor and furnished a less expensive book on the same subject. The greater work then lay buried in some public library; none were inclined to go to the expense of having it copied for their own use when an abridgment of it could be procured at a cheap rate; and there it remained till time, worms, and war accomplished its destruction. Abû 'l-Fedâ and as-Soyûti did nearly as much harm to Ibn al-Athîr and at-Tabari as Justin and Florus did to Livy and Tacitus.

In all the Moslim cities, the sciences connected with Islamism were ac-

tively cultivated, but Basra and Kufa attained, at an early period, a high preeminence for learning. A great rivalry prevailed between the schools of these two cities, but the utmost difference which we can now discover in their systems of doctrine is not very material; they each transmitted, with some variations, the works of the older poets, each had a particular manner of explaining the obscure passages contained in these pieces, and each solved certain grammatical difficulties in a way peculiar to itself. The study of grammar and philology reached a high degree of perfection in these schools, and through them the early literature of the Arabs was handed down by oral transmission, with the same exactness as others delivered the Koran and the Traditions. The idiom spoken by the Arabs of the desert was the great object of their studies, and its copious phraseology was preserved from oblivion by their labours. The number of their compilations, consisting in passages of prose and verse which they had received from the different tribes, would be hardly credible, were the fact not supported by the united testimony of all the Arabian biographers. The articles contained in these philological collections were generally classed under different heads, each of which formed a separate treatise. Some were on camels, some on horses, others on plants, tents, arms, hunting, hospitality, etc.; in a word, on every subject furnished by nomadic life. These documents served later as the groundwork of dictionaries, and it was probably from them that al-Fairûzabâdi drew the quantity of extracts which swelled out his first Arabic lexicon, the *Lâmî*, to sixty volumes (1).

During a considerable period all the knowledge of the Moslims was transmitted by tradition; nay, doctors of the law composed works and taught them to their pupils, without having written them down, so great was the prejudice against learning acquired from books. Religious scruples long hindered them from putting them on paper; they said also, and very justly when we consider the nature of their written character, that what was confided to paper could not be perfectly understood without a master; and they observed besides that it was more exposed to alterations and destruction than when it was engraved on the mind. Information of all sorts continued to accumu-

(1) See his preface to the *Kâmûs*.

late in this manner, till at length it obliged them to put it in some order and have recourse to the pen. "In the year of the Hijra 143," says ad-Dahabi (1), "the learned men of Islamism began to draw up (2) the Traditions, juris-"prudence, and the interpretation of the Koran. Ibn Juraij composed his "books at Mekka; Saîd Ibn Abi Oruba (3), Hammâd Ibn Maslama, and "others composed theirs at Basra; Abû Hanîfa and Rabîat ar-Râi drew up "their works on jurisprudence at Kûfa, and al-Auzâî in Spain; Mâlik com-"posed his *Muwatta* at Medîna; Ibn Ishak then drew up his *Maghâzi* (*Wars of* "*Islamism*); Mamar (4) composed in Yemen, and Sofyân ath-Thauri wrote "his book the *Jâmî*. Very soon after, Ibn Hishâm, Laith Ibn Saad, and Abd "Allah Ibn Lahîa composed their works; then followed Ibn al-Mubârak "and the kâdi Abû Yûsuf, at which period the classification and registering "of knowledge was carried to a great length. The treatises on grammar and

(1) Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Othmân Ibn Kâimâz ad-Dahabi, a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi and surnamed Shams ad-dîn (*the sun of religion*), was born in the month of Rajab, A.H. 673 (January, A. D. 1275) at Damascus; but his ancestors, who were of the Turcomân nation, inhabited Maiyâfârikîn. He was the chief *hâfiz* and *Korân-reader* of Syria. Having received the first principles of learning at the place of his birth, he visited successively Baalbek, Cairo, Nâblûs, Aleppo, Mekka, Medîna, Jerusalem, and Tripolis, that he might complete his studies under the eminent teachers who then inhabited these cities. He died at Damascus, A. H. 748 (A. D. 1347-8). His works were very numerous and consisted in compilations, abridgments, and original treatises; the titles of sixty-seven are given by Abû 'l-Mahâsin, who acknowledges however that he did not notice the whole of ad-Dahabi's productions. The most important of them are the *Annals of Islamism*, of which a broken set is preserved in the *Bibliothèque du Roi;* this work was composed of twenty-one volumes. An abridged history of eminent men, forming a number of volumes. An abridged history of the Moslim kingdoms. An examination into the credibility of Traditionists. A chronological biography of those who bore the title of *hâfiz* (*Tabakât of al-Huffâz*) in two volumes. A biography of *koran-readers* (*Tabakât al-Kurrâ*,, a copy of which work is in the *Bib. du Roi*. An abridgment of the *Khatîb's* History of Baghdad and of as-Samâni's. An *abridgment in ten volumes* of the history of Damascus; another of the Hâkim's History of Naisâpûr. The history of al-Hallâj; an abridgment of Abû 'l-Fedâ's Geography, etc.—(*Al-Manhal as-Sâfi*, vol. V. fol. 86 verso.)

(2) In the original text, the word employed is *tadwîn* تدوين.

(3) Abû 'n-Nadr Said Ibn Abi Orûba Marwân, a native of Basra and a *mawla* to the tribe of Adi, learned the Traditions from Nadr Ibn Anas Ibn Mâlik and Kutâda; Ibn Mubârak was one of his disciples. According to al-Bukhâri, he died A. H. 156 (A. D. 772-3).—(*Tabakât al-Muhaddithîn*, MS. No. 736.)

(4) Abû Orwa Mamar Ibn Abi Orwa Râshid was a *mawla* to the tribe of Azd and a native of Basra, but he settled in Yemen. He learned the Traditions from az-Zuhri, and among his own pupils he had ath-Thauri, Ibn Oyaina, and Ibn Mubârak. He died in the month of Ramadân, A. H. 153 (September, A. D. 770), or, by another statement, in 158.—(*Tab. al-Muhad.*)

"on the language were then drawn up (1), as also history and the adventures "of the desert Arabs. Before this, all the learned spoke from memory, and "the information which they communicated to their pupils was devoid of "order, but from that time the acquisition of learning was rendered easy "and its preservation by the memory became gradually less frequent (2)."

The task of tracing the progress of the Moslims in legal studies would be extremely difficult for a European pen, and the labour of many years would hardly suffice for its accomplishment. The observations which follow are therefore to be considered in no other light than as a very imperfect sketch. On the first establishment of Islamism, the text of the Koran and the example given by Muhammad sufficed to guide the first doctors of the law to the solution of the different questions to which the theocratical organisation of the Moslim empire gave rise; but soon after the death of their lawgiver, the state of the Arab people underwent an immense alteration; a great portion of the nomadic tribes having abandoned their former mode of life on settling in the countries which they had subdued (3). The possession of power and riches gave rise to new feelings, new ideas, and new manners; they had entered into a new sphere of existence and found themselves under the necessity of establishing a system of rules and regulations calculated to ensure the uniformity of their religious rites, and give a more comprehensive action to the principles of their civil law. Thus their general code, the main points of which had been previously fixed, received its development from the progress of the people in civilisation.

Moslim law flows from four sources: the Koran, the *Sunna*, or Traditions, the general practice or common consent of the ancient imams, and the principles deduced from the comparison of these three. The imperfection of the

(1) Ibn Khallikân and the author of the *Fihrist* appear, in a number of cases, to designate unwritten works by the term *kutub* (*books*), and written ones by the words *kutub musannafa* (*composed books*). This is however a point which requires further examination, for *kutub* may perhaps signify *compilations* and *kutub musannafa*, *original works*.

(2) This citation is copied from Abû 'l-Mahâsin's *Nujûm* under the year 143.

(3) In Ibn al-Jawzi's *Talkih* MS. No. 631, will be found the names of the principal *tâbis* who settled in the following places: Tâif, Yemen, Yamâma, Bahrain, Kûfa, Basra, Madâin, Khorasan, Wâsit, Baghdâd, Syria, Mesopotamia, the frontiers of Syria, and Egypt.

legal regulations contained in the Koran obliged the first Moslims to consult Muhammad on those difficulties which the text of that work was inadequate to solve; his opinion was scrupulously followed, and the validity of his decisions was considered as incontrovertible. The ancient imams, that is, the principal jurisconsults of the first, second, and third centuries after the Hijra, founded their general practice on that of their predecessors, but some of them presumed to decide on cases hitherto unforeseen, by means of analogical deductions from the three first sources of the law. These were called the *mujtahid* imams because they employed the utmost efforts of their mind to attain the right solution of such questions as were submitted to their judgment (1). Among those imans Abû Hanîfa, as-Shâfî, Mâlik, and Ibn Hanbal stood pre-eminent not only for their abilities, but for the number of points which each settled of his own authority and formed into a body of supplementary doctrines. It naturally happened that these four held different opinions in some cases, but as all the dogmas and leading principles of the law had been already immutably fixed, their decisions related to questions of mere secondary importance, and their doctrine, in the main, was perfectly orthodox. At the present day, the difference which subsists between the practice of their respective followers lies in some particular modifications of the general form of prayer, and in the solution of some legal questions relating principally to property. Of these four sects, the Hanbalite and Malekite may be considered as the most rigid, the Shâfite as the most conformable to the spirit of Islamism, and the Hanifite as the mildest and most philosophical of them all (2). Two other imams, Abû Dâwûd az-

(1) *Mujtahid* is derived from *jahd* (*effort*). This title has long ceased to be in use among the *Sunnites*, but it is still borne in Persia by the chief jurisconsult of each province. Some of the older travellers write this name *Mushtahed* and derive it from *shahad* (*to bear witness to the truth*). The derivation of the word *kâid* (*chief* from *kada* (*to judge*) is a mistake of a similar kind.

(2) The following passage, extracted from Ibn Khaldûn's *Prolegomena* to his Universal History, merits a place here: "The science of jurisprudence forms two systems, that of the followers of private judgment and analogy (*ahl ar-râi wa'l-Kiâs*), who were natives of Irak, and that of the followers of Tradition, who were natives of Hijâz. As the people of Irak possessed but few Traditions, they had often recourse to analogical deductions and attained great proficiency therein, for which reason they were called *the followers of private judgment:* the imâm Abû Hanîfa, who was their chief and had acquired a perfect knowledge of this system, taught it to his disciples. The people of Hijâz had for imâm Mâlik Ibn Anas and then as-Shâfî. Some time

Zâhiri and Sofyân at-Thauri, were also chiefs of orthodox sects, but their opinions had not many followers, and after some time were totally abandoned. Ibn Jarîr at-Tabari, whose reputation as an historian is so familiar to Europeans, founded also a particular sect, which disappeared soon after his death.

The heretical doctrines of the *shîites*, who, under the name of *Râfidites* or *Ismaïlians*, hold so prominent a place in Moslim history, had little influence on Arabic literature; but the science of scholastic theology, a Motazelite innovation, gave to the language a scientific precision which it had not hitherto possessed, and which was still more deeply impressed on its style by the translations of Aristotle's works and those of other Greek philosophers. The art of medicine was received from foreigners; the early physicians were natives of India, the next were tributary subjects, and al-Kindi was one of the first Moslims (1) by whom it was practised. The influence of medical writings on general literature was necessarily very slight. Alchemy, an art cultivated from the most ancient times, was always a favourite study with the Moslims, and in this pursuit they made many discoveries which served later to form the basis of chemistry. Astrology, like alchemy, was one of the oldest delusions of the human mind, and, although reproved by the *Sunna*, it has always continued to flourish in every Moslim country, but what they considered as its parasitical branch, astronomy, has long since faded and shrunk away.

It is generally mentioned by Arabic historians that the first *madrasa* (*place of study*) was founded at Baghdad in the year 459 of the Hijra (A. D. 1066), by the celebrated Nizâm al-Mulk. This statement has led some European writers to assert that the first Arabian *Academy*, or *College*, was established

after, a portion of the learned men disapproved of analogical deductions and rejected that mode of proceeding: these were the *Zâhirites* (*followers of Abû Dâwûd Sulaimân*), and they laid down as a principle that all points of law should be taken from the *Nusûs* (*text of the Koran and Traditions*) and the *Ijmâ* (*universal accord of the ancient imâms*)."

(1) It was once supposed that al-Kindi was a Jew, but this is now well known to be false. He belonged to one of the most noble Arabian tribes, that of Kinda, his father and grandfather were Moslims and his great-grandfather was one of Muhammad's companions. It might be said that he was a convert to the Jewish religion, but how then did he contrive to escape the punishment of death inflicted by the law of Muhammad upon apostates, and why should he have borne the title of the *Philosopher of the Moslims?* M. de Sacy has already remarked and refuted this error in his *Abdallatif*, p. 487.

by that vizir. The idea which they attach to these words is not, however, very clear: if they mean that an academy or college is an institution which students must frequent that they may obtain their degrees, then they are mistaken in supposing *madrasas* to be the first establishments of the kind; and if they add that the academies were *civil* foundations endowed with real estates, and containing chambers or cells in which the students lodged, they are still wrong in the date, for, according to a very good authority, a *madrasa* was founded at Naisapûr for Abû Ishak al-Isfarâini, the celebrated Shâfite doctor and professor, who, we know, died A. H. 418 (1). A fact of this nature could not escape the attention of the celebrated annalist and biographer ad-Dahabi, and his observations on the subject are deserving of a place here. He says in his *Annals of Islamism* (2): "Those who pretend that "Nizâm al-Mulk was the first founder of *madrasas* are mistaken. Before "his birth the *Baihakian madrasa* existed at Naisapûr as also the *Saîdian* "*madrasa;* the latter was built by the emir Nasr Ibn Subuktikîn, a brother of "the sultan Mahmûd, when governor of that city. The third was founded "at the same place by the *Sûfi* preacher Abû Saad Ismaîl Ibn Ali Ibn al-"Muthanna of Astarâbâd, one of the *khâtib* al-Baghdâdi's masters. The "fourth was in the same city, and had been erected for the *master* Abû "Ishak." As-Soyùthi, who cites the foregoing passage in his *Husn al-Muhâdira* (3), then subjoins some extracts from other writers which also merit insertion: "The *Hâkim* (4) says in his article on the master Abû "Ishak: *Before this madrasa there was no other like it in Naisapûr*, from "which it is manifest that others had been founded there previously. Tâj "ad-dîn as-Subki says in his work, entitled *at-Tabakât al-Kubra* (5): 'Upon

(1) His life is given in page 8 of this volume.

(2 Cited by as-Soyûti in his *Husn al-Muhâdira*, MS. No. 652, fol. 235.

(3) As-Soyûti died A. H. 911 (A. D. 1505). A full account of his life and a complete list of his writings will be found in the work entitled *Soiuti liber de interpretibus Korani*, by Meursinge, Leyden, 1839.

(4) This is the celebrated Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn al-Baii. His life is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(5) Abû Nasr Abd al-Wahhâb Ibn Taki ad-dîn Ali Ibn Diâ ad-dîn Abd al-Kâfi, a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi and chief kâdi (*kâdi 'l-Kudât*) of Damascus, drew his descent from one of those members of the tribe of Khazrâj who took up arms for Muhammad. He bore the surnames of Tâj ad-dîn (*crown of religion*) and as-Subki (*native of Subk*, a village in Egypt). This celebrated imâm was equally illustrious as a juris-

" ' reflection I am strongly inclined to think that Nizâm al-Mulk was the " ' first who established in them a fixed allowance for the support of stu- " ' dents الرواتب للطلبة, for I have not been able to ascertain that such was " ' previously the case.' " In corroboration of the preceding remarks, other similar facts might be adduced, and without specifying the existence of a *dar al-ilm* or *house of science* opened at Baghdad under the patronage of the vizir Sâpûr Ibn Ardashîr, who died A. H. 416 (1), we might refer, as M. de Hammer has already done, to the *dar al-Hikma* (2) or *house of wis-*

consult, a theologian, and a professor. One of his masters was the well-known historian Shams ad-dîn ad-Dahabi. He filled four times the place of kâdi at Damascus, and officiated as a *khatîb* or preacher in the great mosque founded by the Omaiyides in that city. Among the numerous works which he composed, the most remarkable are—an abridgment of Ibn Hâjib's (*grammatical*) work (*the Kâfia*); the chronological history of the Shâfite doctors, in three editions designated as the *at-Tabakât al-Kubra* (*the greater*), *at-Tabakât al-Wusta* (*the medium*), and *at-Tabakât as-Sughra* (*the less*). He left different pieces in prose and verse. Born at Cairo, A. H. 728 (A. D. 1327-8); died of the plague at Damascus, A. H. 771 (A. D. 1369-70).—(*Al-Manhal as-Sâfi. Tab. as-Shâf.*)—His father Abû 'l-Hasan Ali, surnamed Taki ad-dîn, was a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi and eminent as a jurisconsult, a *hâfiz*, an interpreter, a *reader* of the Koran, a theologian, a teacher of scholastic divinity, a grammarian, and a philologer. He was born at Subk in Sharkiya, a province of Lower Egypt, A. H. 673 (A. D. 1274-5). In 731 he was appointed kâdi of Damascus, where he acted also as a professor. He died A. H. 756 (A. D. 1355), leaving after him a high reputation for learning and virtue. He wrote some works, of which the principal is a commentary on the Koran, entitled *ad-Durr an-Nazîm* in three volumes. For further details, see the *Tabakât as-Shâfiyîn*, MS. No. 861.

(1) See page 555 of this volume.

(2) The *Dâr al-Hikma* differed from every other school and *madrasa* by the sciences taught in it and by the peculiar object of its institution, which was to propagate the Batinite doctrines. See M. de Sacy's *Exposé de l'histoire des Druzes*, vie de Hakem, p. cccxii. Al-Makrîzi, in his *Khitât*, gives the following account of this establishment:—The *Dâr al-Ilm* or *house of science*, called also the *Dâr al-Hikma* or *house of philosophy*, was opened by the khalif al-Hâkim in the month of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 395. The public of all classes were admitted and had permission to read or copy, as they pleased, the works which the khalif had sent to it from his own libraries. The quantity of books which it contained was immense, and consisted of treatises on all the sciences and on general literature; among these volumes were some written by the most celebrated penmen. The interior of the establishment was carpeted, gilt, and hung with curtains over the windows and the doors, and a number of guardians, slaves, and *farrâshes* kept the whole in order. Lessons were given in it by jurisconsults, *koran-readers*, astronomers, grammarians, philologers, and physicians, who all received salaries for their services. Paper, pens, and ink were always ready for the public. In the year 403, al-Hâkim sent for a number of arithmeticians, logicians, jurisconsults, and physicians employed in the *Dâr al-Ilm*; each class was introduced separately and discussed questions in his presence, after which he clothed them in robes of honour and made them rich presents. This establishment possessed an annual revenue of two thousand five hundred and seventy dinars for its support, of which sum a part was employed in the following manner: for mats, 10 dinars; salary of the *kâtib* or copyist, 90 dinars; salary of the librarian,

*dom* established at Cairo by the Fatimide khalif al-Hâkim in the year 395 of the Hijra, and to another college founded by the same prince for students of the sect of Mâlik, A. H. 400 (1). It is therefore manifest that Nizâm al-Mulk was not the first who founded a *madrasa* or college, and it is easy to prove that academies existed long before his time; that they were held in the mosques, as is still the case at Cairo, Ispahân, Bokhara, Kairawan, and Fez. The Egyptian historians remark that under the reign of al-Azîz Nizâr, public lectures on different branches of knowledge were opened in the mosque al-Azhar at Old Cairo and that the professors were paid by government. Still earlier Ibrahîm Ibn Hishâm al-Makhzûmi (2) caused regular lessons to be given in the great mosque of Damascus; in the time of Bilâl Ibn Abi Burda, who died A. H. 126, grammar was taught publicly in the mosques, and Abû Abd ar-Rahmân as-Sulami, who died A. H. 74, taught the *readings* of the Koran in the mosque of Kûfa; it has been even handed down on good authority that the first who taught in a mosque and instructed a *circle* of pupils in the reading of the Koran was Abû 'd-Dardâ, and he died A. H. 32 (3). We know moreover that the first school for Arabic literature was established by Ibn Abbâs, and that he himself gave regular lectures to an immense multitude who assembled in a valley near Mekka. A great number of passages might also be adduced, if necessary, to prove that from the time of the *Tâbîs* (4), the regular academies or upper schools were held in the mosques; and that the sciences taught therein were such as related to the Koran and

48 dinars; for water, 12 dinars; for the *farrâsh*, 15 dinars; for paper, ink, and pens, 12 dinars; for the mending of the curtains, 1 dinar; reparation of books and replacing lost leaves, 12 dinars; a carpet for winter, 5 dinars; for palm-leaves, to strew the floor in winter, 8 dinars.—When Salâh ad-dîn re-established the *Sunnite* doctrines in Egypt, he founded the college called after him *al-Madrasa as-Salâhîya*, and nominated the *shaikh* Najm ad-dîn Muhammad al-Khubushâni as its president, with a monthly salary of forty dinars (about 20 pounds) as chief professor, and another of ten as administrator of the *wakfs*, or property granted to the establishment for its support. He allowed him besides sixty Egyptian *ratls* (*pounds' weight*) of bread daily and two skins of Nile water.—(*Husn al-Muhâdira*, fol. 235.)

(1) See M. de Sacy's *Druzes*, tom. I. pages cccxii and cccxlvi.

(2) Ibrahîm Ibn Hishâm al-Makhzûmi was one of Hishâm Ibn Abd al-Malik's provincial governors: that khalif died in the year 125 of the Hijra.

(3) Al-Yâfi's *Mîraat al-Janân*.

(4) See note (2), page 4.

the Traditions (1). The names of all the great doctors who professed in the different cities of the Moslim empire are still known to us, and from the *Tabakât al-Fokahâ* alone a chronological list of teachers might be drawn up, commencing with the *Tâbîs* and descending to the latest times. Mathematics, astronomy, medicine, and metaphysics were excluded from the course of usual instruction, even in the *madrasas* (2), and could only be learned from private masters, as was still the case till very lately. From the preceding observations it may be concluded that Nizâm al-Mulk founded neither the first *madrasa* nor the first academy, and that the institution called after him the *Nizâmiya* was merely one of the earliest *civil* establishments for the propagation of learning; the talent of its professors shed, it is true, a brilliant lustre upon its reputation, but the mosques continued nevertheless to be the only regular academies acknowledged by the law (3).

It appears from a number of passages in the different *Tabakâts* and in the work of Ibn Khallikân, that the young student commenced his labours by learning the Koran by heart, and also as many of the Traditions as he was able to acquire at his native place; to this he joined a slight acquaintance with grammar and some knowledge of poetry; on attaining the age of from fourteen to sixteen, he began his travels and visited the great cities, where he learned Traditions and received certificates of licence (4) from eminent Traditionists. He then followed the different courses of lectures which were held in the mosques or in the *madrasas*, and in some cases he attached himself to one of the professors and lived with him not only as a pupil, but as a menial servant. He there learned by heart the approved works on the dogmas of

(1) During the first centuries of Islamism, professors received no other remuneration from their scholars than the presents which it was customary for the latter to give on passing to a higher class.

(2) The only exception I have hitherto remarked is offered by al-Hâkim's *Dâr al-Hikma*.

(3) These observations will account for a singular statement made by al-Makkari in his History of Spain, where he says, MS. No. 704, fol. 60 recto: "Though learning was highly valued by the inhabitants of Spain, "gentle and common, they had no *madrâsas* specially established for the propagation of learning; but all "the sciences were taught in the mosques for payment." M. Gayangos has omitted this curious passage in his abridged translation of that work.

(4) See a note on the subject of *Ijazâs*, or certificates of capacity, in M. Hamaker's *Specimen Catalogi MSS. Bib. Lugd. Bat.* See also M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, tom. I. p. 123.

religion, and studied the commentaries on the same works under the tuition of his master; he acquired a correct knowledge of the different readings of the Koran and of its orthodox interpretation, whilst he pursued the study of ancient poetry and philology, grammar and rhetoric, in order to attain the faculty of appreciating perfectly the admirable style which characterises the Koran. The secondary points of jurisprudence, forming the doctrines of the sect to which he belonged, then became the object of his particular study, and an acquaintance with logic and dialectics completed his education. Having obtained from his professors certificates of capacity and licence to teach the works which he had mastered, he found the career open to the places of *khatîb* or preacher, *imam*, *kadi*, *mufti*, and professor. Such was the usual course of education, and its beneficial influence on the mind and character cannot be doubted (1).

It is much more difficult to mark out the line of study followed by those who were destined to fill places in the public administration. The *kâtib* should be not only, as his name implies, a good penman, but also a master of the beauties of the Arabic language, well acquainted with grammar and the writings of the poets, a skilful accountant and gifted with a capacity for business (2). Some *kâtibs* were employed to draw up state papers; others, to keep the public accounts and registers, or to receive the tithes and the revenues of the state; every governor of a province had his *kâtib* whose duty was to keep the correspondence, and to receive the taxes of the district, the rents of the government farms, etc. Out of this money a fixed sum was yearly remitted to the sovereign; the governor reserving the rest for his own use and the payment of the troops, and persons entitled to salaries, such as the *kâdis*, the jurisconsults, the imams of the great mosques, the clerks in the public offices, etc. Part of it was absorbed also by works of public utility, and in defraying the expenses of his court. He was obliged besides to maintain the post-horse establishment, but the postmaster, who acted also as a spy over the governor, was nominated by the sovereign.

(1) It may be remarked that nearly all the Moslim authors with whose works we are acquainted, were either doctors of the law, or had followed the course of studies necessary to become one.

(2) The title of *kâtib* was sometimes given to copyists of the Koran.

The great quantity of verses quoted by Ibn Khallikân, and of which it may with justice be said, *Sunt bona, sunt mediocria, sunt mala plura*, requires from the translator some observations. The decline of Arabic poetry can be easily traced down from the accession of the Abbasides to the time of the Aiyubites; for many centuries the patrons of the belles-lettres were of foreign extraction, and writers who sought their favour were obliged to conform their own judgment to that of persons who were in general unable to appreciate the true beauties of literary compositions. Works which had obtained the patronage of the prince could not fail to fix the attention of other poets who took them as models which they strove to imitate and to surpass. The opinion held in the schools that the ancient *kasîdas* were masterpieces of art contributed also to the perversion of good taste; their plan and ideas were servilely copied, and it was by refinement of expression alone that writers could display their talent; verbal quibbles, far-fetched allusions, thoughts borrowed from the old writers and strained so as to be hardly recognisable, such were the means by which they strove to attain originality; sense was sacrificed to sound, the most discordant ideas were linked together for the futile advantage of obtaining a recurrence of words having a similar written form or a similar pronunciation; poets wrote for the ear and the eye, not for the mind, and yet the high estimation in which their productions were held may be judged from the readiness of Ibn Khallikân to quote them. His taste was that of the age in which he lived, and the extracts which he gives enable the reader to form an idea of the Arab mind at the period of the Crusades. The same feeling of impartiality which induces me to express so severe a censure on the generality of the islamic poets, obliges me also to make some exceptions. The *kasîdas* of al-Mutanabbi are full of fire, daring originality, and depth of thought; he often reaches the sublime, and his style, though blemished by occasional faults, is very fine; al-Bohtori is remarkable for grace and elegance; Abû 'l-Alâ for dignity and beauty, but Ibn al-Fârid seems superior to them all; his pieces teem with sentiment and poetry; in his mystic reveries he soars towards the confines of another world pervaded with spiritual beauty; and glides with the reader from one enchanting scene to another; the judgment is capti-

vated by the genius of the poet, and can hardly perceive the traits of false taste which disfigure, from time to time, his admirable style.

Having pointed out the influence of the *kasída* or elegy, it may not be amiss to sketch the plan generally followed in this species of composition. The poet, accompanied by two friends, approaches, after a long journey through the desert, to the place where he saw his mistress the year before, and where he hopes to meet her again. At his request they direct the camels on which they are mounted towards the spot, but the ruins of the rustic dwellings, the withered moss, brushwood, and branches of trees with which were formed the frail abodes where the tribe had passed the summer, the hearthstones blackened by the fire, the solitary raven hovering around in search of a scanty nourishment—every object he perceives strikes him with the conviction that his beloved and her family have removed to some other region in the desert. Overcome with grief, heedless of the consolations of his friends who exhort him to be firm, he long remains plunged in silent affliction; at length he finds relief in a torrent of tears, and raising up his head, he extemporizes a mournful elegy. He commences by mentioning the places which he had already visited in hopes of finding her whom he loved, and calls to mind the dangers which he had encountered in the desert. He describes the camel which, though fatigued still full of ardour, had borne him into the depths of the wilderness; he vaunts his own courage and extols the glory of his tribe. An adventure which happened on the previous night then comes to his memory; a fire blazing on a lofty hill had attracted their attention and guided them to the tent of a generous Arab, where they found shelter and hospitality. He then praises the charms of his mistress, and complains of the pains of love and absence, whilst his companions hurry him away. He casts a parting look towards the place where she had resided, and lo! a dark cloud, fringed with rain and rent with lightnings, overhangs the spot. This sight fills his heart with joy: an abundant shower is about to shed new life upon the parched soil, and thus ensure a rich herbage for the flocks: the family of his beloved will then soon return and settle again in their former habitation.

Such may be considered as the outline of the pastoral *kasída;* in these productions, the same ideas almost constantly recur, and the same words

frequently serve to express them. The eulogistic *kasîda*, or poem in praise of some great man, assumes also the same form, with the sole difference that, in place of a mistress, it is a generous patron whom the poet goes to visit, or else, after praising the object of his passion, he celebrates the noble qualities of the man who is always ready, with abundant gifts, to bestow consolation on the afflicted lover.

It results from this that a person familiar with the mode of composition followed in the *kasîda*, can often, from a single word in a verse, perceive the drift of the poet and discover, almost intuitively, the thoughts which are to follow. He has thus a means of determining the true readings amidst the mass of errors with which copyists usually disfigure Arabic poetry; knowing what the poet intends to say, he feels no longer any difficulty in disengaging the author's words from the faults of a corrupted text. The same peculiarity is frequently perceptible in pieces of a few verses; these generally reproduce some of the ideas contained in the *kasîda*, and for this reason they are justly styled *fragments* by Arabic writers.

There exist also some compositions of an original form; such are the *dûbait* or distich, and the *mawâlia*, both borrowed from the Persians, and the *muwashshaha*, invented in Spain by Ibn Abd Rabbih (1). Pieces of this kind became general favourites by the novelty of their form and matter: the *mawâlia* was adopted by the dervishes, and the *muwashshaha* was cultivated with passion and attained its perfection in Andalusia, whence it was transported to the East. It cannot be denied that the Moorish poets, with all their extravagance of thought and expression, were far superior in their perception of the beauties of nature and the delicacies of sentiment to their brethren of the East, and the European reader will often discover in their poems, with some surprise, the same ideas, metaphors, and systems of versification which characterise the works of the troubadours and the early Italian poets.

(1) Consult on the *Muwashshaha* Mr. de Hammer's memoir in the *Journal Asiatique* for August 1839; and Freytag's *Arabische Verskunst*, page 417. In the printed edition of Abû 'l-Fedâ's Geography, preface, page xii, will be found a *muwashshaha* by that author. The *distich* and *mawâlia* are spoken of also by Mr. de Hammer in the memoir just mentioned, pages 167 et 168. In page 166 of the same memoir the word *Haghriftis* is a mistake of the printer for *Maghribins*.

An idea borrowed from the ante-islamic poets and of frequent recurrence in the *kasîdas* of later authors is the *taif al-khiâl* or *phantom*. The lover journeys with a caravan through the desert; for many nights his grief at being separated from his beloved prevents him from sleeping, but at length he yields to fatigue and closes his eyes. A phantom then approaches towards him, unseen by all but himself, and in it he recognises the image of his mistress, come to visit and console him. It was sent to him by the beloved, or rather it is herself in spirit, who has crossed the dreary waste and fleeted towards his couch: she too had slept, but it was to go and see her lover in her dreams (1). They thus meet in spite of the foes and spies who always surround the poet, ready to betray him if he obtain an interview with the beloved, and who are so jealous that they hinder him from sleeping, lest he should see her image in his dreams: it is only when they slumber that he dare close his eyes.

The figurative language of the Moslim poets is often difficult to be understood. The *narcissus* is the *eye;* the *feeble* stem of that plant bends *languidly* under its flower, and thus recals to mind the *languor* of the eyes. *Pearls* signify both *tears* and *teeth;* the latter are sometimes called *hailstones,* from their whiteness and moisture; the *lips* are *cornelians* or *rubies;* the *gums*, a *pomegranate flower;* the *dark* foliage of the *myrtle* is synonymous with the *black hair* of the beloved, or with the first *down* which appears on the cheeks of youths at the period of puberty. The *down* itself is called the *izâr*, or *head-stall of the bridle*, and the curve of the *izâr* is compared to the letters *lâm* ل and *nûn* ن. *Ringlets* trace on the cheek or neck the letter *wâw* و; they are also called *scorpions*, either for their *dark* colour or their agitated movements (2); the *eye* is a *sword;* the *eyelids*, *scabbards;* the *whiteness* of the complexion, *camphor;* and a *mole* or *beauty-spot*, *musk*, which term denotes also *dark hair* (3). A *mole* is sometimes compared also to an *ant* creeping

(1) Fuller information on this subject will be found in a memoir inserted by me in the *Journal Asiatique* for April, 1838.

(2) The author of the *Scholia* on Thucydides, A, § 6, remarks that the word σκορπίος was employed to designate boys' curls.

(3) In a second memoir, which I have inserted in the *Journal Asiatique* for February, 1839, will be found a number of observations relative to these metaphors, with examples.

on the cheek towards the *honey* of the mouth; a *handsome face* is both a *full-moon* and *day; black hair* is *night;* the *waist* is a *willow-branch* or a *lance;* the *water of the face* is *self-respect:* a poet *sells the water of his face* when he bestows mercenary praises on a rich patron devoid of every noble quality.

Some of the verses quoted by Ibn Khallikân are of a nature such as precludes translation. Had they been composed by a female on a youth whom she loved, they would seldom offer any thing objectionable; but as the case is not so, they are utterly repugnant to European readers. Propriety suggested their suppression, but as it was requisite to give an idea of what they are, a few of them have been arrayed, and rather awkwardly, in a Latin garb. It must not, however, be supposed that they are always the produce of a degraded passion; in many cases they were the usual expression of simple friendship and affection, or of those platonic attachments which the translated works of some Greek philosophers first taught the Moslims. Indeed, love and friendship are so closely confounded by them, that they designate both feelings by the same word, and it is not uncommon to meet epistles addressed by one aged doctor to another, and containing sentiments of the strongest kind, but which are the expression of friendship only. It often happens also that a poet describes his mistress under the attributes of the other sex, lest he should offend that excessive prudery of oriental feelings which, since the fourth century of Islamism, scarcely allows an allusion to women, and more particularly in poetry; and this rigidness is still carried so far, that at Cairo public singers dare not amuse their auditors with a song in which the beloved is indicated as a female. Some of those pieces have also a mystic import, as the commentators of Hafiz, Saadi, and Shebisteri have not failed to observe. In the *Journal Asiatique* for February, 1839, will be found a note on this subject inserted by the writer, and Buckingham's Travels in Assyria, vol. I. p. 159 of the 8vo edition, offer some pages in accordance with the opinion there advanced. It cannot however be denied that the feelings which inspired poetry of this kind were not always pure, and that polygamy and jealousy have infected the morals of some eastern nations with the foulest corruption.

Ibn Khallikân drew up his work, A. H. 654 (A. D. 1256), but during the

remainder of his life he continued to improve it by additions and corrections. These alterations are frequently perceptible, even in the translation, their insertion in the text having been effected with so little attention, that in many places they interrupt the primitive narration; this, however, is not considered by Orientals as a defect, their custom being to place all notes and illustrations in the body of the work. The author published new editions of his Biographical Dictionary at different periods, and the latest was followed by the writer in preparing for the press the edition of the Arabic text from which the following translation is made.

The difficulty of rendering a work of this nature into a European language can be appreciated by those only who have made similar essays; the writer had at first the intention of giving it in a French translation, and a portion of his task was already executed when he offered his work to the Oriental Translation Committee; in compliance with their wishes he recommenced it in English, and endeavoured to make it as literal as he possibly could. It is true that the idiomatic expressions peculiar to the Arabic tongue, the scholastic terms and technicalities, the learned allusions and pieces of poetry do not always admit of a close translation; to render them fully, clearly, and exactly is incompatible with conciseness, and it was by paraphrases only that such a task could be accomplished. In some cases, where the text itself required elucidation, the translator has given the necessary information under the form of notes, and he made it his particular care to cope with every difficulty and clear up, if possible, every obscurity. He may not have been always fortunate in his efforts; in some cases he has acknowledged his inability, and perhaps in many more he may have been mistaken; but his constant endeavours to attain correctness will, he hopes, entitle him to the indulgence of Orientalists when they detect his errors.

A number of biographical notices, drawn from original and authentic sources, have been added in the notes, but there still remain in this volume the names of many persons whose lives are not given. For this, three reasons are to be assigned; the first, that in the text of the following volumes, these lives are to be found; the second, that the translator was unable to discover who they were; and the third, that the information which he had obtained respecting them was too slight to merit mention, and he preferred

waiting some time longer, in hopes that further researches might be more successful and lead to results worthy of insertion in an ensuing volume.

The work itself is arranged in alphabetical order, but as the great majority of the persons whose lives it contains are usually designated by a particular surname, it was absolutely necessary that a general index of such appellations should be given; who but an Oriental scholar could know that the life of the poet Abû Tammâm is to be found under the name of Habîb; that of al-Mutanabbi under Ahmad; and that of at-Tabari, the historian, under Muhammad? It is hardly necessary to observe that the Arabic nomenclature of persons is composed - first, of the surname, as Abû Bakr (*the father of Bakr*); then, of the real name, as Ahmad; next, of the patronymic, as Ibn Jarîr (*the son of Jarîr*); and then the ethnic name, as al-Azdi (*belonging to the tribe of Azd*), al-Misri (*native of Misr,* or *Egypt*), etc., to which must be added nicknames derived from some particular circumstance.

The genealogies are sometimes extended to a great length, but it will be perceived, upon examination, that in this the author's design was to point out correctly the descent of the individual from an ancestor who was well known, and these lists will be sometimes found useful for tracing the relationship and affiliation of the Arabic tribes. For the pronunciation of proper names the translator has followed the authority of the *Kâmûs* and ad-Dahabi, and for the names of places the *Marâsid* of as-Soyûti and the *Takwîm al-Buldân* of Abû 'l-Fedâ. The autograph manuscript of Ibn Khallikân, in which every word of doubtful pronunciation is accompanied with the vowel points, was also of the greatest service to the translator, but a portion of this volume had been already printed before he was aware that a document so precious was in existence. On receiving it from the proprietor, Dr. Cureton, to whom he acknowledges himself deeply indebted for so great a favour, he reviewed his translation from the beginning and verified all the points respecting which some doubts were still remaining on his mind; the results have been inserted in the additional notes. Whilst the last part of the volume was in the course of translation, the autograph was constantly consulted, and for the second volume it will be equally useful.

The transcription of Arabic proper names by means of the Roman alphabet

offers great difficulties, and in this part of his task the translator aimed simply at representing the pronunciation of the word as it would strike a European ear: a system liable to many objections had the original text not been published. The *kh* represents the *gh* as pronounced by the Scotch in *daughter*, the Spanish *j*, or the German *ch* pronounced with emphasis. The *gh* is an *r* deprived of its rattling sound; the *a* is to be pronounced as in *man;* the *â* as in *father;* the *i* as in *pin;* the *î* as the *ee* in *been;* the *u* as in *but;* and the *û* as the *oo* in *soon*. The circumflex, serving to mark the long vowels, has been sometimes omitted, either by inadvertence or because the name was so familiar that the presence of such a sign was needless. The names of some places are given according to the corrupt pronunciation current in Europe; thus *Mausil* is written *Mosul; al-Kâhira, Cairo; Halab, Aleppo,* etc.

END OF THE INTRODUCTION.

## IBN KHALLIKAN'S

# BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY.

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## THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

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In the name of God, the Merciful, the Clement (1)! Thus saith the needy suppliant for the mercy of the Most High, Shams ad-dîn Abû 'l-Abbâs Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ibrahîm Ibn Abi-Bakr Ibn Khallikân, follower of the sect of as-Shâfi: ARABIC TEXT, Page 2.

Praise be to God, to whom alone belongeth the attribute of eternal existence; who hath passed on his creatures the doom of death, and prescribed to all living beings a certain term, beyond which they cannot pass when once it is expired; who, in this sentence, hath dealt equally between the noble and the lowly-born, the powerful and the weak: to him do I give praise for his abundant favours and his gifts pure (*from ill*); such praise as a man can offer who avoweth his inability to reach even the lowest strain of (*fitting*) eulogy: I bear witness that there is no god but the only God, who hath no partner (*in his power*); such witness as a man can bear who showeth at all times a sincere heart, and who hopeth in the mercy of his Lord, morning and evening: I bear witness that Muhammad, his servant and apostle, is the most excellent of the prophets, the most noble of the saints; and that it is he

who inviteth to walk in the white path (*of salvation*) : God grant to him and to his family of illustrious princes such blessings as may endure while heaven and earth do last; God be gracious to his wives, and to his holy and pious companions.

The motive which induced me to compose this work, forming an historical compendium, was this: I had always been intent on studying the history of those men of renown who lived before my time; I was desirous of knowing the dates of their birth and death, and of learning who among them lived within the limits of each separate century. The results which I obtained incited me to increase the stock which I had acquired, and to redouble my researches; I applied my mind therefore to the study of works written specially on the subject, and gathered, from the mouths of the masters versed in this science, that information which I could not find in books; I persevered in this pursuit till I had amassed a large quantity of documents roughly drawn up, which contained the events of a great number of years; I had also another portion of these facts impressed on my memory. It so happened, however, that when I had to recur to my notes, I could not find what I sought unless with some difficulty, because they were not regularly arranged; I was therefore obliged to class them, and I adopted the alphabetical order, judging it more convenient than the chronological. In this I made it a rule to give the first place to those names which begin with a *hamza*, and the next to those in which the second letter is a *hamza*, or the nearest to it in order; thus, I put the word *Ibrahîm* before *Ahmad*, because the letter *b* stands nearer to the *hamza* than the letter *h*. This plan I followed up to the last, so that my work might be more easily consulted; it led, however, to the necessity of placing (*in some instances, the life of*) a modern before that of an ancient, and of inserting the name of one person between those of two others who belong to a different class; but the convenience (*I aimed at*) rendered this unavoidable.

I have not assigned a place in this compendium to the companions of Muhammad, or to the *Tâbis* (2); a few only excepted, whose history many persons require to know; neither have I given the lives of the Khalifs, because the numerous works on the subject rendered it unnecessary for me to do so; but

I have made mention of a great number of talented individuals with whom I was acquainted, and who supplied me with some of the information transmitted in this book; or else who lived in my time, but whom I never saw: (*my object in this was*) to make known to the future generation the circumstances of their life.

I have not limited my work to the history of any one particular class of persons, as learned men, princes, emirs, vizirs, or poets; but I have spoken of all those whose names are familiar to the public, and about whom questions are frequently asked; I have, however, related the facts I could ascertain respecting them in a concise manner, lest my work should become too voluminous; I have fixed, with all possible exactness, the dates of their birth and death; I have traced up their genealogy as high as I could; I have marked down the orthography of those names which are liable to be written incorrectly; and I have cited the traits which may best serve to characterize each individual, such as noble actions, singular anecdotes, verses, and letters, so that the reader may derive amusement from my work, and find it not exclusively of such a uniform cast as would prove tiresome; for the most effectual inducement to reading a book arises from the variety of its style.

My work thus formed, it was incumbent on me to begin it with a short invocation, intended to conciliate Divine favour; this, joined to the rest, made up the present volume, which I designed as a help to my memory, and which I intitled: *Book of the Deaths of eminent Men, and History of the Sons of the*
3 *epoch; drawn from written sources and oral traditions, or ascertained by personal observation;* by this I intended that the contents of the work should be denoted by the title alone. If any person possessing information on the subject I have treated; perceive faults in this book, he will do a meritorious action in correcting them after due verification (3); for I myself have spared no pains in drawing from works of established repute for accuracy, and have never, through carelessness, cited extracts from doubtful authorities; on the contrary, I have done all that lay in my power to attain correctness.

I put this work in order in the year 654 (A. D. 1256), at Cairo, though

taken up by other avocations, and living under circumstances unfavourable to such a task. The reader ought therefore to excuse me, and consider that it was the motive I stated which induced me to undertake it, and that no vain fancy could ever have inspired my mind with the absurd idea of ranking among authors: a current proverb says, *There are men for each business;* and how could such an honour happen to me, who have but a limited share of information in this science? Besides, he who boasts of a talent with which he is not gifted, is like one who arrays himself in the garb (4) of falsehood. God preserve us from falling into the gulfs of error, and grant us, through his grace and bounty, that surest safeguard, the knowledge of our real abilities. Amen.

(1) In translating this well known expression, which the Moslims place at the beginning of all their books, I have taken az-Zamakhshari for my guide; in his commentary on the Koran, this writer makes the following remark: " The word *Rahmân* denotes a more extensive idea than *Rahîm;* for this reason, people say (in speaking of God): " *the Merciful (ar-Rahmân) in this world and in the next;*" and " *the Clement (ar-Rahîm) in this world!*"

(2) The word *Tâbi* means *a follower;* it is employed especially to denote a Moslim who had met with some of the companions of Muhammad, but had never seen Muhammad himself.

(3) This inconsiderate authorization of changing and correcting, is the main cause of the numerous discrepancies between the manuscripts of Ibn Khallikân's work.

(4) The word ثوبان, dual of ثوب *(garment)*, is employed, here and elsewhere, to signify *a suit of clothes*—See de Sacy's *Hariri*, p. 65, l. 15. As the clothing of the ancient Arabs consisted of an ازار *(izâr,* tied round the waist) and a رداء *(ridâ,* thrown over the shoulders), the dual number is very naturally made use of to denote the entire dress.

# BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY.

## IBRAHIM AN-NAKHAÏ.

Abû Imrân, surnamed also Abû Ammâr, Ibrahîm Ibn Yazid Ibn al-Aswad Ibn Amr Ibn Rabia Ibn Hâritha Ibn Saad Ibn Mâlik Ibn an-Nakha an Nakhaï, native of Kûfa, and a celebrated imam and doctor, was one of the *Tâbis*. Though he had seen and visited Aâisha *(widow of Muhammad)*, there exist no authentic traditions received by him from her: he died A. H. 95 or 96 (A. D. 713-4), aged 49, some say 58, but the first number is correct. When the death of an-Nakhaï drew near, he was sorely troubled in spirit, and being spoken to about it, said: "What peril can be greater than mine? I must expect a messenger from my Lord, sent to announce to me either paradise or hell! I declare solemnly I would rather remain as I am now, with (*my soul* (1)) struggling in my throat, till the day of resurrection (*than undergo such a hazard*)". His mother, Mulaika, daughter of Yazid Ibn Kais, was sister to al-Aswad Ibn Yazid an-Nakhaï (2), who was therefore maternal uncle to Ibrahim.—*Nakhaï* means *belonging to an-Nakha*, which is a great branch of the tribe of Madhij, in Yamen; an-Nakha's name was Jasr Ibn Amr Ibn Olla Ibn Khâlid Ibn Mâlik Ibn Odad; he was surnamed an-Nakha, because he had removed far away, *intakhaa*, from his people: this tribe has produced a great number of remarkable men. Others have given a different genealogy of an-Nakha, but the one here given is correct; it is taken from Ibn al-Kalbi's *Jamharat an-Nisab* (Universal Genealogist).

(1) In the original Arabic, the word نفسى *my soul*, is understood; two similar cases occur in the Koran: See Flügel's edition; *Surat*, LVI, verse 82; and s., LXXV, v. 26.

(2) Abû Amr al-Aswad Ibn Yazid Ibn Kais an-Nakhaï, one of the *Tâbis*: in his youth, he saw the Khalifs Abû

## ABU ISHAK AL-ISFARAÏNI.

The master Abû Ishak Ibrahîm Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ibrahîm Ibn Mihrân al-Isfarâini, surnamed Rokn ad-dîn (*column of religion*) doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, was an able divine in scholastic and dogmatic theology. The hâkim Abû Abd Allah (1) has spoken of him in these terms: "The generality of the shaikhs of "Naisâpûr took lessons from him in theology, and his learning was acknow-"ledged by the people of Irak and Khorasan; he is the author of some impor-"tant works; among others that great one entitled: *Jâmi 'l-Jalî,* a treatise "on the dogmas of religion, and a refutation of the impious, which I have "seen in five volumes. The kadi Abû 't-Tayib at-Tabari, being at Isfarâin, took "lessons from him in the principles of jurisprudence, and it was for him that "the celebrated college of Naisâpûr was founded (2)." Abû 'l-Hasan Abd al-Ghâfir al-Fârisi cites his name in his continuation of the History of Naisâpûr, and speaks of him thus: "He was one of those learned men who attained the rank "of *Mujtahid* (3) by reason of his profound knowledge in the sciences, and of "his possessing all the necessary qualifications for being an imam (or chief of a "sect). This doctor, the ornament of the East, used to say: 'I wish I may "die at Naisâpûr, so that all its inhabitants may pray over me:' and it was "there he died, on the 10th Muharram, A. H. 418 (A. D. 1027). His body was "afterwards removed to Isfarâin, where it was buried in the chapel which bears "his name." The shaikh Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Koshairi frequented his lessons, and the hâfiz Abû Bakr al-Baihaki, and other writers, quote frequently in their works traditions derived from him. He had heard the lectures of Abû Bakr al-Ismâili (4), in Khorasan; those of Abû Muhammad Dâlaj Ibn Ahmad as-Sajazi (5), in Irak; and also those of their contemporaries. We shall speak of Isfarâin in the article on the shaikh Abû Hâmid Ahmad Ibn Muhammad al-Isfarâini.

(1) The Life of the hâkim Abû Abd Allah will be found amongst those of the *Muhammads*.

(2) This is an important fact for the literary history of the Moslims; it being generally supposed that their first college was founded at Baghdad, by Nizâm al-Mulk, A. H. 459 (A. D. 1066).

(3) Those doctors who followed the opinions of no other sect, but judged for themselves, were called *Mujtahid*. (De Sacy's *Chrestomathie Arabe*, t. I, p. 169).

(4) Abû Bakr Ahmad Ibn Ibrahîm Ibn Ismaîl Ibn al-Abbâs al-Ismaîli, one of the great doctors of the sect of as-Shâfi, was highly celebrated for his writings and his knowledge of the law and the traditions, a great quantity of which he picked up in his travels. He composed: 1, A Commentary on the *Jâmi Sahîh*, or *Collection*

*of authentic Traditions*, by Termedi; 2, a *Mojam*, معجم which treated probably of the *traditionists*, and the right orthography of their names; 3, a *Musnad*, or Collection of Traditions traced up to the Khalif Omar مسند عمر; a correct and excellent work, but voluminous. Ismaili had for pupils his son, Abû Saad, and all the doctors of Jorjân; he died in Rajab, A. H. 371 (A. D. 982), aged 94 years. (*Tabakât as-Shâfyin. Tab. al-Fokahâ. Abulfedæ Annales*, tom. II, p. 551.)

(5) The imam Abû Muhammad Dalaj Ibn Ahmad as-Sajazi (*of Sejestan*), celebrated mufti and first *traditionist* of his day. This doctor was also an extensive trader, and became the richest merchant of his time by his commercial expeditions. Part of his wealth was employed in founding annuities for deserving persons in Mekka, Irak, and Sejestan: he was particularly liberal to men of learning. He died A. H. 351 (A. D. 962), aged 91. Dârakutni, a celebrated doctor, relates that Dalaj bought the house in Mekka which belonged to al-Abbâs, uncle of Muhammad, for thirty thousand dinars. (Yâfi's *Mirâât al-janân;* Man., No. 637, *fol.* 264, *verso*.).

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## ABU ISHAK AS-SHIRAZI.

The shaikh Abû Ishak Ibrahîm Ibn Ali Ibn Yûsuf as-Shîrâzi al-Fîrûzabâdi, surnamed Jamâl ad-dîn (*beauty of religion*), dwelt in Baghdad, and studied jurisprudence under many eminent men; he was an assiduous pupil of Abû 't-Tayib at-Tabari, and profited by his lessons, he then acted as his substitute, and was appointed by him director of repetitions (or *under-tutor*) of the class; after which he became the first imam of his time in Baghdad. Nizâm al-Mulk, having founded the college (called *Nizâmiyah*) in that city, offered its direction to Abû Ishak; and, on his refusal, appointed to that place Abû Nasr Ibn as-Sabbâgh, author of the *Shâmil;* this doctor filled the situation for a short period; then Abû Ishak consented to accept it, and held it till his death: I have given the details relating to this in the life of Ibn as-Sabbâgh, to which I therefore refer the reader. Abû Ishak wrote a number of instructive and useful books, such as the *Muhaddab*, a treatise on the doctrines of his sect; the *Tanbîh*, or Call, a work on jurisprudence; the *Loma*, or Glimpses, with a commentary, wherein the dogmas of religion are treated of; the *Nokat*, or shrewd Devices on controversial subjects; the *Tabsirah*, or Monitor; the *Maûnah*, or Succour; the *Talkhîs*, or Summary, a Treatise on Dialectics, etc. The number of those who profited by his instruction was very great. He composed some good poetry, of which I shall give the following verses:

I asked of men: Where is a true friend to be found? Their answer was: To such there is no way;—cling, if thou canst, to the robe of the noble-minded; for the man of noble mind is seldom met with in the world.

It is related by the shaikh Abû Bakr Muhammad at-Tortûsi (whose life shall be given later), that a clever poet of Baghdad, called Aâsim, made the following pretty verses in praise of Abû Ishak (to whom God be merciful):

Thou seest his body worn away by his active mind; it bears the marks of that ardour which fires his soul; when the human mind is great with lofty thoughts, a body lean and worn is no disgrace.

Abû Ishak was a man of the utmost devotion, and rigidly attentive to his religious duties: his merits were countless. He was born at Fîrûzabâd, A. H. 393 (A. D. 1003), and died in Baghdad on the eve of Sunday, 21st of the second Jumâda (according to as-Samâni in his *Zail,* but others say the first Jumâda), A. H. 476 (A. D. 1083), and was buried the next morning in the cemetery at the gate of Abrez. The following elegy was made on his death by Ibn Nâkiyâ, whose life will be found among those of the *Abd Allahs:*

A fatal event hath struck our eyes with consternation (1) and hath caused our tears to flow mingled with blood! What hath happened to fortune? She cannot collect her strength, since the loss of her favoured son, Abû Ishak. Say: He is dead! but his memory hath not died; it will live and endure while Time doth run his course.

Muhibb ad-dîn Ibn an-Najjar (2) mentions Abû Ishak in his History of Baghdad, and speaks of him in these terms: "He was the imam of the sect of as-Shâfi, and "one of those men of merit whose reputation spread abroad; in learning and "self-denial he excelled every person of his time; and most of the learned in the "great cities were his pupils. Born and bred at the town of Fîrûzabâd, in the "province of Fâris, he went to Shirâz, where he studied under Abû Abd Allah "al-Baidâwi (3) and Ibn Râmin (4); from thence he proceeded to Basrah, where "he had al-Jâwzi (5) for master; in the month of Shawwâl, A. H. 415, he en- "tered Baghdad to study under Abû 't-Tayib at-Tabari. He was born A. H. 393."

6 "I asked him," said Abû Abd Allah al-Humaidi, "the date of his birth, and "he mentioned to me some circumstances which point out the year 396 (A. D. "1006), as he said that he set out to travel in search of learning in the year "410 (6), and went to Shirâz: others however place his birth in 395, but God "knows it best." On his death, his pupils sat in solemn mourning in the *Nizâmiyah* college, and after that ceremony, Muwyyad al-Mulk, son of Nizâm

al-Mulk, appointed Abû Saad al-Mutawalli to the vacant place, but when Nizâm al-Mulk heard of it, he wrote to disapprove of that nomination, adding that the college should be shut up during a year, on account of Abû Ishak's death; he then blamed the person who had undertaken to fill his place, and ordered the sheikh Ibn as-Sabbâgh to profess in his stead. — " *Fîrûzabâd* is a town in the " province of Fâris, and it is believed by some to be the same city which is " called Jûr;" so says Abû Saad as-Samâni in his work the *Ansâb*: some persons pronounce the name of this town *Fairûzabâd*.

(1) The expression قام قيامته is very frequently used by later writers; it signifies literally: *the day of his resurrection is come;* which means that his trouble and consternation are as great as if the day of judgment were already present. (See other examples in Macrizi's *Histoire des Mamlouks*, t. I, p. 95). The Persians use the word رستخيز in a similar sense.

(2) The hâfiz Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Mahmûd Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Hibat Allah Ibn al-Muhâsin, surnamed Ibn an-Najjâr, was born at Baghdad A. H. 578 (A. D. 1183); at the age of ten he began to learn the traditions. and when he had reached his fifteenth year, he was able to continue his studies without assistance طلب بنفسه After having learned a great number of traditions and mastered the seven different manners of reading the Koran قرا بالسبع, he undertook a long journey, and spent twenty-seven years in visiting Syria, Egypt, Hijâz, and the cities of Ispahân, Harrân, Herât, and Naisapûr; during his travels he carefully noted down whatever information he could collect from the illustrious and the obscure, from the high and the low كتب عن من دب ودرج ونزل وعرج He was a man of deep and extensive knowledge, humble and pious, remarkable for his self-denial and holy life. He died, A. H. 643 (A. D. 1245), at Baghdad, and was interred in the cemetery of *the Martyrs*, مقابر الشهداء by the gate of Harb. The best known of his works is the Supplement, in sixteen volumes, to the History of Baghdad by the *Khatîb* Abû Bakr Ahmad al-Baghdâdi. Ibn Kâdi Shohba, who has furnished us with most of the above details, gives a list of sixteen other works by the same author. *(Tabakât as-Shâfyin.* See also Hamaker's *Specimen Catalogi, etc.*, p. 247; and *Bibliothèque Orient.*, NAGGIAR.)

(3) Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al-Baidâwi, doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, was born at al-Baidâ, a large town in the district of Istakhar, eight parasangs from Shîrâz. He studied jurisprudence in the city of Amol, and then went to Baghdad, where he received lessons from Abû Hâmid al-Isferâini and other celebrated doctors, and became himself professor and mufti. He was well learned in the doctrines of his sect, and skilled in controversy, logic, and dogmatic theology. He died suddenly at Baghdad, A. H. 424 (A. D. 1033).—Among other celebrated men born at al-Baidâ, was the kâdi Nasr ad-din Abû 'l-Khair Abd Allah Ibn Omar al-Baidâwi, author of the well known Commentary on the Koran: he died at Shîrâz, A. H. 691 (A. D. 1292). (*Tab. as-Shâfyin, Tab. al-Fokâhâ*).

(4) The shaikh Abû Ahmad Abd al-Wahhâb Ibn Muhammad Ibn Omar Ibn Muhammad Ibn Râmîn, native of Baghdad, and pupil of the celebrated ad-Dâraki; he was deeply learned in jurisprudence and dogmatic theology, on which latter subject he wrote some esteemed works. Died A. H. 430 (A. D. 1039).

(5) I have as yet met with no information respecting this doctor.

(6) It appears by this that students began to travel at the age of fourteen or fifteen: after having acquired whatever instruction their native place could afford, they went to different countries, studying successively in each, under doctors and professors of repute; they sometimes continued this wandering life for many years.

## THE KHATIB ABU ISHAK AL-IRAKI.

Abû Ishak Ibrahîm Ibn Mansûr Ibn Musallam, native of Egypt and doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, known also by the name of al-Irâki (*native of Irak*), was a preacher (*khatîb*) of the great mosque (*of Amr*) in Old Cairo, and a talented jurisconsult; he wrote a good commentary in ten volumes on the *Muhaddab* by Abû Ishak Shîrâzi. Though not a native of Iràk, he was called so, because he had travelled to Baghdad, and studied there for some time: when in that city, he took lessons in jurisprudence from Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn al-Hosain al-Ormâwi (1), one of Abû Ishak Shîrâzi's disciples, and from Abû 'l-Hasan Muhammad Ibn al-Mubârik, surnamed Ibn al-Khall, native of Baghdad. In his own country, he studied jurisprudence under the kadi Abû 'l-Maâli al-Mujalli Ibn Jumaiya (whose life shall be given later); when in Baghdad, he was called al-Misri (the Egyptian), but he got the name of al-Irâki on his return to Egypt. He is said to have related that his master, Ibn al-Khall, recited to him, in Baghdad, the following verses, but without naming their author:

> Falsehood is rendered pleasing if clothed in gilded terms; and Truth may sometimes assume a repulsive form: in praising honey, you may say: This is the saliva (2) of the bee; in blaming, call it: the ejection of the wasp. Describe it with such blame and praise as this, and you do not exaggerate: elegant language can make darkness appear like light.

Al-Irâki was born at Old Cairo, A. H. 510 (A. D. 1116); he died in that city on Thursday, 21st of the first Jumâda, A. H. 596 (A. D. 1200), and was buried at the foot of mount Mukattam. He had a son of great talent and merit, named Abû Muhammed Abd al-Hukm, who became preacher of the mosque on the death of his father, and composed some good sermons and pleasing poetry, of which the following verses may be cited; they were written on Imâd ad-dîn Ibn Jibrîl, commonly called Ibn Akhi 'l-Ilm, chief of the treasury-office in Cairo, who had shattered his hand by a fall:

> Imad Ibn Jibrîl has a hand which bears an evil mark; though given to thieving, it had as yet escaped a tardy amputation; but a fracture has happened to it now which will not be readily healed.

He wrote other verses in the same style of originality as the preceding, which 7 I have, however, since met with in the poetical works of Jaafar Ibn Shams al-Khilâfa (whose life shall be given later); so that I cannot decide to which author

they belong. Abd al-Hukm composed the following verses on a man condemned to death (*for murder*), and who was shot dead by the person authorized to take blood-revenge; the arrow striking him in the heart: (3)

From the heart (*the middle*) of the bow you expelled its son (*the arrow*); and the bow sighed; for a mother will sigh when separated from her child: but the bow was not aware that the arrow you shot off would merely pass from one heart to another.

The idea expressed in the first of these verses was taken from the following lines, composed by a native of Maghreb:

No doubt of my affliction when my friends depart; on that day of separation when I and sadness shall be (*inseparable*) brothers! The very bow, though formed of wood, utters a sigh when forced to send away its arrow.

The idea in Abd al-Hukm's second verse is taken from a poem rhyming in *m*, by Omarat al-Yamani, and of which we shall speak hereafter in that person's life: al-Yamani, having come from Mekka to Egypt, composed this poem in praise of the reigning prince, al-Fâiz Isa Ibn Zâfir al-Obaidi, and of his vizir, Sâlih Talâiya Ibn Ruzzik (whose Lives will be found in this work); in the course of the poem, he lauds in these terms the camels which had borne him to Egypt:

They went forth at eve from the Kaaba of al-Bathâ and the Harem (4), to visit the Kaaba of generosity and nobleness. Did the temple know that, on leaving it, I should only pass from one harem (*sanctuary*) to another?

The following verses are also by Abd al-Hukm:

When my beloved perceived my eyes pour forth their tears, she pressed me to restore the pearls which had adorned her neck: astonished (*then at her mistake*) she smiled; and I said to my friend: That which she thought lost is in her mouth.

This idea is taken from the following piece of verse, composed by Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Atiya, better known as Ibn az-Zakkâk, native of Valentia, in Spain:

A fawn (*-like nymph*) passed round the cups at dawn; the morning brightened up, and still she pushed them round; the flowery mead offered us its anemones, and the scented myrtles now began to breathe. "Where," said I, "are the white blossoms of the anthemis?" My companion answered: "I deposed them in the mouth of her who fills my cup." She who poured out the wine denied the charge; but her smiles betrayed her, and she blushed with confusion.

Safi ad-dîn Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Ali, commonly called Ibn Shukr, vizir of al-Malik al-Aâdil Ibn Aiyûb, having taken from Abd al-Hukm the place of preacher in the mosque of Old Cairo, this poet wrote him the following lines:

To what door shall I repair for refuge, if not to thine? from whom can I expect liberality, if not from thee? All paths and ways are closed up against me, except that which leads towards thee; direct me then how to act. It seems as if the (*hospitable*) doors of other men had become (*one single door,*) thy door! It seems as if thou alone wert all the human race!

8 The thought in this last verse is borrowed from the poet as-Salâmi, who says:

I encouraged my hopes with the prospect of dominion, (*and*) all mankind (*my subjects*); the world was to be my palace; and eternity, one day of my reign!

We shall speak of the poem from which this verse is taken, in the Life of Adad ad-Dawlat (*Fennâkhosrû*) Ibn Buwaih, under the letter *F*.—The following verses were pronounced by Abd al-Hokm when he first unveiled his bride:

When the charms of the bride were disclosed to my eyes, she hid her face with her hand, on which was graven a net-work tracery (5). "Your efforts to hide your countenance will not now avail," said I; "when has a net hid the light of the sun?"

By the same:

At the feast, where we spent the night in pleasure, it seemed as if we were borne asleep upon the waters; over us were the constellations; under us, the boat; in those, stars: in this, full-moons (6).

By the same:

Proceed gently! all affairs admit delay: do you, who are a lion, fear to be insulted? If you dwelt in Egypt, you would be a Nile (*spreading abundance*)! If you went to Syria, you would be a fertilizing shower!

This author was born on Sunday eve, 19th of the first Jumadâ, A. H. 563 (A. D. 1168); he died at Old Cairo, on the morning of the 28th Shaabân, A. H. 613 (A. D. 1216), and was buried at the foot of mount Mukattam. A great deal of his poetry, and all of an agreeable cast, was recited to me by his son. The Imâd ad-dîn, above-mentioned, bore the name of Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Abi 'l-Amana Jibrîl Ibn al-Moghaira Ibn Sultân Ibn Nîma; he was a worthy man, and celebrated for his great integrity in the fulfilment of his duty; he had been employed most part of his life in different government-offices at Old Cairo and Alexandria. Born A. H. 558 (A. D. 1163); died at Cairo, the 5th of Shaabân, A. H. 637 (A. D. 1240).

(1) The imam and jurisconsult Abû Bakr Muhammad al-Ormawi (*native of Ormiya* in Aderbijân) was a pupil of the celebrated Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi. Died A. H. 537 (A. D. 1142). (*Tab. al-Fokehâ.*)

(2) It may appear strange that such a word as this should be thought compatible with an elegant style: the fact is, however, that it is often employed by Arabic writers; and the Moslim poet, in describing the pleasures of love, never fails vaunting the intoxicating draughts imbibed from the honeyed lips of his mistress.

(3) Literally: *in the liver.* The Arabic word signifies also that part of the bow which is equally distant from the two extremities: there is a play upon this double meaning in the verses immediately following.

(4) Al-Bathâ, *the gravelly,* is the name of the valley in which Mekka is built; the Harem is the sacred territory of Mekka; the Kaaba is the temple of that city, towards which all the Moslims turn when saying their prayers; a *Kaaba of generosity* means a noble and liberal patron, on whom all eyes are fixed with hope.

(5) Among the Arab women it is still customary to tattoo the hands and arms.

(6) In this verse, the poet plays upon the double meaning of the word *Aflâk*, which signifies *the constellations of the zodiac* and *ships;* by the *full moons,* he designates his fair companions, the partners in his pleasures.

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## ABU ISHAK ZAHIR AD-DIN.

Abû Ishak Ibrahîm Ibn Nasr Ibn Askar, surnamed Zahîr ad-dîn (*support of religion*), doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, kâdi of Sallâmiya, and native of Mosul, is thus spoken of by Ibn ad-Dobaithi in his History (1): "Abû Ishak, native of Mosul, "studied jurisprudence in that city under the kâdi Abû Abd Allah al-Hosain Ibn "Nasr Ibn Khamîs, native of the same place, from whom he learned the traditions: "having then travelled to Baghdad, he took lessons from a number of masters, "and returned to his native place. He became kâdi of Sallâmiya, a town in the "dependency of Mosul, and he taught, when in Irbil (*Arbela*), a portion of the "works of Abû 'l-Barakât Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Muhammad al-Anbâri, the gram- "marian, under whom he had studied at Baghdad, along with many natives of "that city." This talented jurisconsult was originally from Sindiya, in Irak; he studied law at the Nizâmiya college in Baghdad; he learned and taught the traditions, and filled, for a long time, the place of kadi in Sallâmiya. His reigning passion was poetry, and his verses, the following for instance, are very pleasing:

> Oh, my friends! call me not a man of perfidy; no perfidy is in my character. I swear—by the days of my life which have passed away, and by those joys which have departed—that I have been always constant in my promised friendship, and that the ties of my attachment have never yet been broken. **9**

By the same:

> The bounty of a generous man, promised but long delayed, is never pure from alloy. Vain and useless are the lightnings from the cloud, if it withholds its promised showers. He who defers fulfilling his promise merits blame, though his hands should lavish riches after the long delay. Oh, tree of bounty! the man must not be blamed who shakes thy branches when he needs thy fruit.

In a village called al-Bawâzij, near Sallâmiya, was a convent inhabited by a fraternity of dervishes, under a sheikh named Mekki, upon whom the following verses were made by Abû Ishak :

> Go bear to Mekki this word of good counsel; for good counsel merits attention: when was it taught, as a point of religion, that the (*pursuit of*) riches is a precept inculcated by Muhammad, and therefore to be followed? (*When was it taught*) that a man should eat with the voracity of a camel, and leap about in the conventicle till he fall. Were he hungry, were his stomach empty, he would neither whirl round for joy nor listen to musicians. They say: We are intoxicated with the love of the Divinity! But that which intoxicates the fraternity is draughts (*of the wine cup*). The ass in a rich pasture acts as they; when its thirst and hunger are satisfied, it skips about.

Abû 'l-Barakât Ibn al-Mastawfi mentions his name with eulogium in the History of Arbela, and cites numerous extracts from his works, and from the letters he received from him: the katib Imâd ad-dîn also speaks of him in the *Kharîda* (2), as a young man of talent. The following verses are his:

> I said to her: Unite me to thee in the bonds of love! but she turned away her head as if I had asked her to commit a crime. If she reject my love through fear of sinning (*she should reflect*) that it is a grievous sin to cause (*by a cruel refusal*) the death of a Moslim.

This writer died at Sallâmiya, on Thursday, the 3rd of the second Rabi, A. H. 610 (A. D. 1213): he had a son whom I met at Aleppo, and who recited to me a great deal of his own and of his father's poetry: he wrote verses well, and hit upon fine ideas. Sallâmiya was a village on the east bank of the Tigris, a day's journey lower down than Mosul, which stands on the west bank: the town of Sallâmiya, in which Zahîr ad-dîn was kâdi, is now in ruins, and a new village of the same name has been founded in the neighbourhood.

(1) This work of as-Ibn Dobaithi is a continuation of the History of Baghdad by Abû Saad ad-Samâni, which is itself a Supplement to the celebrated work composed by Abû Bakr Ahmad, surnamed al-Khatib al-Baghdâdi: the lives of these writers will be found in this work.

(2) See MS. of the *Bibliothèque du Roi*, No. 1414, *fol.* 191, *verso*.

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## IBRAHIM IBN AL-MAHDI.

Abû Ishak Ibrahîm Ibn al-Mahdi Ibn Abi Jaafar al-Mansûr Ibn Muhammad Ibn 10 Ali Ibn Abd-Allah Ibn al-Abbâs Ibn Abd al-Muttalib al-Hâshimi (*descended from*

*Hâshim, grandfather to Muhammad*), brother to Harûn ar-Rashîd. This prince had great talent as a singer, and an able hand on musical instruments; he was also an agreeable companion at parties of pleasure. Being of a dark complexion which he inherited from his mother Shikla or Shakla (who was a negress), and of a large frame of body, he received the name of *at-Tinnîn* (*the dragon*). He was a man of great merit and a perfect scholar, possessed of an open heart and a generous hand; his like had never before been seen among the sons of khalifs, none of whom spoke with more propriety and elegance, or composed verses with greater ability. He was proclaimed khalif at Baghdad some time after A. H. 200, during the absence of al-Mâmûn (*the reigning khalif*) in Khorasan; (the history of that event is well known) (1); and he continued for two years khalif in that city: at-Tabari says, in his Annals, that the reign of Ibrahim lasted one year, eleven months, and twelve days. The cause which induced the people to renounce allegiance to al-Mâmûn and proclaim Ibrahîm khalif, was the conduct of the former, who during his stay in Khorasan, appointed for his successor Ali Ibn Mûsa ar-Rida, whose life shall be given in the letter *Ain*. This choice being highly displeasing to (*the members of the reigning family*) the Abbasides (2), who were in Baghdad, they proclaimed Ibrahîm, uncle to al-Mâmûn, khalif, under the title of al-Mubârak (the Blessed); this took place on Tuesday, 25th Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 201 (June, A. D. 817). The Abbasides of Baghdad began first by making a secret promise of allegiance to Ibrahîm, and the inhabitants of the city took a similar engagement the 1st Muharram, 202 (July 20th, A. D. 817), pronouncing at the same time the deposition of al-Mâmûn; then, on Friday, 5th Muharram, they published their resolution, and Ibrahîm mounted the pulpit (3). Al-Mâmûn, on appointing Ali Ibn Mûsa for his successor, had ordered the public to cease wearing black, which was the distinctive colour of the Abbasides, and to put on green (*which colour was appropriated to the family of Ali and their partisans*): this gave also great dissatisfaction to the Abbasides, and was one of the motives which provoked their enmity towards al-Mâmûn: the wearing of black was re-established on Thursday, 29th Zû 'l-Kaada, 207 (May, A. D. 823); the reason which rendered this change necessary is given by at-Tabari in his Annals (4). On al-Mâmûn's setting out for Baghdad from Khorasan, Ibrahîm became apprehensive for his personal safety, and concealed himself; this was on Wednesday, 16th Zû 'l-Hijja, 203 (June, A. D. 819); before which took place

many events long to relate, and which I have no space to record in this abridgment (5). Al-Mâmûn made his entry into Baghdad on Sunday, 15th Safar, 204 (August, 819). At the time when Ibrahîm concealed himself, the poet Dibil al-Khozâï made the following verses on him :

> The son of Shakla and his gang raised tumults in Irak; then every fool and villain flew to join him! Were Ibrahîm fit to reign, the empire had devolved by right to Muhârik, to Zulzul, and to Mârik! Must it be?—but no! 'tis impossible! Must the patrimony of the khalifs pass from one reprobate to another?

Muhârik, Zulzul, and Mârik, the persons mentioned in the foregoing verses, were public singers of that time. The history of Ibrahim's adventures is long (*to relate*) and well known (6) (*so we shall merely cite the following incident of his life, and give it in his own words*): " Al-Mâmûn said to me, on my going " to see him after having obtained pardon: 'Is it thou who art the negro " khalif?' to which I replied: 'Commander of the Faithful! I am he whom " thou hast deigned to pardon; and it has been said by the slave of the 11 " Banû 'l-Hashâs (7):

> 'When men extol their worth, the slave of the family of Hashâs can supply, by ' his verses, the defect of birth and fortune.
>
> 'Though I be a slave, my soul, through its noble nature, is free; though my body be ' dark, my mind is fair.

" To this al-Mâmûn replied : 'Uncle! a jest of mine has put you in a serious " mood.' He then spoke these verses:

> 'Blackness of skin cannot degrade an ingenious mind, or lessen the worth of the ' scholar and the wit. Let darkness claim the colour of your body; I claim as mine ' your fair and candid soul.' "

A modern poet, Ibn Kalâkis, whose life we shall give, has versified the same thought, with some additions of his own, and expressed it most happily; his words are:

> There are females dark in skin, but in conduct clear and pure; whose presence would induce the (*white*) camphor to envy the (*black*) musk: 'tis thus with the pupil of the eye; men think it black, though merely (*concentrated*) light.

The khalif al-Motasim, successor of al-Mâmûn, was one day seated on his throne, having on his right al-Abbâs, son to al-Mâmûn, and on his left Ibrahîm Ibn al-Mahdi, when the latter began playing with a ring he held in his hand; " What ring is that?" said al-Abbâs; " It is a ring," replied Ibrahîm, " which

"I pledged during the reign of your father (8), but which I redeemed only in the "reign of the Commander of the Faithful (*here present*)." "By Allah!" answered al-Abbâs, "since you are ungrateful to my father, who spared your "life notwithstanding the enormity of your crime, you will not be thankful to "the Commander of the Faithful for having redeemed your ring." The other was silenced by this retort. Ibrahîm's adventures form a very long narrative which is related by historians, I, however, have abridged his history, and indicated the leading points only; but at-Tabari and others have given it in full. When al-Mâmûn got Ibrahîm in his power, he consulted the vizir Ahmad Ibn Abi Khâlid al-Ahwal (9) as to what should be done with the prisoner, and received this answer: "Commander of the Faithful! if you punish him with "death, you will have your like (*among sovereigns*), but if you forgive him, "you will be peerless." Ibrahîm was born about the first of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 162 (July, A. D. 779); and died at Sarr-man-râa, on Friday, 7th Ramadân, 224 (July, A. D. 839); funeral prayers were read over him by his nephew al-Motasim. Al-Jauhari (*the lexicographer*) mentions in his *Sahâh*, under the word *raa*, six different manners of writing *Serr-men-raa*, *viz*: Sorr-man-râa, Sarr-man-râa, Sorr-min-râi, Sarr-min-râi, Sâa-man-râa, and Samarrâ; which last, with the final syllable lengthened, has been employed by al-Bohtori, in this verse: "And you placed it as a leading mark at Samarrâi." I know not, however, if this pronunciation be in use, or if the poet only adopted it from necessity (*on account of the measure of the verse, which here requires a long final syllable*). This city, which is situated in Irak, was built by al-Motasim in the year 220 (A. D. 835); in it is the cavern from which the Imamites expect the coming forth of the *twelfth* Imam (10), whose life shall be given in the letter *M*.

(1) See *Abulfedæ Annales*, t. II, p. 117.

(2) It must be recollected that the number of persons descended from al-Abbâs amounted, in A. H. 200, to 33,000, according to a census made by al-Mâmûn. (Ibn al-Athîr. Abû 'l-Fadâ.)

(3) During more than three centuries it was customary for the khalifs to pronounce, in person, the *Khotba*, or declaration of faith, from the pulpit every Friday; Ibrahîm, in mounting the pulpit, had thus openly assumed the functions of khalif. The details of this revolt are to be found in the Annals of Abû 'l-Fadâ; see also, in the *Bibliothèque Orientale*, the article Mamoun.

(4) The entire original text of at-Tabari is not to be found in the *Bibliothèque du Roi*; but Ibn al-Athîr, who has often copied him *verbatim* in his Annals, furnishes us with the following passage: "In the year 207 took "place the revolt of Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Ahmad Ibn Abd-Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Omar Ibn Ali Ibn Abi "Tâlib, in the country of the tribe of Akk, situated in the province of Yemen. He called on the people to

" adopt the Rida *(the accepted of God)* of the family of Muhammad." (Indeed every Abbaside who revolted against the Omaiyades, and every member of the family of Ali who revolted against the Abbasides, represented himself as a lieutenant of that mysterious person *the Rida*, who was of course unknown to the uninitiated, and in some cases was the very individual who headed the insurrection). " The cause of this revolt " was the unjust conduct of the government agents in Yemen, which obliged the people to proclaim Abd " ar-Rahmân. When news of this came to Al-Mâmûn, he sent against him Dinâr Ibn Abd-Allah, with a " numerous army, and gave him also letters of pardon for the rebel. Dinâr, after visiting the great fair of " Mekka, and performing the pilgrimage, marched towards Yemen, and sent the pardon to Abd ar-Rahmân, " who accepted it, and submitted to the authority of al-Mâmûn, by placing his hand in that of Dinâr, " who brought him to al-Mamûn. On account of this *(revolt)* al-Mâmûn forbid the members of the " family of Ali to enter into his presence, and ordered them to wear black: this took place the 28th Zû'l-" Kaada." (Ibn al-Athir's *Kâmil*, Arabic MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, under the year 207.)

(5) Those events are related by Abû l'-Fadâ in his Annals.

(6) During the time of Ibrahîm's concealment, he had a number of hair-breadth escapes, and the history of his disguises and adventures is very amusing; but it has not, as yet, been translated into any European language: M. Humbert, of Geneva, has given however the Arabic text of it in his *Analecta Arabica;* and M. Caussin de Perceval intends publishing a French translation of the *Kitâb al-Aghâni*, in which will be found many curious stories respecting Ibrahîm.

(7) According to the author of the *Masâlik al-Absâr*, (Arabic MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, ancien fonds, n° 1371, fol. 78;) this poet's name was Sohaim سحيم, and the Banû 'l-Hashâs were a branch of the tribe of Asad. I suspect him to have lived before the introduction of Islamism; Tabrîzi cites a verse of his in the commentary on the *Hamâsa*, p. 492.

(8) Al-Mâmûn was reputed avaricious, and to this Ibrahîm alluded; for a khalif should not have suffered any of his family to remain in want.

(9) The vizir Ahmad Ibn Abi Khâlid al-Ahwal was a freedman, and had been employed as *Kâtib*, or scribe in the government offices before his nomination to the place of vizir. He was a man of great intelligence, prudence, and foresight, and possessed, besides, the talent of expressing his ideas in an elegant and correct style. He died A. H. 210 (A. D. 825), according to Fakhr ad-dîn. (MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 895, *fol.* 218.) D'Herbelot, in the *Bibliothèque Orientale*, article Ahmed, relates an anecdote tending to prove the ignorance of this vizir: in this he has committed a double mistake; the Arabic expression made use of by the khalif Motasim is incorrectly translated (compare the note given by Reiske in the second volume of Abû 'l-Fadâ's Annals, page 684, with M. de Sacy's observation in the *Anthologie grammaticale*, p. 138); the second error of d'Herbelot consists in applying this anecdote to Ahmad Ibn Abi Khâlid, and not to Ahmad Ibn Ammar Ibn Shâdi, عمار بن شاذى, who was the ignorant vizir in question (compare Ibn Khallikân's Life of Muhammad Ibn az-Zaiyât with Fakhr ad-dîn, *fol.* 218.)

(10) See *Bib. Orient.*, Imam.

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## IBRAHIM AN-NADIM AL-MAUSILI.

Abû Ishak Ibrahîm Ibn Mahân (or Maimûn) Ibn Bahmân Ibn Nusk adopted member of the tribe of Tamîm, and descended from a family of Arrajân (*a city in the province of Khûzestân*): he is generally known by the title of an-Nadîm al-Mausili (*the social companion or singer from Mosul*,)

though not born in that city; but having gone to live there for some time, he was called a Mosulite; (such is the observation made by Abû 'l-Faraj of Ispahan, in his *Kitâb al-Aghâni*): he came of a noble Persian house, but his father had emigrated and settled at Kûfa. The first khalif in whose presence he sung was 12 al-Mahdi, son of al-Mansûr; he was unequalled as a singer, and he discovered several new musical modes; when Ibrahîm sung, with his wife's brother, Mansûr, called also Zulzul, to accompany him on the lute, the audience were transported with pleasure. His adventures and concerts are equally famous: it is related that the khalif Harûn 'ar-Raschid was passionately fond of a fair slave named Mârida, but they quarrelled, and their mutual displeasure continued for some time. This induced Jaafar the Barmakide (*Harun's vizir*) to order (*the poet*) al-Abbâs Ibn al-Ahnaf to compose something applicable to the circumstance, and the following verses were written by him in consequence:

> Return to the friends you have abandoned; the bondsman of love but seldom shuns (*his mistress*): if your mutual estrangement long endure, indifference will glide (*into your hearts*) and (*lost affection*) will hardly be retrieved.

In pursuance to Jaafar's orders, Ibrahîm sung these verses to ar-Raschîd, who immediately hastened to Mârida, and got reconciled to her. She then asked him what brought about this event; and being informed of what had passed, ordered to Ibrahîm and al-Abbâs a present of 10,000 dirhems each, and ar-Raschîd, on her request, recompensed them with a reward of 40,000 dirhems (1). Ibrahîm had been put into the *Matbak* or chief prison of Baghdad by ar-Raschîd, and Salm al-Khâsir (2) (*the poet*) related to Abû 'l-Atâhiya what had happened; on which the latter pronounced these verses:

> Oh, Salm! Salm! without thee no joy remains: al-Mausili is in prison, and our life has become bitter! Pleasures are no longer sweet, since their author—noblest of men! is hidden by the prison (*from our sight*). Al-Mausili has been abandoned by all God's creatures; but their life (*now*) feels harsh and irksome. Disport and joy are in prison, and nought remains on earth to disport and give joy.

Ibrahîm was born at Kûfa, A. H. 125 (A. D. 742), and he died in Baghdad of a disorder in the intestines, A. H. 188 (A. D. 804); others say 213 (A. D. 828), but the first is the right date: we shall speak again of this event in the Life of al-Abbâs Ibn al-Ahnaf (which see). It is said that Ibrahîm al Mausili, Abu 'l-Atâhiya the poet, and Abû Amr as-Shaibâni the grammarian, died at Baghdad, in the year 213, and on the same day; it is also related that Ibrahîm was yet a child

when his father died, and that the tribe of Tamîm took charge of him, and brought him up; for which reason he was styled *Tamîmi*. We shall make mention of his son Is-hak. According to al-Jauhari (3) and al-Hâzimi, the word *Arrajân* is written with a double *r*: we shall speak again of this place in the Life of Ahmad al-Arrajâni.

(1) The silver dirhems of ar-Rashîd's coinage are nearly of the same weight as the French *franc*, but they are much broader and thinner.

(2) Abû Amr Salm Ibn Amr al-Khâsir *(the loser)* native of Basra a poet notorious for his profligate life, lived at Baghdad, and was cotemporary with the khalifs al-Mahdi, al-Hâdi, and ar-Raschid; he made verses in praise of the khalifs and the Barmakides. The surname of *the loser*, was given to him, because he sold a copy of the Koran to buy a book of poetry with the money, or else because he had squandered the riches he inherited from his father; such are the explanations given in the *Kamûs*; but the anonymous author of the remodeled edition of Ibn Khallikân's work (MS. of the *Bibliothèque du Roi*, No. 731) says that *Sâlim*, for so he calls him erroneously, bought a lute with the money he got for his Koran; the same writer gives the year 186 as that of his death; but it must be remarked, that this author is very often mistaken, and shows great ignorance in many of the alterations made by him in Ibn Khallikân's work. The author of the *Kitâb al-Aghâni*, mentions Salm in the Life of Abû 'l-Atâhiya, but furnishes no information respecting him. Ibn al-Abbâr, in his *al-Hullat as-Siyarâ* (Arabic MS belonging to the Asiatic society of Paris), states that the book of poetry bought by Salm was the diwân of Amro'l-kais (*fol.* 141, *recto*). The analysis of this work is given by Casiri in his *Bibliotheca Arabica* under the number 1649.

(3) Ibn Khallikân has omitted the Life of al-Jauhari in his work, but some information may be obtained on this subject from Hamaker's *Specimen Catalogi Cod. MSS., Lugd. Bat.*, p. 48. This lexicographer died at Naisâpûr, A. H. 392 (A. D. 1002). (Yafi's *Kitâb al-Janân*, MS. No. 137.)

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## IBRAHIM AS-SULI.

Ibrahîm Ibn al-Abbas Ibn Muhammad Ibn Sûl-Takîn as-Sûli was a poet of reputation and talent; his works have been collected and form a small volume of exquisite pieces; the following is a specimen of his tender style:

> Visits draw close the hearts which coolness had parted; but my visit to (*the capricious*) Laila has changed her affection to dislike! The maids that dwell in the (*distant*) valley of al-Liwa are nearer to me than Laila, though her dwelling be here at hand (1).

The style of his prose writings is admirable; as, for instance, in the following threatening letter written by him in the name of the khalif to some rebels: 13 "Know that the Commander of the Faithful hath patience; to which, if useless, "threats succeed; if they avail not, his resolutions shall. Adieu." This address is not only concise but also highly figurative; in fact, it has given rise to the following verse:

> To useless delay threats succeed; if they avail not, resolution shall.

This author used to say: "In composing my letters I relied merely on "those ideas which my mind might inspire, and on those sentiments which "might spring from my heart; I except, however, these two passages: '*That* "*which guarded them exposed them* (to danger); *and their asylum became* "*their prison!*' and in another letter of mine: '*They hurled him from his for-* "*tress to a prison, and they caused him to exchange hope for death* (2)!' In "the latter sentence, I imitated the following verse by Moslim Ibn al-Walid al- "Ansâri, surnamed *Saria 'l-Ghawâni* (*the vanquished by the fair*) (3):

> '(*He appeared*) standing on (*mount*) Mahaj, on the (*fatal*) day of Zû-Rohaj (4): he 'seemed the speedy death of all my hopes.'

"In the former sentence, I imitated an expression used by Abû Tammâm in "these verses:

> 'If he enter the desert, he shall meet with sword and lance instead of hospitality; and 'he shall quench his thirst at the cistern of Death! If he raise a wall around him, it 'shall not be his fortress, but his prison! If not, let him know that you are angry 'with him, and fear alone shall doubtless cause his death.'

Ibrahim as-Sûli was sister's son to al-Abbâs Ibn al-Ahnaf, the famous poet; he was called as-Sûli, after his grandfather, Sûl-Tekîn, a prince of Jorjân, who made profession of Islamism to Yazîd Ibn al-Muhallab Ibn Abi Sufra (*the Moslim conqueror of Khorasân*). The hâfiz Abû 'l-Kâsim Hamza Ibn Yûsuf as-Sahmi (5) says, in his History of Jorjân: "As-Sûli came of a family native of Jorjân; (Sûl, or as it is some- "times pronounced, Jûl, is the name of a demesne situated in Jorjan); he was pa- "ternal uncle to the father of Abû Bâkr Muhammad Ibn Yahya Ibn Abd Allah "Ibn al-Abbâs as-Sûli, author of the Book of Vizirs and other works; so their "genealogies meet in one common progenitor, al-Abbâs. (*as-Sûli's father*)." Abû Abd-Allah Muhammad Ibn Dawûd Ibn al-Jarrâh (6) mentions him in his *Kitab al-Warakat* in these terms: "Ibrahîm Ibn al-Abbâs Ibn Muhammad "Ibn Sûl, surnamed Abu Ishak, native of Baghdad, drew his origin from Kho- "rasan; he was a better poet than the other *Kâtibs* (7) who were cotemporary "with him, and his style was more graceful than theirs; his poems are short, con- "taining from three to ten verses only; but his descriptions of the vicissitudes of "fortune have not been outdone. He belonged to a highly respectable Turkish "family; the two brothers, Sûl and Fîrûz were Turkish princes of Jorjân, who "had adopted the Magian religion, and become quite like Persians. When

"Yazîd Ibn al-Muhallib came to Jorjân, they obtained from him their amnesty, "and Sûl having made to him profession of Islamism, remained constantly with "him till they both fell in the battle of al-Akr (8). Abû Omâra Muhammad "Ibn Sûl was one of the principal (*Abbaside*) missionaries (9); he was killed, "along with Mukâtil Ibn Hakîm al-Akki (10) and some others, by Abd-Allah "Ibn Ali al-Abbâsi, uncle to the Khalifs Saffâh and al-Mansûr, when he revolted "against his nephew (11). Ibrahîm and his brother Abd-Allah became adhe- "rents to (*the vizir*) al Fadl Ibn Sahl, surnamed Zû 'l-Riâsatain (12); Ibrahîm "was then employed in the provinces, as agent for the Sultan, and filled succes- "sively different places in the government-offices, till he died; he was then "director of the demesne and gratuity office (13) at Sarr-man-râa: his death "took place in the middle of Shabân, A. H. 243 (December, A. D. 857). The "poet Dibil al-Khozâï said of him: 'If Ibrahîm had sought to make out his "livelihood by his poetical talents, he would have (*gained all and*) left us 14 "nothing.'" I read the collection of his poems and made the following extracts from it; but I suspect the first not to be his, as I found it also in the poetical works of Moslim Ibn al-Walîd al-Ansâri:

> Let not the longing of your soul for family and home prevent your enjoying an easy life in comfort: in every country where you choose to dwell, you will find a family and (*friendly*) neighbours, in place of those you left behind.

The following verses are by as-Sûli; and it is said that if they be frequently repeated by a person under sudden misfortune, God will deliver him from it:

> A man meets with a disaster he cannot avert, and from which God alone can deliver him. But often, when the evil is complete, with rings (*and iron meshes*) strongly riven (14), it passes away while he thinks that nothing can dispel it.

By the same:

> The fittest sharer in your joy is he who has been partner (15) in your sorrow: when generous (*travellers*) repose in the plain, they think of those who kept them company in the rugged stations (*left behind*).

The next verses are said to have been written by him to Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik az-Zaiyât, vizir to al-Motasim:

> When Fortune treated me as a brother, you were also my brother; but when she rejected me, you became my rancorous foe. I once blamed Fortune for her rigour towards you, but now I blame her (*for the treatment I experienced*) from you. I counted you (*as a protector*) against misfortunes, and behold me now imploring your mercy!

By the same:

Thou wast dear to me as the apple of my eye; for thee (*alone*) my eyes shed their tears. Die now who may, since thou art gone! Thou wast my only care.

Abu Tammâm cites in his Hamâsa (16), in the chapter of amatory poetry, the following verses by as-Sûli:

I am told that Laila has sent an intercessor to implore my favour; why is not Laila herself that intercessor? Does there then exist one whom I honour more than Laila? (find such and challenge glory!) (17) or am I then a man that will not obey her?

This poet has written a great number of charming pieces, (*which I cannot cite here, as*) brevity suits best such an abridgement as this. We shall mention his nephew Muhammad Ibn Yahya as-Sûli among the Muhammads. Ibrahîm as-Sûli died the 15th Shabân, A.H. 243 (December, A. D. 857) at Sarr-man-râa.

(1) The Arabic word which signifies *to draw near*, means also *to be reconciled*; and, by a similar analogy, the word which denotes *separation* or *distance* can be taken in the sense of *alienation* or *mutual coolness*; such quibbles and conceits were highly in favour at the time when Ibn Khallikân wrote, though ancient authors were very sparing of them. The *valley of Liwa*, or the *retired spot on the edge of the desert*, is frequently mentioned by the ante-Islamic poets; there it is that the mistress of the poet is supposed to reside. The Moslim poets make continual allusions to the works of their predecessors, the nomadic Arabs; those works were for them what the Greek and Latin classics are for us.

(2) Here, in the Arabic text, some words of nearly a similar sound, but of different significations, are joined together artfully enough; but the beauty, if any, of these expressions is quite lost in the translation.

(3) Moslim Ibn al-Walîd al-Ansâri was one of the galaxy of poets who shone at the court of the Abbaside khalifs. In his verses he celebrated the praises of al-Mâmûn, ar-Raschîd, the Barmakides, and other great men; he was appointed *Redressor of Grievances* (see de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, t I, p. 132) in Jorjân, through the protection of the vizir al-Fadl Ibn Sahl Zû 'l-Riâsatain. He was surnamed *the vanquished by the fair* on account of his having composed the following verse:

*What then is life, if we spend not our evenings with* (those we) *love, and if we fall not, towards morning, vanquished by the wine-cup and by fair large eyes?*
(See Freytag's *Hamâsa*, p. 428.)

The author of the *Kitâb al-Aghâni* gives little information respecting this poet; he merely says that Ibn Konbar ابن قنبر وهو الحكم بن محمد بن قنبر (a poet of the time of al-Mâmûn, and Moslim Ibn al-Walîd composed virulent satires against each other, and that they sometimes came to blows. (*Aghâni*, t. III, p. 252.)

(4) Such, I believe, is the sense of the Arabic words, but I must acknowledge that I have still some doubts.

(5) As-Sahmi died A. H. 427, (A. D. 1036): (*Tab. al-Hoffâz*). Besides the History of his native place, Jorjân, he composed some other works, such as the *Arbain al-Boldaniya*, which is mentioned by Hajji Khalifa in his Bibliographical Lexicon; Flügel's edition, vol. I, page 233.

(6) Muhammad Ibn Dawûd Ibn al-Jarrâh, one of the most learned men of his time, had been brought up under the tuition of the ablest masters in eloquence, poetry, and the sciences, He followed the profession of copyist, and transcribed a great number of works, the copies of which he always read over after, in order to correct whatever faults he might have made. When Abd-Allah, son to the khalif al-Môtazz, usurped the sovereign authority, A. H. 296 (A. D. 908), Ibn al-Jarrâh became his vizir, and filled that place till the fall

of his master, who reigned only one day; he then sought concealment in the house of the eunuch Mûnis, whom he thought his friend, but Mûnis caused him to be murdered, in order to gain the favour of the vizir Ibn al-Furât, who had advised him to commit this treacherous action. *(Kitâb al-Fihrest,* No. 874, *fol.* 174, *verso.)* See also the life of Ibn al-Furât in this work.

(7) The *Kâtibs,* or *writers,* were the persons employed in the public offices; the directors, clerks, and secretaries in government service were all called *Kâtibs.*

(8) Some particulars about the battle of al-Akr will be found in the Life of Yazîd Ibn al-Muhallab.

(9) During the first four centuries of Islamism, every family which pretended to the throne employed agents or missionaries to second their views; those men were sent to different provinces of the empire, where they established secret clubs, or *lodges,* the members of which had to pass through different degrees of initiation; each club was under a president, who received his orders from the provincial missionary, who was himself under the orders of the grand-master, *Daï 'd-Doât.* The family of Ali, the Abbasides, the Edrisites, and the Fatimites always kept up their missionary establishments, even when in the height of their power. (See Ibn al-Athîr and Ibn Khaldûn, *passim.)* M. de Sacy has given a most interesting account of the Karmat missions, which were established for the purpose of overturning the Abbasides, and destroying all religions whatsoever. (See *Exposé de la Religion des Druses,* t. I, Introduction.)

(10) Mukâtil, one of the most active abbaside missionaries, was then governor of Harrân, which city was taken by Abd Allah after a siege of forty days. His son Muhammad Ibn Mukâtil was foster-brother to the khalif ar-Rashîd, who appointed him governor of Ifrikiya in A. H. 181. (*Oyûn al-Akhbar,* MS. No. 736, fol. 137.—Ibn al-Abbâr's *al-Hullat as-Siyarâ,* f. 13, MS. belonging to the Asiatic Society of Paris.)

(11) See *Abulfedæ Annales,* t. II, p. 9.

(12) Zû 'l-Riâsatain, *the possessor of the two authorities,* namely, the civil and the military, جمع بين السيف والقلم surname of honour given to the vizir al-Fadl Ibn Sahl. (See his Life in this work.) This title became afterwards very common, particularly in Spain.

(13) The government was then in possession of a great number of demesnes, mostly in the conquered provinces, and which were usually farmed out (their Arabic name is *Diaa,* farms). From the passage of Ibn al-Jarrâh cited by Ibn Khallikân, I am induced to believe that the income of these lands was divided, as a gratuitous donation, among the persons employed by government. We find very often the *Jund,* or paid troops, receiving gratuities or free gifts from the khalifs and the governors of provinces; it is probable that those farm-rents were employed for the purpose.

(14) This metaphor is taken from the large and wide coats of mail, which were so highly prized and so loudly celebrated by the ante-Islamic poets: as a coat of mail covers the body of the warrior, so misfortunes surround the wretched on every side.

(15) The verb واسى is employed here for آسى which takes its signification from the word أسوة *sharer.* (See at-Tabrîzi's Commentary on the *Hamâsa,* page 696.)

(16) See Freytag's *Hamâsa,* p. 540, with the Commentary of at-Tabrîzi.

(17) This reminds us of Virgil's "Dic quibus in terris, et eris mihi magnus Apollo."

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## NIFTAWAIH.

Abû Abd Allah Ibrahîm Ibn Muhammad Ibn Orfa Ibn Solaimân Ibn al-Moghaira Ibn Habîb Ibn al-Muhallab Ibn Abi Sufra al-Azdi, surnamed Niftawaih, the grammarian, native of Wâsit, was a man of learning and talent, and author of

some esteemed works on general literature. He was born at Wâsit, A. H. 244 (A. D. 858), though some say A. H. 250; he dwelt at Baghdad, where he died on Wednesday, 6th Safar, about an hour after sunrise, A. H. 323 (A. D. 935); others say, however, that he and Ibn Mujâhid al-Mukri (1) died at Baghdad in the year 324: he was buried the next day at the gate of Kûfa. Ibn Khalawaih remarks that Niftawaih was the only man among the learned who was named Ibrahîm and surnamed Abû Abd Allah. The following specimen of his poetry is quoted by Abû Ali al-Kâli in his *Kitâb al-Amâli.*

> My heart (*fixed*) on thee, is more tender than thy cheeks (2); my strength is less than the power of thine eyes (3)! Why wilt thou not pity him whose soul is unjustly tortured, and whom love inclineth towards thee with affection?

The following epigram was made on him by Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Zaid Ibn Ali Ibn al-Hosain, native of Wâsit, a celebrated metaphysician, and author of the *Imâma* and a treatise on the unattainable excellence of the style in which the Koran is written, etc.:

> He that likes not the sight of a reprobate should avoid meeting Niftawaih! May God burn him with one half of his name (3), and cause him to be denounced with the other.

(*The author of this charade*) Abû Abd Allah Muhammad died A. H. 307 (A. D. 919) or 306. Abd al-Azîz Ibn al-Fadl relates this anecdote: "Ibn Soraij, Ibn Dawûd az-Zâhiri, and Niftawaih went forth to a feast, whither they were invited: now the way lead them to a narrow passage, and each of them wished his companions to pass before himself; so Ibn Soraij said: 'A strait road begetteth evil manners.' ('*Yea!*') said Ibn Dawûd, 'but it teacheth the true worth of men;' to this Niftawaih rejoined: 'When friendship is solid, ceremony is done away.'" *Niftawaih* is sometimes pronounced, but not so correctly, *Naftawaih;* Abû Mansûr at-Thaâlibi says, towards the beginning of his work, the *Latâïf al-Maârif,* that he received this name for his ugliness and dark complexion, he being likened to the substance called *nift* (*naphtha* or *bitumen*): this name was given him in imitation of that of Sibawaih (*the famous grammarian*), whose son he was called, on account of his grammatical knowledge, and of his following the system, and teaching the work of that writer. We shall treat of *Niftawaih* and the other names of this form in our life of Sibawaih, whose name is Amr: consult that article.

(1) Abû Bekr Ahmad Ibn Mûsa Ibn al-Abbâs Ibn Mujâhid al-Mukri (teacher of the right reading of the

**Koran), and first man in Irak in that capacity, was born in Baghdad A. H. 245 (A D. 859). He read the whole Koran over ختمة twenty times, under the tuition of Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Abdûs; his other masters were Konbol and Abd-Allah Ibn Salâma. The celebrated grammarian Thalab says: "None in our time "know the Book of God *(the Koran)* better than Ibn Mujâhid." Ibn al-Ahzam relates that, on going to Baghdad, he found Ibn Mojahid's course of lectures followed by nearly three hundred eminent men, مصدر; and Ali Ibn Omar al-Ghazzi states that Ibn Mujâhid had forty-four assistant teachers at his course له في حلقته اربعة واربعون خليفة ياخذون على الناس. He used to say, whoever reads the Koran in the manner taught by Abû Amr, and follows the doctrines of the sect of as-Shâfi, is in the right way of salvation. Ibn Mujâhid was also an elegant and accomplished scholar, and taught from memory the poems of Ibn al-Motazz; he died A. H. 324 (A. D. 936). *(Tabakât as-Shâfyin)*.—The persons whose names are mentioned in the preceding passage are spoken of by Ibn Khallikân; so further observations are postponed.**

**(2) The Arabic poets say of a fair lady, that the petal of a rose would hurt her cheek, and that a glance from her lover's eye makes it *bleed;* that is *blush*.**

**(3) To please Arabian taste, ladies' eyes should be languishing and tender; but *languor* and *tenderness* are nearly synonymous with *feebleness*, the Arabic equivalent of which is generally made use of in this case; some poets go farther, and talk of their being vanquished by *sickly* eyes.**

**(4) The first half of his name is *nift (naphtha* or *bitumen)*; the other half is *waih (woe)!***

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## ABU ISHAK AZ-ZAJJAJ.

Abû Ishak Ibrahîm Ibn Muhammad Ibn as-Sari Ibn Sahl az-Zajjâj, the grammarian, was a man of solid information on philological and religious subjects; he published the following works: Treatise on the figurative expressions of the Koran; Book of Dictates (1); Extracts from his complete Treatise on Logic, with a commentary by himself (2); different treatises on etymology, prosody, versification, the Moslim sects, the nature of man, and of the horse; an abridgement of grammar; a work on the relation between the first and fourth forms of Arabic verbs; Treatise on nouns which are either of the first or second declension; Explanation of the Arabic verses cited as examples by Sibawaih in his grammar; Book of
16 Anecdotes; Treatise on the influence of the constellations upon the weather (3), etc. Al-Mubarrad and Thalab gave him lessons in philology: he was originally a glassgrinder, and was therefore named *az-Zajjâj* (the glassman), even after he had quitted his trade to study philology. The vizir Obaid Allah Ibn Solaimân Ibn Wahb (4) honoured him with his intimacy, and al-Kasim, son of Obaid Allah, had him for master in belles-lettres; and when al-Kasim was appointed vizir, az-Zajjâj gained considerable sums through his influence. The shaikh Abû Ali 'l-Fârisi, the grammarian, relates the following anecdote: "I and my master, "az-Zajjâj, went to visit the vizir al-Kasim; we had just entered when an

"eunuch came up, and whispered to him some secret information, on which the "vizir, who appeared highly pleased, rose and withdrew, but came back almost "immediately, with marks of great dissatisfaction in his countenance. The "shaikh, who was on familiar terms with him, having asked what was the "matter, received from him this answer: 'There came here occasionally a fair "slave belonging to one of our (*public*) singing women, who had refused to "sell her to me though I offered to purchase her: some person, however, "advised the mistress to make me a present of the slave, in hopes of my giving "in return double the value. Just as you came in, the eunuch informed me "of the circumstance, and I went out immediately to converse with her, but "found her unwell: such was the cause of the dissatisfaction you remarked "in me.' On this, our shaikh took the inkstand placed before the vizir, and "wrote these lines:

(5) Eques impetuosus, cum hastâ suâ promptus ad confossionem in tenebris, prædam suam sanguine inficere voluit; sed eum prohibuit illa, cum sanguine, a sanguine suo."

We shall speak again of these two verses in the life of Bûrân, daughter to al-Hasan Ibn Sahl; the story is there related in a different manner, as if this circumstance had happened to her with al-Mâmûn: it is hard to say which relation is the true one, but that concerning al-Mâmûn was perhaps the source whence az-Zajjâj took the verses which he applied to the vizir's case. This grammarian died at Baghdad, on Friday, 19th of the second Jumâda, A. H. 310 (October, A. D. 922); according to others, his death took place in A. H. 311 or 316; having then passed his eightieth year. It was after him that Abû 'l-Kasim Abd ar-Rahmân, author of the *Jomal fi 'n-Nahwi*, was called *az-Zajjâji*, having been one of his pupils, as will be mentioned in his life; Abû Ali 'l-Fârisi was another of his pupils.

(1) *Dictates* املى; consult M. de Sacy's *Anthologie grammaticale*, p. 137. and Flügel's *Hajji Khalifa*, t. I, p. 427.

(2) It must be observed that many professors taught from works written by themselves, and not published till later, sometimes even not till after the death of the author. The extracts here mentioned were probably those portions of az-Zajjâj's treatise which he had explained to his scholars. This seems to be the work mentioned under the title of جامع المنطق in Hajji Khalifa's Bibliographical Dictionary.

(3) See Pocock's *Specimen Hist. Arabum*, p. 168. Hajji Khalifa remarks that a considerable number of works has been written on this subject.

(4) Obaid Allah, vizir to the khalif al-Motadid, and an able statesman, died A. H. 288 (A. D. 901). His son al-Kasim was vizir to the khalif al-Motadid, and his successor al-Muktafi; he died in the reign of the

latter. He was equally conspicuous for his talents and for his skill as a politician. (MS. No. 895, f. 236.)

(5) There are certain passages in this work which cannot, for obvious reasons, be given in English; this for example.

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## AL-IFLILI.

Abû 'l-Kasim Ibrahîm Ibn Muhammad Ibn Zakariyâ Ibn Mufrij Ibn Yahya Ibn Ziâd Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Khâlid Ibn Saad Ibn Abi Wakkâs al-Koraishi (*descended from the tribe of Koraish*) az-Zahri (1), generally known by the name of al-Iflîli, was a native of Cordova and a first-rate grammarian and philologer; he possessed also a perfect acquaintance with the explanations which have been given of those (*obscure*) ideas which are met with in (*ancient*) poetry; he wrote a good and well-known commentary on the poetical works of al-Mutanabbi, and he taught from memory the Book of Dictates, by Abû Ali 'l-Kâli, which work he had learned from Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan az-Zobaidi. As a teacher of belles-lettres he held an eminent rank in Spain, where he also became vizir to al-Muktafi Billah (2). He knew by heart the poetry (*of the ancient Arabs*), and could relate their history and the traditional accounts of their combats; his memory was also furnished with a considerable stock of poetry composed by his own countrymen. He was most particularly exact in his choice of words; his tongue was veracious, his private conduct good, and his heart pure. Among a number of works which he studied may be reckoned the *Gharîb al-Musannaf*, the *al-Alfâz* (3), etc. His birth took place in the month of Shawwâl, 352 (A.D. 963), and his death happened towards the end of the eleventh hour, on Sunday, 13th Zû 'l-Kaada, 441 (April, A. D. 1050): he was buried on Sunday, late in the 17 afternoon, in the court of a ruined mosque near the gate of Aâmir at Cordova. *Al-Iflîli* signifies a native of al-Iflîl, a village in Syria, from which his family originally came.

(1) *Zahri* means *belonging to Zahrâ*, or *Medinat az-Zahrâ*, a palace and town founded by the Moorish prince Abd ar-Rahman, in the year 324 (A. D. 936) at three leagues from Cordova. The Arabic historians speak in the highest terms of the magnificence of this new city, of which not a single trace now remains.

(2) The MSS. of Ibn Khallikân's work agree in the orthography of the name *al-Muktafi-Billah*; but Casiri, in his *Bibliotheca Arabica*, t. II, p. 207, Condé and Ibn al-Abbâr in his *al-Hollat as-Siyarâ* write it

*al-Mustakfi Billah*; which title was assumed by Muhammad Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân, on his accession to the throne of Cordova A. H. 415 (A. D. 1024).

(3) Hajji Khalifa says, in his Bibliographical Dictionary, that the former of these works is by Abû Amr as-Shaibâni, and that al-Asmaî, Ibn al-Arâbi, and Thalab, have each written a work called *al-Alfâz (vocabulary)*.

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## ABU ISHAK AS-SABI.

Abû Ishak Ibrahim Ibn Hilâl Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Zahrûn Ibn Habbûn al-Harrâni (1) as-Sâbi (2), author of the celebrated epistles (3) and of some charming poetry, was clerk of the Baghdad chancery office (4), in which he acted as secretary to the khalif (5) and to Izz ad-Dawlat Bakhtyâr, of the family of Buwaih, the Dailamite. In the year 349 (A. D. 960) he was appointed president of the board of correspondence (6), and incurred the hatred of Adad ad-Dawlat Ibn Buwaih, in consequence of having addressed to that prince some letters hurtful to his feelings. When Izz ad-Dawlat was slain (7), Adad ad-Dawlat took possession of Baghdad, and put Abû Ishak in prison; this happened in the year 367 (April, A. D. 978). His intention was to have had Abû Ishak trodden to death by elephants, but (*a respite was granted him*) through the intercession of his friends, and he finally recovered his liberty in 371 (A.D. 981); Adad ad-Dawlat having previously required of him to write a history of the Dailamite dynasty. In consequence of this order, Abû Ishak composed his work entitled *at-Tâji* (*the Imperial*), but (*could not regain the favour of Adad ad-Dawlat*), who had learned that a friend of Abû Ishak's, on going to see him, found him busily engaged in composing notes and making rough and fair copies (*of some work; and that this friend*) having asked him what he was doing, received this answer: "I am "writing falsehoods and putting lies together." This story stirred up the then appeased anger of Adad ad-Dawlat, and excited his hatred afresh; so that, during his life-time, Abû Ishak continued in disgrace. Abû Ishak as-Sabi was very strict in the observance of his religion, and had refused to turn Moslim, notwithstanding the pressing solicitations of Izz ad-Dawlat; he kept the fast of Ramadân the same as the Moslims; he also knew the Koran by heart perfectly well, and quoted it in his epistles. He had a black slave called Yumn, to whom

he was much attached, and on whom he made some verses remarkable for their originality of thought; the following, for instance, which are cited along with others of his by at-Thaâlibi, in his *Kitâb al-Ghilmân* :

The dark-skinned Yumn said to one whose colour equalled the whiteness of the eye (8) : " Why should your face boast its clear complexion? Do you think that, by " so clear a tint, it gains additional merit? Were a mole of my colour on that face, it " would adorn it (9); but one of your colour on my cheek would disfigure me."

In this last verse is an allusion to the following lines, from a piece of verse written by Ibn ar-Rûmi on a black slave girl:

One advantage of a dark complexion is (and truth can never be concealed!) (10)— that a spot of deeper shade does not misbecome it; though a white speck on a fair skin is considered as a blemish.

In these well known verses, the poet has attained to perfection (11). At-Thaâlibi gives also the following verses composed by Abû Ishak on his slave:

Your face is so (*handsome*) that my hand seems to have sketched its outline (12), but your words (*are false and*) have fatigued my hopes. In that (*countenance*) is seen an image of the full moon, over which night has, however, cast a tint of her darkness. Black misbecomes you not; nay, by it you are increased in beauty; black is the only colour princes wear. Were you not mine, I should purchase you with all my wealth! Did I not possess you, I should give my life to obtain you.

The prose and verse of Abû Ishak contain every species of beauty: he died at Baghdâd on Monday (or Thursday according to others) 12th Shawwâl, A. H. 384 18 (November, A. D. 994), at the age of 71 years. Abû 'l-Faraj Muhammad Ibn Ishak al-Warrâk, better known by the name of Ibn Abi Yakûb an-Nadîm al-Baghdâdi, says, in his *Kitâb al-Fihrest* (13), that Abû Ishak as-Sâbi was born some time after the year 320 (A. D. 932), and died before 380; he was buried in the cemetery of Baghdad called *Shûnîzi*, and a well-known elegy, the rhyme of which is in *D*, was written on his death by the Sharîf ar-Rida; it begins thus :

Hast thou seen whom they bore aloft on the bier? Hast thou seen how the light of our assemblies is extinguished?

The public blamed ar-Rida for this poem, because he, who was a sharîf (*descendant from Muhammad*) had lamented the death of a Sabean, but he replied: " It was his merit alone the loss of which I lamented." The word *Sâbi* (*Sabean*) is written with a final *hamza;* but many different derivations are given of it; some say it comes from Sâbi, son of Matûshalah (*Methuselah*), son of Idris (*Enoch*), who was of the ancient orthodox religion (14); others derive it from as-

Sâbi, son of Mâri, a contemporary of Abraham; others again say that the word *Sâbi* was used by the Arabs of the desert to denote a person who abandoned the religion of his people, and for this reason it was that Muhammad was called *Sâbi* by the tribe of Koraish: but God knows (*that*) best!

(1) *Al-Harrâni* means *native of Harrân* in Mesopotamia, a city formerly inhabited by the Sabeans, and the chief seat of their religion: it was in ruins when Abû 'l-Fadâ wrote his Geography.

(2) *As-Sâbi (the Sabean)*; see the *Bibliothèque Orientale*. SABI; Sale's *Koran*, Introduction, sect. I; and *Prideaux's Connexion*, vol. I, p. 248; edition of 1820.

(3) The author of the *Kitâb al-Fihrest* (Arabic MS. of the *Bibl. du Roi*, No. 874, fol. 182) mentions two collections of epistles written by ab-Sâbi; one entitled *Correspondence with the sharîf ar-Rida;* the other: *Collection of Epistles;* neither of which works I have met with.

(4) In the Chancery-office of the khalifs were drawn up the diplomas, letters patent and of provision, political correspondence, etc.: as the style of those writings was, and has always been, elaborately elegant, the clerks of this office were necessarily chosen among men of talent and instruction.

(5) This khalif, whose name Ibn Khallikan seems unwilling to mention, was al-Muti Lillah, the 23rd of the Abbaside dynasty. He was a weak prince, completely governed by Moizz ad-Dawlat, and Izz ad-Dawlat, son of Moizz.

(6) *President of the Board of Correspondence*, or Secretary of State, under the Abbasides; his duty was to read over and correct official letters, after which he sealed them with a sort of red clay kneaded with water, on which he stamped the device of the khalif. See Von Hammer's work, entitled *Ueber die Lænder-verwaltung unter dem Khalifate;* where will be found, in a small compass, much important information concerning the organisation of the Moslim empire.

(7) See *Abulfedæ Annales*, t. II, p. 535, and the life of Bakhtyâr in this work.

(8) The expression خائنة الاعين *deceiving eyes*, occurs in the Koran, *sur*. XL, *verse* 20; this induces me to suppose that the word الخائن, in the verse cited by Ibn Khallikân, is employed to denote the eye alone, without suggesting the idea of any quality whatsoever. Simple adjectives, serving as nouns, are met with in many languages, but this is more particularly the case in Arabic. Though not completely sure of the meaning of this word, I am nevertheless inclined to think that I have expressed the idea of the poet.

(9) Black moles on the face were and are considered by the Moslims as real *beauty spots*.

(10) This singularly-placed parenthesis signifies literally: *and Truth possesses a ladder and a hole;* a strange expression, imitated from the Koran, *sur*. VI, *ver*. 35, which Sale renders thus: "If their aversion "*(to thy admonitions)* be grievous unto thee, if thou canst, seek out a *den (whereby thou mayest penetrate)* "into *(the inmost parts)* of the earth, or a *ladder (by which thou mayest ascend)* unto heaven," etc. From this the poet's meaning appears to be: *Truth must make its way; it can mount to heaven, and penetrate into the depths of the earth.*

(11) These verses are, however, by no means remarkable for their style in the original Arabic; their sense has been just given; from which it will probably be inferred that our author did not possess a very correct taste or judgment; though it must be recollected that his taste was precisely that of the epoch in which he lived.

(12) This verse is quite sufficient to prove that its author was not a Moslim, for representations of the human figure are expressly forbidden by Muhammad; see the *Mishkât al-Masabîh*, vol. II, p. 368.

(13) See *Kitâb al-Fihrest*, MS. No. 874, fol. 182. This work was composed A. H. 337.

(14) The *ancient orthodoxy*, according to the Moslim doctors, is the religion professed by all the patriarchs and prophets anterior to Muhammád; who himself taught that Islamism was only a continuation or revival of the old and true religion.

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## ABU ISHAK AL-HUSRI.

Abû Ishak Ibrahîm Ibn Ali Ibn Tamîm, surnamed al-Husri, native of Kairawân and a celebrated poet, composed the following works: a Divan, or volume of poetry; the *Zahr al-Adáb* (*Flower of Instruction and Fruit of Hearts*), in three volumes, filled with singularities of every sort; the *Kitâb al-Masun* (*the Secret or Mystery of hidden Love*) in one volume, containing amusing and instructive anecdotes. Ibn Rashîk mentions him in his *Anmûdaj*, and gives, along with some particulars of his life, a quantity of his poetry. "The youth of "Kairawân," adds this writer, "gathered to his house and took his lessons; "they looked on him as their chief, and felt for him deep respect; his works "got into circulation and gifts poured in upon him from all sides." He then cites as his these verses:

> I love you with a love which surpasses understanding, and which is far beyond the reach of my powers of description. The utmost of my knowledge thereof is, that I feel my inability to acquire a just knowledge of it.

Ibn Bassâm, author of the *Dakhîra* or Treasury; containing beauties (*from the writings*) of the natives of the (*Spanish*) peninsula (1) relates a story in which he gives two verses of al-Husri's:

> The *lâm* of that *izâr* (2) has caused my heart to drink of death. It is dark as night, upon (*a skin*) clear as day.

Al-Husri was son of a maternal aunt to Abû 'l-Hasan Ali al-Husri, the life of which poet we shall give in the letter *Aïn*. Abû Ishak died at Kairawân, A. H. 413 (A. D. 1022); Ibn Bassâm says, however, in the *Dakhîra*: "I learned that "his death took place in 453" (A. D. 1061); but the first is the correct date, though the kâdi ar-Raschîd Ibn Zobair states in his *Kitâb al-Janán*, vol. I, in the life of Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Abd al-Azîz al-Fakik (3), that the above-mentioned 19 al-Husri composed his work the *Zahr al-Adáb*, A.H. 450, which indicates that Ibn Bassâm was correct in what he said (4); God, however, knows that best.—*Al-*

*Husri* means a maker or seller of mats (*husur*). *Kairawân* is a city in Ifrîkiya (*Africa propria*), and was founded by Okba Ibn Aâmir(5) as-Sahabi (*companion of Muhammad*): (*Ifrîkiya* was so called after Ifrikus or Ifrîkîn Ibn Kais Ibn Saifi, the Himyarite, who subdued that country. Some say that Jarjîr governed it at that time, and that it was then the Berbers got their name; he having said to them: "How great is your gibberish (*berbera*)!" but God knows it best(6). *Al-kâirawan,* when a common noun, signifies a *caravan*; it is a Persian word introduced into the Arabic language: it is related that a caravan had halted on the spot where the city was afterwards built, wherefore it was called Kairawân. This word means also a *troop of soldiers;* Ibn al-Kattâ the philologer says, on some competent authority, that *kairawân* signifies a troop, and *kairuwân* a caravan.

(1) By the word *Jazîra* (*isle*) the Arabic writers designate both Mesopotamia and Spain: Hajji Khalifa, who gives the title of Ibn Bassâm's work in his Biographical Dictionary, says positively that the *Jazîra* here mentioned is Andalus, or Spain.

(2) What is meant by the *lâm* of the *izâr* is explained in the Introduction to this volume, to which the reader is referred; my reason for not translating this expression is there given. See also my article in the *Journal Asiatique* of Paris for February 1839, page 174.

(3) In the *Kharîda* of Imâd ed-dîn (Arabic manuscript of the *Bib. du Roi, fonds Asselin,* No. 363, *fol.* 7, *verso*) are given some fragments of poetry by al-Fakîk, who is there said to have had great reputation as a satirist, and to have died A. H. 500 (1106-7).

(4) It may be easily perceived that the passage containing the statement from the *Kitâb al-Janân* has been inserted later; indeed it is not to be found in some MSS.

(5) Abû 'l-Fadâ in his Annals, Ibn Khaldûn in his Universal History, and other writers name the founder of Kairawan Okba Ibn Nâfi; but Abd ar-Rahmân al-Korashi, historian of the conquest of Africa, calls him Okba Ibn Aâmir (see Arabic MSS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 824, *f.* 2), and so also Ibn Khallikân writes his name. The following passage from the *Hullat as-Siyara* (*fol.* 138), militates strongly however against Ibn Khallikân: "Okba Ibn Nâfi al-Fihri was sent on an expedition by Moawia Ibn Abi Sofyian, A. H. 43 (A. D. 663), and "entered Ifrikiya at the head of ten thousand Moslims. He founded the city of Kairawân, and left after "him an honorable reputation; he was an excellent governor, and God granted all for which he prayed. "He was deprived of his place, and reinstated, A.H. 62 (A. D. 681-2). In the year 93 (A. D. 711-2) he and "some troops which accompanied him were slain by the Berbers at Tahûda, where his tomb is revered to "this day." The author then enters into the details of his death.

(6) Ibn Khaldûn, in his Universal History, gives a similar relation with some details too curious to be omitted here. He says: "To Abraha Zu 'l-Manâr succeeded his son Ifrîkush; Ibn al-Kalbi says that Ifrîkush was "the son of Kais Ibn Saifi and brother to al-Hârith ar-Râish, and that it was he who built, in the Gharb "(*or Maghreb*), the city named after him Ifrîkiya, to which (*city*) he sent the Berbers from the land of Canaan, on his passing close by them when Josua had defeated them in Syria and slain (*a number of*) them. "(*Ifrîkush*) then took charge of the few (*who remained*) and marched them before him to Ifrîkiya, where he "settled them. It is said that Jirgîs was king of that country, and that it was he (*Ifrîkush*) who gave "the Berbers this name; for, on conquering Maghreb he heard their strange language, and said: 'How

" 'great is your gibberish (*Berbera*)!' for which reason they were called Berbers; this word, in the language
" of the desert Arabs, signifies *mingled and unintelligible noises*; whence the roaring of the lion is called
" *berbera*. When (*Ifrikush*) returned from his expedition to Maghreb, he left there Sunhâja and Kutâma,
" (*branches*) of the tribe of Himyar, and these are still there, but they are not of the same stock as the Ber-
" bers.—Thus say at-Taberi, al-Jorjani, al-Masûdi, Ibn al-Kalbi, al-Baihaki, and all the genealogists."

This statement requires some observations: the Jirjis mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn and Ibn Khallikân seems to have been considered by them the same person as the prefect Gregorius, whose history is related in the 51st chapter of Gibbon's Decline and Fall; for Ibn Khaldûn, in another part of his work, says positively that he commanded in Magreb when Abd Allah Ibn Abi Sarh conquered that country in the khalifat of Othmân. The dubitative expression *it is said*, made use of here by both authors, proves that they had great doubts of Jirgis being a contemporary with Ifrikûsh. But the most remarkable circumstance spoken of by Ibn Khaldûn is that of Josua's destroying the Berbers in the land of Caanan, which coincides singularly with what Procopius says in his history of the Vandal war, part II, 10, p. 449; edition of Bonn. We find there also the *Gergesæi* Γεργεσαῖοί, the Girgashites of the Bible, Joshua, xxiv, 11, which word has a most suspicious likeness to the *Girgis* of our Arabic writers. Could Ibn al-Kelbi, whose authority is cited by Ibn Khaldûn in this passage, have read an incorrect Arabic translation of Procopius?

The preceding citation from Ibn Khaldûn is taken from the Arabic text of his history of the Arabs, p. 48; this work, which is now (1839) in a forward state of publication at Paris, has been critically studied and translated by the learned editor, the Abate Arri of Turin, to whose friendship I am indebted for the communication of the foregoing passage.

For further particulars I refer the reader to the note (3), page 99 of that gentleman's Italian translation.

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## ABU ISHAK IBN KHAFAJA AL-ANDALUSI.

Abû Ishak Ibrahîm Ibn Abi 'l-Fath Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Khafâja al-Andalusi (*native of Spain*); a poet praised by Ibn Bassâm in his *Dakhîra*: "He lived," says this author, "in the east of Spain and never essayed to court the favour " of the petty kings who ruled that country, notwithstanding the eagerness " which they shewed to patronise literary men." He composed a volume of excellent poetry (1), from which are taken the following original and pleasing verses on an evening party:

> Oft in social evenings has ebriety borne me to the ground and made my couch feel soft and even. The acacia clothed me with its shade, whilst the branches waved and the doves held (*mutual*) converse. The sun sunk feebly towards the west, the thunder rose (*from the horizon*) and the clouds breathed (*coolness*).

The following fine thought is by the same author:

> What means that *izâr* (2) which seems to have traced with the shades of night a *mihrâb* on the *kibla* of thy face (3)? Therein I see thy youth (which before was not submissive,) sink prostrate, lowly bent and turning (*from its former state*) (4). I well knew by the lightning-flash of thy (*brilliant*) teeth, that a cloud would soon be cast upon thy cheeks (5).

By the same:

> Thy youth hath deserted the mansion in which it dwelt, and I stopped to weep over the time-worn vestiges of its former abode. In that face the *izâr* shows like the trench which surrounds (*the Arab's tent*), and the moles on thy face represent the (*blackened*) stones of the rustic hearth (6).

A poet of later times, named Imad ad-dîn Abû Ali Ibn Abd an-Nûr (7) al-Lazzi, who inhabited Mosul and who shall be mentioned again in the life of Mûsa Ibn Yûnos, has taken hold of this idea and said:

> I took the *izâr* on the darkened cheeks of that youth for the trench (*which surrounds the tent*), and the moles on his face for the blackened stones of the hearth in the midst of the ruined dwelling. So I stopped to lament (*his youth now passed away; I wept as*) with the eyes of Orwa, and sighed as if I were Ghailân (8).

This Abû Ishâk was born A. H. 450 (A. D. 1058), in the isle of Sukr 20 (*Xucar*), a dependency of Balansiya (*Valencia*), a city of Spain; he died on Sunday 25th Shawwâl, A. H. 533 (June, A. D. 1139). — *Sukr* is a village lying between Shâtiba (*Xativa*) and Valencia; it is called an isle from its being surrounded by the waters (*of the river which bears the same name*). *Andalus* is an island (9) joined to the *long land* (*or continent*) which reaches to Constantinople the great; it is called an island because the sea encompasses it on all sides except the northern; its shape is triangular, the eastern angle being contiguous to the mountain (*range*) through which the way leads to Ifranja (*France*); did this mountain not exist, the two seas had been united. It is related that the first person who dwelt in that country after the deluge was Andalus, son of Japhet, son of Noah, from whom it took its name.

(1) The poetical works of Ibn Khafâja al-Andalusi are still extant: see No. 418, *fonds Asselin* in the *Bibliothèque du Roi*.

(2) The meaning of the word *izâr* is given in the Introduction.

(3) In this piece the poet fancies a resemblance between the face of the person whom he addresses and a mosque in which a true believer worships. The *Kibla* is that part of the horizon, or of a mosque, which is in the direction of the temple of Mekka, towards which the Moslims turn when they say their prayers. The *Mihrâb* is a niche or recess in the wall of the mosque, and serves to point out the *Kibla*. Far-fetched ideas like this are frequently met with in the writings of the Moorish poets.

(4) This verse is a mere play upon words; in place of saying simply, *thy youth is gone*, this fine writer repre-

sents it as prostrated to the ground like a man who prays; so it is now *humbled*, though before full of *haughtiness;* and it has quitted its former state, like a repenting sinner who abandons his former ways.

(5) By all the poets of the later school, handsome teeth are said to flash lightning; but lightning is accompanied by clouds, so here the cheeks are shaded or clouded by the growth of the *izâr*.

(6 All those ideas, *with the exception of the izâr*, are borrowed from the ancient *Arabic classics;* that is to say, from the works of the anteislamite poets, which every well educated Arab learned by heart. Later Arabic poetry is often an intentional imitation of these old authors; the thoughts are generally the same, though expressed in a different manner. Such was the taste of Arab critics, who looked on the poems of the ancient Arabs as perfect models in style and ideas: whence the key to all the obscure allusions met with in the Moslim poets must be looked for in the Moallakas, the poems of Amr 'l-Kais, Nâbigha, etc.

(7) Abd an-Nûr means *the Servant of Light*; Light is one of the ninety-nine names by which God had designated himself in the Koran; see *Surat* XXIV, *verse* 35, where it is said: "God is the Light of the heavens and the earth."

(8) The Arabic poet generally begins his piece by describing the sorrow and regret he feels on arriving, after a long absence and a fatiguing journey, at the station where the tribe of his mistress was last encamped, and at which he expected to find her again; but where nothing now remains except the nearly obliterated ruins of the rustic dwellings. The poet *Orwa* died of a broken heart on hearing that his mistress had married another. *Ghailân* or Zu 'l-Rumma excelled in painting the pains of love. His life is given in this work.

(9) There is no word in the Arabic language for *peninsula*; they make use of *jazîra*, isle, in its stead.

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## ABU ISHAK AL-KALBI AL-GHAZZI.

Abû Ishak Ibrahîm Ibn Yahya Ibn Othmân Ibn Muhammad al-Kalbi (*belonging to the tribe of Kalb*) al-Ashhabi(1); or, according to Ibn an-Najjâr in his History of Baghdad: Ibrahîm Ibn Othmân Ibn Abbâs Ibn Muhammad Ibn Omar Ibn Abd Allah al-Ashhabi al-Kalbi al-Ghazzi (*native of Gaza*); this celebrated and talented poet is spoken of in these terms by Ibn Asâkir in his history of Damascus: "He came to Damascus in the year 481 (A. D. 1088) "and attended the lectures of Nasr al-Makdisi (2) the jurisconsult; he then set "out for Baghdad and fixed his dwelling in the Nizamiya College for many "years; there he composed elegies and panegyrics on more than one professor "and also on other persons; from thence he travelled to Khorasan and made "eulogiums on a number of its princes, and his poetry got into circulation "there." Ibn Asâkir then gives a number of his pieces and finishes by speaking highly of him: the volume of his poetical works, selected by himself, contains one thousand verses, according to what he says in his preface. The kâtib Imâd ad-dîn mentions him in the *Kharîda*, and, after praising him, says: "He tra-

"velled over the provinces and journeyed abroad; he was repeatedly departing "and removing; he penetrated far into the regions of Khorasan and Kerman, "and met with the remarkable men (*of the time*)." Nasr ad-dîn Mokram Ibn al-Alâ, vizir of Kerman (3), was celebrated by him in a poem rhyming in *b*, which contains this original idea :

> Of (*evil*) fortune we have borne a load above our strength; 'tis thus the fractured limb bears its bandages.

The same poem contains this pretty thought on a short night:

> It was a night over whose face we hoped the *izâr* (4) would slowly glide, but no sooner had it traced its (*dark*) outline than it turned gray from the presence of morning.

The poem (*from which these verses are taken*) is a long one. The following is a good and well known piece of his composition :

> How! said they, you have abandoned poetry? Yes; through compulsion, I replied; the source of my inducements and of my motives (*to it*) is sealed up (5). The dwellings (*of hospitality*) are deserted; no generous man now lives whose bounty may be hoped for; no fair beauty now exists deserving of love. 'Tis strange that poetry should find no purchaser, and yet be adulterated and stolen though it clog the market.

The following verses, by the same author, are remarkable for the pleasing artifice with which they are worded (6): 21

> Biting sarcasms and base submission to a worthless (*guardian*) are two things which render prohibition bitter (*to the soul*). Reason (*says*): Rather choose wounds from the points of pliant (*lances*), than court (*a mistress*) and meet with those two bitter (*humiliations*).

By the same:

> The only privilege granted to this vizir in the council-chamber is the right of wagging his beard as a sign of consent. Such a pillar of the state (*wazir*) and supporting nothing is like the waterless sea of prosody (7).

By the same :

> (*The hearts of*) men are so dried up, that if they wept, a tear would hardly flow to wet their eyes. The hand of (*the patron*) whom we praise no longer sheds the dew (*of liberality*), and the forehead of him whom we satirize no longer grows moist (*with shame*).

This author composed a number of long poems full of original ideas; and the following extract is considered by literary men as a beautiful passage and elegantly turned:

> A mark (*of recognition*) from you will suffice me; the best answer to a salutation, on the morning lovers separate, is made by a rosy finger (8)!"—(*When we met again*) her mantle flew off in her confusion, and the knot which secured her collar of pearls was broken during the darkness: she then smiled so as to illuminate the night, and she gathered up her scattered pearls by the light of her well ranged (*teeth*).

In this last verse he alludes to the following thought, expressed by the Sharif ar-Rida in one of his poems:

> During that night, the lustre of her (*smiling*) teeth lighted up, amidst the gloom of darkness, the spot on which to impress my kisses.

A poet of Baghdad has come near the above idea in a *Mawâlia* (9), composed according to their usual system of either omitting the final vowels, or placing them at random:

> I held Laila in my arms with a wild embrace, and said: A propitious star has risen upon my fortune. She smiled, and the hidden pearls shone forth; the night seemed day; and the jealous spies awoke (10).

The original source of this idea is in one of the following verses composed by Abû 't-Tamahân al-Kaini:

> I spring from a race of which alone the men are men! when one of its princes dies, another like him arises. So shift the stars of heaven; when one sets, another appears, followed by others. (*The brightness of*) their glory and their faces lighted up the night, so that the artisan could string the pearls he drilled.

22 This last verse is said to be the most laudatory of any made in the Times of Ignorance (11); it is also said to be the most lying. (*The next verse after it is:*)

> Wherever they were, they always had a noble chief; wherever his squadrons went, there also went Death.

The author of these verses, Abû 't-Tamahân Hanzala Ibn as-Sharki (12) was one of the poets who lived in the Times of Ignorance — Ghazzi was born A. H. 441 (A. D. 1049) in the town of Ghazza (*Gaza*), (where Hâshim, grandfather to Muhammad was buried); and died A. H. 524 (A. D. 1130), in Khorasan (*on

*the road*) between Marw and Balkh; to which latter place he was carried, and there he was interred. It is related of him that he said on the approach of death: "I hope God will pardon me for three reasons: I am from the same "town as as-Shâfi; I am an old man, and am far from my family." May God be merciful to him and justify his hope! As it is possible this book may fall into the hands of some person living far off from our country, and who, not knowing where Gaza is situated, may desire information on that subject; I shall state that Gaza is a town in the dependencies of Palestine and situated on the Syrian Sea (*or Mediterranean*) near Askalân (*Ascalon*); it is the first Syrian town met with on passing the frontier of Egypt, and is one of those caravan stations which the Koran makes mention of in these terms: *the caravan station of winter and of summer* (sur. CVI, verse 2), where all the commentators agree in explaining the winter station by the country of Yemen, and the summer station by Syria; for the Koraishites, in their commercial expeditions, went to Syria in summer on account of the healthiness of the country in that season; and they travelled to Yemen in winter, because it is a hot country to which it is impossible to go in summer. Ibn Hishâm says towards the beginning of his *Sirat ar-Rasûl* (13): "The first who established for the Koraïsh the caravan "stations of winter and summer was Hâshim, grandfather to the blessed pro-"phet:" a little farther on he writes: "Ibn Ishak says: 'Then Hâshim, son of "Abd Manâf, died at Gaza in the land of Palestine on a commercial expedi-"tion:'" and a little farther on: "Matrûd Ibn Kaab al-Khozâï said in an "elegy on the descendants of Abd Manâf—" he then gives a poem in which is this verse:

> And Hâshim (*is*) in a grave over which the winds sweep (*the sand*), in the midst of the desert between the Gazas.

On which he makes this observation: "Those skilled in etymology say that "*the Gazas* mean here Gaza alone; it would seem that the poet had given to "each part of the town the name of the whole town, from his putting Gaza in "the plural number (14)." This place was known from that time by the name of the Gaza of Hâshim, for his grave is there, though not apparent or known: and on passing through the town, I could obtain no information from the inhabitants respecting it. When the celebrated poet Abû Nawâs went from Baghdad to Old Cairo with the intention of reciting to al-Khasib Ibn Abd al-Hamid (15),

president of the land-tax office at Old Cairo, a poem made by him in his praise, he inserted in it the names of the different places he stopped at on the way; one of the verses is:

> These (*women*) went with the caravan towards the *Gaza of Hâshim*, and serious business (*shakûr*) awaited them at al-Farama.

There are two words here which require explanation: al-Farama (*Farma*) is the name of the great city which was capital of Egypt in the time of the patriarch Abraham; and Hâjir (*Hagar*), mother of Ismael, was from *Omm al-Arab* (*mother of the Arabs*), a village in its dependencies: al-Farama is that well known 23 station on the right hand of the traveller going from Egypt to Syria by the shore way; it is situated on the edge of the desert lying between Sâih (16) and Kosair (*on the Red Sea*): when I saw it, it was in ruins, nothing remaining but its vestiges; it was situated on a high hill. The Arabs are unanimous in considering Ismael to be their progenitor, and in believing that his mother was a native of Omm al-Arab, the village above-mentioned. The second word to be explained is *shakûr*, pronounced also *shukûr*; it signifies *things taken to heart and causing serious reflexions*; the singular is *shakr*.

(1) *Al-Ashhabi* means *descended from al-Ashhab*, who was probably one of al-Ghazzi's ancestors.

(2) The sheikh Nasr Ibn Ibrahîm Ibn Nasr al-Makdisi (*native of* Bait al-Makdis *or Jerusalem*), an imam of great authority and a pillar of Islamism, was equally learned and pious; he composed the following works: the *Tahdîb* التهذيب, the *Maksad* المقصد, the *Kâfi* الكافي and a commentary on the *Ishâra* (see Hajji Khalifa, t. I, n° 765) of Salîm ar-Râzi, etc. He studied jurisprudence at Sûr (*Tyre*) under Salîm ar-Râzi for four years, and then settled at Damascus, A. H. 480, where he spent his life in the practice of great austerities and mortifications; died in the month of Moharram, 490 (January, A.D. 1097), and was buried at Damascus, where his tomb continued to be highly venerated. (*Tabakât as-Shâfyin. Tab. al-Fokahâ.*)

(3) The province of Kerman was at that time an independent state governed by Seljûk princes.

(4) See note (2), page 35.

(5) Literally: *The door of inducements and motives is locked.*

(6) This artifice consists in bringing together words of different significations, but all written and pronounced nearly in the same manner: it is obvious that sense must, in such cases, be frequently sacrificed to sound.

(7) In the Arabic system of prosody, the different metres are called seas.

(8) The word عنم *Anam*, here translated by *rosy finger*, is the name of a long and reddish fruit which grows in Hijaz; the poets compare their mistress's taper fingers, when dyed with *hinna*, to this fruit. (See de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, t. II, p. 416; and Freytag's *Hamasa*, p. 288.)

(9) In the *Arabische Verskunst*, by professor Freytag, some notice is taken of the songs called *Mawâlia*; the derivation of this name is given by the Baron von Hammer in the *Journal Asiatique* for August, 1839.

(10) The mistress of the Arabic poet is generally represented as closely guarded, so that lovers' meetings could only take place by stealth.

(11) *The Times of Ignorance*; a term used by the Moslims to denote all that period of Arabic history anterior to the preaching of Muhammad.

(12) A fragment of a poem by Abû 't-Tamahân will be found, along with his genealogy, in the *Hamâsa*, p. 558.

(13) The *Sirat ar-Rasûl*, or History of the Prophet Muhammad, was drawn up by Abd al-Melik Ibn Hishâm from documents collected by Muhammad Ibn Ishak: lives of both these writers are given by Ibn Khallikân. The passages here cited are to be found in the MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No 629, *ff.* 20, 21.

(14) The Arabian commentators always endeavour to give grammatical explanations for every irregularity; we have here an example of it: the true reason of this poet's writing *Ghazzat* for *Ghazza* was the necessity he was under of making all the verses of his poem rhyme in *at*.

(15) Ibn Khallikân, in different parts of his work, furnishes information about al-Khasib.

(16) The canton named as-Sâih is situated near Abbâsa; which city, according to Abû 'l-Fadâ in his Geography, lay at a day's journey to the north of Bilbais. In the *Kitâb as-Sulûk* by Makrizi, and the *Masâlik al-Absâr*, we find this name written *Sânih* سانح in place of *Sâih* سايح.

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## IBN KURKUL.

Abû Ishak Ibrahim Ibn Yûsuf Ibn Ibrahîm Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Bâdis Ibn al-Kâid al-Hamzi, generally known by the name of Ibn Kurkûl, author of the work called *Matâli 'l-Anwâr* (*Rising of the Lights*), which he composed on the plan of the *Mashârik al-Anwâr* by the kadi Iyâd; he was a man of talent and had studied in Spain under a number of learned professors: such is the only information I have been able to procure respecting him. He was born in the month of Safar, A. H. 505 (A. D. 1111) at al-Mâriya (*Almeria*), a town in Spain, and died at Fez early on Friday evening, 6th Shawwâl 569 (May, A. D. 1174) after having been to public prayers in the mosque. When his death drew near, he began repeating frequently and quickly the Surat of the Koran entitled *Ikhlâs* (1); he then made the profession of faith thrice, and falling prostrate in adoration, was dead on touching the ground. — *Al-Mâriya* is a large seaport city in Spain. *Fez* is a great city in Maghreb, near Ceuta: *al-Hamzi* means *belonging to Hamzat Aashîr*, a village in North Africa lying between Bâjaia (*Bugia*) and Kalat Beni Hammâd; so I have been informed by a number of natives of that country: *Aashir* shall be again spoken of in the life of Ziri Ibn Manâd (2).

(1) The Surat entitled *Ikhlâs (sincere resignation)* is also called the *Tawhid*, or Declaration of God's Unity; it is the one hundred and twelfth chapter of the Koran, and contains only four short verses; a tradition of Muhammad has declared its recitation three times to be equivalent to that of the entire Koran.

(2) In the life of Zîri, the author merely refers back to what he says here; Abû 'l-Fadâ, in his Geographical work (see Arabic text, p. 124), mentions Aasîr as a fort in the province of Bugia.

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## THE IMAM AHMAD IBN HANBAL.

The imam Abû Abd Allah Ahmâd as-Shaibâni al-Marwazi (*descended from the tribe of Shaibân and native of Marw*) was the son of Muhammad Ibn Hanbal Ibn Hilâl Ibn Asad Ibn Idris Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Haiyân Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Ans Ibn Aûf Ibn Kâsit Ibn Mâzin Ibn Shaibân Ibn Zohl Ibn Thalaba Ibn Okâba Ibn Saab Ibn Ali Ibn Bakr Ibn Wâil Ibn Kâsit Ibn Hinb Ibn Afsa (1) Ibn Doma Ibn Jadîla Ibn Asad Ibn Rabia Ibn Nizâr Ibn Maadd Ibn Adnân; this is his correct genealogy, though some make him descend from Mâzin Ibn Zohl Ibn Shaibân Ibn Thalaba Ibn Okâba, which however is a mistake, for it must be observed that he came from Shaibân Ibn Zohl and not from Zohl Ibn Shaibân, whose paternal uncle was the Zohl Ibn Thalaba above mentioned. His mother left the city of Marw during her pregnancy, and brought him forth at Baghdad in the month of the first Rabî A. H. 164 (A. D. 780); but some say he was born at Marw and was a child at the breast when brought to Baghdad. Ibn Hanbal was a traditionist of the first class, and composed a *Masnad* or collection of authenticated traditions more copious than those any other person had till then been able to form; it is said that he knew by heart one million of these traditions. He had 24 been a pupil and a favourite of as-Shâfi's, and continued constantly with him until that imam set out for Egypt: as-Shâfi in speaking of him said: "I went forth from "Baghdad and left not behind me a more pious man or a better jurisconsult "than Ibn Hanbal." In the year 220 (A. D. 835), some time between the 20th and 30th Ramadân, he was required to declare that the Koran was created (2), but would not, and although beaten and imprisoned, persisted in his refusal. He was a handsome man of middle size, having his hair dyed of a light red colour with hinna (3), and a few black hairs appearing in his (*white*) beard. He taught traditions to a number of eminent doctors, among whom were Muhammad al-Bo-

khari and Muslim Ibn al-Hajjàj an-Naisapûri; and in the latter part of his life he had not his equal for learning and piety (4): he died at Baghdad, A. H. 241 (A. D. 855), on Friday morning at sunrise, the 12th of the first Rabî; others say the 17th, and some place his death in the second Rabî; he was buried in the cemetery without the Gate of Harb, which is so called after Harb Ibn Abd-Allah, a companion of the khalif Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr's, from whom also the street called *al-Harbiya* took its name. The tomb of Ahmad Ibn Hanbal is a well known object in that burying-ground, and is visited (*by pious persons*). It was estimated that the number of men present at his funeral was eight hundred thousand, and of women sixty thousand; and it is said that twenty thousand Christians, Jews, and Magians became Moslims on the day of his death. Abû 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzi writes in the 46th chapter of the work in which he treats of the history of Bishr al-Hâfi: "Ibrahîm al-Harbi (5) relates as follows: I saw in a dream Bishr al-Hâfi, "who seemed to come out of the Mosque of Rusâfa (6) bearing something in his "sleeve which swung about, and I said: What hath God done with thee? he "replied: He hath pardoned me and honoured me. And I said: What is that in "thy sleeve? he replied: Yesterday the soul of Ahmad Ibn Hanbal came unto "us and pearls and rubies were scattered over it, and these are some I picked up. "I said: What were Yahya Ibn Maïn and Ahmad Ibn Hanbal doing? He "answered: They were gone to visit the Lord of all created things, and the table "was laid out for them. I said: Why didst thou not eat with them? He replied: "He (*the Lord*) knew that I had to abstain from eating, so he allowed me to look "on his sacred face (7)." In the genealogy of Ibn Hanbal, *Haiyân* is written with a double *Ya*; the names of his other ancestors are sufficiently known and common, for which reason I need not fix their orthography, which I should do however, did I not apprehend being prolix (8). I have seen some differences in the statement of his genealogy, but the series I give is the most exact of any I have met with. He had two sons, both men of learning; their names were Sâlih and Abd Allah; Sâlih was kadi of Ispahan and died there at an early age in the month of Ramadân 266 (A. D. 880); he was born in 203 (A. D. 818): his brother Abd Allah lived till the year 290 (A. D. 903), and died at the age of seventy-seven years, on Sunday 22nd of the first Jumâda, some say the second; he was surnamed Abû Abd ar-Rahmân, and it was after him that the imam Ahmad was called Abû Abd Allah (*father of Abd Allah*).

(1) Ibn kâdi Shuhba and Hajji Khalifa call this work, *Tabakât al-Fokahâ (classes of jurisconsults)*; that is, Biographical notices of celebrated jurisconsults, classified in a particular order. It would appear, from an observation made by al-Othmâni in his *Thabakât (fol. 111, verso)*, when speaking of Abû Saîd Muhammad an-Naisâpûri, that in the work of Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi, the lives of the doctors are arranged according to the degree of merit and learning of each individual.

(2) Literally: *till the hour* (of final judgment) *comes*.

(3) This answer of Ibn Suraij means in other terms: "Though what I said to you appears quite irrelevant to " your question, it is notwithstanding precise and well applied, but you have not the sense to perceive it: " you are like the ox who knows not that the greasing of its horns will cure the soreness of its hoofs, which is " nevertheless the fact." In comparing his adversary to an ox, he treats him as a heavy and stupid fellow: the Arabs call such a person *bakr (ox)*.—See M. Humbert's *Anthologie Arabe*, page 183.

(4) See note (7), page 46.

(5) *Head with head;* that is: *without obtaining preeminence over others.* This metaphor is taken from horse-racing. See also Reiske's note in Abû 'l-Fadâ's Annals, t. II, p. 330.

(6) Ibn Khallikân appears here to have some doubts respecting the identity of this Suraij with Suraij grandfather to Abû 'l-Abbâs; Yâfi however says, in his Annals, that he was so. (See *Miraât al-Janân*, No. 637, *folio* 187.)

(7) It has been already said, that dreams in which holy men appear are considered by the Moslims as true, see page 46, note (7); here then is a proof that Suraij was a traditionist of unquestioned authority, since the series spoken of goes no farther than him. He was therefore an *imam of traditions*; a holy character in the eyes of the Moslims; he must also have obtained eternal happiness, or Ibn Khallikân would not have seen him with so sacred a book in his hand as a Collection of Traditions; for such is the conclusion which our author wishes to be drawn from his dream.

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## IBN AL-KASS AT-TABARI.

Abû 'l-Abbâs Ahmad Ibn Abi Ahmad, better known by the name of Ibn al-Kâss at-Tabari, was a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi and a native of Taberestan, where he was esteemed the highest authority of the time in religious matters. After learning jurisprudence from Ibn Suraij (whose life has been just given), he composed a great number of works, among others: the *Talkhîs* (*Abridgment*) (1), the Guide for Kadis, the *Mawâkît*, the *Miftâh* (2), etc. The *Talkhîs* has been commented by Abû Abd Allah al-Khatan and the shaikh Abû Ali as-Sinji (3); it is a little book, and is cited by the Imam (*al-Haramain*) in different parts of his *Nihâya* and also by al-Ghazzâli: all the works of Ibn al-Kâss are short but very instructive. He often addressed pious exhortations to the people, and having come, in one of his journeys, to Tarsûs (where it is said he acted as kadi), an assembly met to

hear him preach, and he was there seized with such compunction and terror at the thoughts of God's majesty, that he swooned away and died, A. H. 335 or 336 (A. D. 946-7). His father was called *al-Kâss* (*the Narrator*), because he used to relate (*kassa*) histories and anecdotes (4).—*Taberestan* is an extensive pro- 26 vince in Persia adjacent to Khorasan; it has two capitals, Sâria (5) and Amol, and is well defended by fortresses and defiles.—*Tarsûs* is a city on the frontiers of Rûmiya (*Asia Minor*) near the towns of al-Massisa (*the ancient Mopsuestia*) and Adana; al-Mamûn, son of Harûn ar-Rashîd, was interred there: this place is spoken of in the *Muhaddab* and the *Wasît* (6) in the chapter of *wakfs* (7).

(1) This work is a treatise on the secondary points of jurisprudence; see Flügel's Hajji Khalifa, No. 3543.

(2) Hajji Khalifa mentions the *Mawâkît* (*the prescribed times*), without giving any information as to its contents; the *Miftâh*, or Key to the legal doctrines of the Shafite sect is also mentioned by him.

(3) In the Arabic text this name is incorrectly printed *as-Shinji*.

(4) In the early ages of Islamism, the narrator of histories was a person highly respected; at that time few historical works had been composed, and it was from these persons alone that information could be obtained; they always began each of their relations by a statement of the persons through whom it was successively handed down, and they were particularly careful not to change or suppress a single word in those ancient traditions; it was with such documents that at-Tabari composed his celebrated history, merely arranging them in chronological order.

(5) This appears to be the same city which is now called Seri; Abû 'l-Fadâ places it in Mazenderan.

(6) The *Muhaddab* was written by Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi, and the *Wasît* by Abû Hâmid Muhammad al-Ghazzâli.

(7) The term *Wakf*, in the Muhammedan law, designates any sort of property conceded in perpetuity to a religious establishment; many pious Moslims willed their estates to the support of strong places on the enemy's borders, war with infidels being a religious duty; Tarsûs must therefore have possessed much property of this kind, on account of its importance as a frontier city, and it is probably for this reason that it is spoken of in the treatise on *Wakfs*.

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## ABU HAMID AL-MARWARRUDI.

Abû Hâmid Ahmad Ibn Aâmir Ibn Bishr Ibn Hâmid al-Marwarrûdi, doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, studied jurisprudence under Abû Ishak al-Marwazi; he composed the work called the *Jâmi*, a collection of doctrines special to his sect; a commentary on the *Mukhtasar* by al-Muzani, and a treatise on the principles of jurisprudence. This doctor, who was an imam of surpassing merit (1), settled at Basra, where he gave public lessons and had among his auditors the

jurisconsults of that city. Abû 'l-Haiyân at-Tawhîdi (2) said of him: "I heard "Abû Hâmid al-Marwarrûdi say: 'No man should be flattered on account of his "extraction, neither should he be blamed; for the tall man is not praised for his "stature, nor the ugly man blamed for his ill-favouredness.'" Died A. H. 362 (A.D. 972-3).—*Marwarrûdi* means *native of Marwarrûd*, a well-known city in Khorasan, built on a river, in Persian *ar-Rûd*, and situated at forty parasangs from Marw as-Shahjân; these are the *two Marws* so frequently mentioned by poets: the word *Shahjân* is added to the name of the larger one, from which also is derived the relative adjective *Marwazi*; the word *rûd* (*river*) is joined to that of the other city in order to distinguish between them: Marwarrûd has for relative adjective *Marwarrûdi*, and *Marwazi* also according to as-Samâni: it was one of the cities taken by al-Ahnaf Ibn Kais, and mention shall be made of it in his life (3); he had been sent against it at the head of the van-guard by Abd Allah Ibn Aâmir, general of the army. *Shahjân* means *the king's soul*: my reason for making these long observations is to prevent these places from being taken one for the other.

(1) Literally, *whose dust was not split* or *entered into*; a strange expression, but frequently made use of by writers who affect elegance of style; the poet Nâbigha ad-Dubyâni seems to have been the first who imagined it, and it is still found in one of his poems: Yûsuf as-Shantmari, author of an excellent commentary on the *six poets* (see the *Diwan d'Amro 'l-Kaïs*, introduction,) gives the following explanation of its meaning: "*Thou "hast not split my dust*, that is: I have surpassed thee, and the distance between us is so wide, that thou "hast not come up with me or *split my dust*; this expression originated in speaking of a good race-horse "which passed the others and got clear of them, so that they could not enter into the dust he raised."

(2) Abû 'l-Haiyân Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Abbâs at-Tawhîdi, native of Baghdad, was shaikh or superior of the Sûfis, whose doctrines he treated of in the *Treasures (Dekhaïr)*, and other works. In the life of Ibn al-Omaid Muhammad, by Ibn Khallikân, will be found more particulars respecting him; see also *Tabakât as-Shafyin, fol.* 21, *verso*.

(3) In the life of al-Ahnaf the author says little or nothing about these cities, and scarcely any information on the subject is to be found in al-Mâkin or Abû 'l-Fadâ; the following details may not therefore be uninteresting. In the thirtieth year of the Hijra (A.D. 650-1), Tabarestan was conquered by the Moslims under the orders of Saîd Ibn al-Aâs, and Abd Allah Ibn Aâmr Ibn Kariz كريز subdued Fars, Sejestan and Khorasan. The people of Herat offered some resistance, but were defeated; the cities of Naisapûr and Sarakhs سرخس surrendered peaceably, and Marw also obtained peace on condition of paying two millions of dirhems every year. Al-Ahnaf Ibn Kais was then sent by Abd Allah Ibn Aâmir into Tokharestan at the head of four thousand horse, and defeated the forces of that country, though seconded by those of Jawzajân and other districts; he then, with four hundred thousand (?) men, laid siege to the city of Balkh, and endeavoured to penetrate into Khowarezm, but without success. Abd Allah Ibn Aâmir then set out from Naisâpûr to perform

the pilgrimage to Mekka, leaving as his lieutenant in Khorasan al-Ahnaf, who defeated the united forces of that country. Abd Allah, on his return from Mekka, went to Basra, where he fixed his residence, while his lieutenants governed Khorasan, Sejistan, and Persian Irak الجبال. The quantity of tribute received by the khalif Othmân was so great, that it became necessary to form a number of large treasuries at Medina on purpose to contain it. It is said that the treasures of Khosroes taken by the Moslims amounted to one hundred thousand *badras* of gold; each *badra* بدرة containing four thousand pieces. (*Târîkh al-Khamîs*, Arabic MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 635, fol. 345.)

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## IBN AL-KATTAN.

Abû 'l-Husain Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ahmad, generally known by the name of *Ibn al-Kattân*, was a native of Baghdad and a leading doctor in the sect of as-Shâfi. He learned jurisprudence under Ibn Suraij and, after him, under Abû Ishak al-Marwazi: he then professed at Baghdad, and men of learning gained information at his lectures; he wrote besides a great number of works; and the students of that time all travelled to Irak that they might be instructed by him or by Abû 'l-Kâsim ad-Dâraki; when ad-Dâraki died, Ibn al-Kattân became chief of the Shafite sect (*in that country*). Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi mentions him in his *Tabakât* and says that he died A. H. 359 (A. D. 970); to which the Khatîb (*Abû Bakr Ahmad al-Baghdâdi*) adds: "In the month of the first Jumâda: he was "one of the chief Shafite doctors, and composed works on the principles of "jurisprudence and its secondary points." (*Ibn al-Jawzi*) author of the *Shuzûr al-Okûd* says that Baghdad (*the native place of Ibn al-Kattân*) was built in the year 146 (A. D. 763).

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## AT-TAHAWI.

Abû Jaafar Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Salâma Ibn Abd al-Malik al-Azdi at-Tahâwi was a doctor of the sect of Abû Hanîfa and became head of the Hanefites in Egypt. He had been a follower of as-Shâfi's sect, and taken lessons from al-Muzani, who said to him one day: "By God! no good will ever come of 27 "you." Provoked by this remark, at-Tahâwi passed over to Abû Jaafar Ibn

Abi Imrân the Hanefite (1) and studied under him: he said afterwards, on composing his *Mukhtasar* or Compendium of Jurisprudence: "God be merciful to "Abû Ibrahîm!" (meaning al-Muzani), "were he living, he should have to "expiate his oath (2)." Abû Yala al-Khalili says, in his *Irshâd* (3), in the life of al-Muzani: "At-Tahâwi was sister's son to al-Muzani; and Muhammad Ibn "Ahmad as-Shurûti relates having asked him why he differed in opinion from "his uncle, and preferred Abû Hanîfa's doctrine? to which at-Tahâwi replied: "'Because I saw my uncle pore over the works of Abû Hanîfa.'" This doctor wrote a number of instructive books, such as the *Ahkâm al-Korân* (4), *Ikhtilâf al-Ulamâ* (*Points of doctrine on which the learned differ*), *Maâni 'l-Athâr* (*The obscure ideas and allusions in the Traditions*), the *Shurût* (*Treatise on drawing up bonds*), a great historical work, etc. Al-Kodâî in his *Khitat* speaks of him in these terms: "In his youth he met with al-Muzani and most of the "doctors contemporary with him, and became remarkably skilled in drawing "up bonds (5). The kâdi Abû Obaid Allah Muhammad Ibn Abda (6) took him "for secretary; he was then in a destitute condition, but was enriched by the "kindness of Abû Obaid, who was a very generous man. Then the kâdi Abû "Obaid Ali Ibn al-Husain Ibn Harb (7) appointed him scrivener (8) after the "circumstance which occurred between Mansûr the doctor and himself (9); this "was in the year 306 (A. D. 918). The public notaries were averse through "jealousy to his being nominated scrivener, as they did not wish the same "person to be both chief jurisconsult (10) and receiver of attestations; but a "number of them having gone that year to Mekka to sojourn there some time "from religious motives, Abû Obaid took advantage of their absence and nominated Abû Jaafar on the attestations of Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Mâmûn and Abû "Bakr Ibn Saklâb (11)." At-Tahâwi was born in 238 (A. D. 852), or 229 (A. D. 843), according to Abû Saad as-Samâni, who is here right; another author adds that his birth was on Sunday eve, 11th of the first Rabî; he died at Old Cairo on Thursday, 1st of Zû 'l-Kaada 321 (A. D. 933), and was buried in the Karâfa (12) where his tomb is still remarked. In the life of the doctor Mansûr Ibn Ismail ad-Darîr, mention is again made of him, so the reader is referred to it. His father died A. H. 264 (A. D. 877-8). *Tahâwi* means *native of Tahâ*, which is a town in Upper Egypt (*Saîd*): *Azdi* signifies *sprung from Azd*, a great and renowned tribe in Yemen.

(1) The hafiz Abû Jaafar Ahmad Ibn Abi Imrân, native of Baghdad, was an imam of high authority in the sect of Abû Hanifa. He was a man of solid learning, and composed a work, entitled *al-Hijaj* الحجج; he filled the place of kadi in Egypt, and lost his sight in that country. Died A. H. 280 (A. D. 893). (*Tab. al-Hanafyin*, fol. 110 verso.)

(2) Al-Muzani had sworn by God, but his oath proved false; he should therefore have expiated his perjury had he lived. This expiation consists in granting freedom to a slave, or in once feeding or clothing ten paupers; if the person guilty of this crime have not the means of fulfilling either of the above conditions, he is only obliged to fast for three days. — (D'Ohsson's *Tableau de l'Empire Othoman*, t. IV, p. 286.)

(3) This work is spoken of by Hajji Khalifa; see Flügel's edition, No. 520. The author, Abû Yala Khalil Ibn Abd Allah, was a native of Kazwin. He died A. H. 446 (A. D. 1054), and was considered a traditionist of the first authority. (Yafi's *Annals*.)

(4) See note (2), page 6.

(5) In Arabic *Shurût (conditions)*, the name given to that branch of jurisprudence which treats of drawing up legal acts and bonds in proper form. (See Hajji Khalifa.)

(6) Abû Obaid Allah Muhammad Ibn Abda al-Abbâdâni, doctor of the Hanefite sect, born at Basra, A. H. 218 (A. D. 833); he studied under a number of celebrated masters, and then went to Egypt, where he was appointed *Inspector of Wrongs* (see de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, t. I, p. 132), and was afterwards nominated kâdi, in the year 278, by Khumârawaih, son of Ahmad Ibn Taulûn. He was a generous patron of men of learning, and always ready to oblige those who applied to him. During the troubles which ensued in Egypt on the death of Jaish, son of Khumârawaih, Ibn Abda was obliged to lie concealed for a considerable period; he was restored to the place of kâdi, A. H. 292, but he quitted it soon after and retired to Irak, where he died, A. H. 312 (A. D. 924), aged 95 years. (Al-Askalâni's History of the Kadis of Egypt, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 691.)

(7) Ali Ibn al-Husain Ibn Harb, surnamed Ibn Harbawaih, was a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi and native of Baghdad. In A. H. 293 he went to Egypt and replaced Ibn Abda as kâdi; he was afterwards deposed in the year 311, and died at Baghdad in 319 (A. D. 931). (Al-Askalâni. Al-Othmâni.)

(8) In Arabic, *Adl;* see what Ibn Khaldûn says of the duties of this public officer, in de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, t. I, p. 40; consult also Von Hammer's *Länderverwaltung unter dem Chalifate*, p. 103.

(9) This occurrence is again spoken of in the life of Mansûr; it was a quarrel between the two doctors.

(10) The jurisconsults called the law *the science*, to indicate its high importance; for the same reason, the chief jurisconsult is called the *chief of the science*, which is the name given him here.

(11) Those persons were probably notaries also.

(12) There were two cemeteries at Old Cairo, called the Greater and the Lesser Karâfa: al-Makrizi, in his *Khitat*, describes them both and gives copious information respecting the tombs, chapels, mosques, and Moslim convents with which they were filled. See also M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, t. I, p. 238.

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## ABU HAMID AL-ISFARAINI.

The shaikh Abû Hâmid Ahmad Ibn Abi Tâhir Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al-Isfarâini, doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, became imam and professor (1), at Baghdad,

where his lectures were attended by more than three hundred students in jurisprudence: (*the subject of his lessons was*) the *Mukhtasar* by al-Muzani, which he explained with additional observations of his own; and (*by his successful instruction*) he filled the earth with partisans (*of as-Shâfi's opinions*). He explained the doctrines of his sect in two works, the Great and the Small *Talîka* (2); another short work of his, the *Bustân* or Garden, consists of singular anecdotes. He learned jurisprudence from Abû 'l-Hasan Ibn al-Marzubân and then, from Abû 'l-Kâsim ad-Dâraki; contemporaries all acknowledged his superior merit and discriminating judgment; and the Khatîb (*Abû Bakr Ahmad*) speaks of him, in his History of Baghdad, in these terms: "Abû Hâmid taught a small "portion of traditions, which he himself had learned from Abd Allah Ibn Adi, "Abû Bakr al-Ismaîli, Ibrahîm Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abdal al-Isfarâini and others; "(*as a traditionist*) he is a sure authority. I saw him more than once and was "present at his lectures in the mosque of Abd Allah Ibn al-Mubarak which lies "at the upper end of the *Grant of ar-Rabî* (3), and I heard some persons mention "that seven hundred students of jurisprudence went to his lectures, and (*for that* "*reason*) people used to say: *If as-Shâfi saw him, he would be delighted.*" The shaikh Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi, in his *Tabakât*, relates as follows: "Abû
28 "'l-Husain al-Kudûri the Hanefite used to praise and extol Abû Hâmid al-Isfarâini "above all others; and it was told to the vizir Abû 'l-Kâsim Ali Ibn al-Husain (4) "that he had said: 'I consider Abû Hâmid an abler doctor and divine than "'as-Shâfi.' On this, I remarked to the vizir that it was al-Kudûri's confidence in "Abû Hâmid's talents, and his zeal for the Hanefite sect, which led him to under- "value as-Shâfi, so no attention should be paid to what he had said; for Abû "Hâmid, and even more ancient and learned doctors than he, were far from the "rank of as-Shâfi; to whom and to whose successors we might apply this verse "of the poet's:

> 'They sojourned at Mekka among the tribes of Naufal, but thou hast settled at al-Baidâ,
> 'the most distant station.'"

It is related of Abû Hâmid that he said: "I never, in quitting the meetings for "discussing points of law (5) had to regret omitting a necessary observation." It is also related that, in one of those meetings, a doctor addressed him in an improper manner, and then went to him that night to ask his pardon; on which Abû Hâmid repeated these verses:

A deliberate insult is offered before the public; then comes a private excuse which only confirms the fault. He who thinks that a private excuse can efface a public insult is in a great mistake.

This doctor was born in A. H. 344 (A. D. 955), and went to Baghdad in 363 (A.D. 973-4), or 364 according to the Khatîb: he there taught jurisprudence from the year 370 till his death, which happened Friday evening, 18th Shawwâl, A. H. 406 (March, A.D. 1016), at Baghdad; the next morning he was buried in (*the court of*) his house. His body was afterwards transported to the (*cemetery at the*) Gate of Harb in the year 410. The Khatîb says: "I prayed over his bier in the plain "(*Sahrâ*) beyond the Bridge of Abû 'd-Dann; and the imam who lead the prayer "was Abû Abd Allah, son to (*the Khalif*) al-Mahtadi, and preacher of the Mosque "of Al-Mansûr, it was a day witnessed by crowds of people and filled with deep "sorrow and grievous lamentation."—*Isfarâini* means *native of Isfarâin*, a town of Khorasan in the territory of Naisâpûr, half way between it and Jorjân.— The verse applied to as-Shâfi by the shaikh Abû Ishak has another belonging to it which runs thus:

For thou didst fear on her account (6) the evil talk of hidden foes with sharpened tongue; who say, but never perform.

(1) The expression رياسة الدنيا والدين, *chieftainship of the world and of the religion* is so obscure, that its signification can only be found by comparing the different passages in which it occurs. Its real meaning, deduced from an examination of six passages, appears to be that given here; namely, *the places of imam and chief professor;* for it is to be observed that all the persons to whom this title is applied, were great imams and famous professors, and nothing more. In al-Othmâni's *Tabakât* we find that Muhammad as-Salûki became the *imam of the world* in jurisprudence, exegesis, polite literature, philology, grammar, poetry, and scholastic divinity; the same author says of Ibrahîm al-Marwazi, that he succeeded to the place of رياسة العلم *chieftainship of science* or head-professorship, and that he filled the land with his pupils. These two passages, selected from many others, appear decisive as to the sense of the رياسة الدنيا, *chieftainship of the world.* The *chieftainship of the religion* indicates, most probably, the place of the chief imam.

(2) *Talika* signifies an *appendix* or *supplement;* the Moslim schoolmen give this title to collections of notes and observations on the system of doctrine followed by the sect; these notes were generally taken by the scholars during the lectures of their professors. Hajji Khalifa mentions a number of works bearing this title, and he remarks that al-Isfarâini's *Talîkât* treats of the Shafite doctrines. (See Flügel's edition, t. II. No. 3120.)

(3) See page 7, note (1). The Khatîb could not then have been more than eleven or twelve years of age.

(4) Ali Ibn al-Husain, surnamed *Rais ar-Ruasâ* (*chief of the chiefs*) was vizir to the khalif al-Kaim Biamr Illah: he was put to death by al-Basâsiri, A. H. 450 (A. D. 1058). (See Abû 'l-Fadâ's Annals.)

(5) These debating societies were held by students under the presidence of their professor, or by doctors of the different sects between themselves.

(6) The mistress of the Arabic poet is generally of a different tribe from his, and she is supposed to be always guarded by a number of jealous relations, ready to wreak vengeance on any lover who should dare to make known the object of his passion.

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## AL-MAHAMILI.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Kasim Ibn Ismaîl Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ismaîl Ibn Saîd Ibn Abân ad-Dubbi al-Mahâmili, doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi. He learned jurisprudence from Abû Hâmid al-Isfaraîni, and put down in writing a *Talîka* (1) which was taught him by Abû Hâmid, and whose name it bears. The penetration and intelligence with which he was gifted enabled him to eclipse all his contemporaries; in jurisprudence he became remarkably eminent, and professed it both in the lifetime of his master Abû Hâmid and after his decease. He learned the Traditions from Muhammad Ibn al-Muzaffar (2) and other traditionists of the same period, having been taken by his father on a journey to Kûfa, in order that he might hear them from the lips of that teacher. He composed on the doctrines of his sect a large book, entitled the *Majmû* (*Collection*); another in one volume, called *Mukni* (*sufficient*); a little work entitled the *Lobâb* (*Marrow*), and a fourth called the *Ausat* (*Medium*), besides a great number of treatises on controversial subjects. He professed at Baghdad, and his name is mentioned in the Chronicle of that city compiled by the Khatîb. 29 Died on Wednesday, 20th of the second Rabî, 415 (A.D. 1024); born A.H. 368 (A. D. 978-9).—*Dubbi* means *belonging to Dubb*, which is a great and well-known tribe; *Mahâmili* is derived from *Mahâmil*, which is the name of the litters in which travellers are carried.

(1) See page 55, note (2).

(2) Abû 'l-Hasan Muhammad Ibn al-Muzaffar was born at Baghdad, A. H. 286 (A. D. 899). He became the first traditionist of his time in Irak, and had among his auditors the celebrated ad-Dârakutni. Died A. H. 379 (A. D. 989). It appears that he was a partisan of the Shîite doctrines. (*Tab. al-Huffâz*).

## AL-BAIHAKI.

Abû Bakr Ahmad Ibn al-Husain Ibn Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Mûsa al-Baihaki al-Khosrûjerdi, doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, the great and illustrious hâfiz (1), who in his age stood alone without a rival for the variety of his attainments, was one of the principal disciples of the hâkim Abû Abd Allah Ibn al-Baiy, by whom he was taught the traditions, but whom he soon surpassed in all the different parts of knowledge. He learned jurisprudence from Abû 'l-Fath Nâsir Ibn Muhammad al-Omari al-Marwazi (2), but the traditions were his favourite study, and it was as a traditionist that he attained reputation. In this pursuit he travelled to Irak, Jibâl (*Persian Irak*), Hijâz and Khorâsan, in which country, as well as in all the others visited by him, he received the traditions from the lips of the learned of that time; he then began to write on the subject, and composed a great number of works, which, it is said, amount to one thousand volumes. It was he who first collected the sentences (3) of as-Shâfi, with which he formed ten volumes: the best known of his works are—the Great and the Small Collections of Traditions; Proofs of the prophetic Mission; Acts and Traditions (*of Muhammad*); Path of Faith; Merits of as-Shâfi, descendant of Abd al-Muttalib; Merits of Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, etc. Al-Baihaki was a man little solicitous about worldly goods, and the Imam al-Haramain said of him: "There was "no follower of the Shafite sect who was not under some obligation to as-Shâfi, "al-Baihaki excepted; for as-Shâfi was under obligations to him." Al-Baihaki was a most active defender of the doctrine instituted by as-Shâfi, and was invited to Naisâpûr, in order to propagate the knowledge (*of that doctrine*); he went there in consequence, and led a (*simple and holy*) life such as that of the primitive Moslims; he taught traditions to a great number of eminent doctors, among others, Zâhir as-Shahâmi (4), Muhammad al-Forâwi and Abd al-Munim al-Kushairi (5); he was born in the month of Shabân, 384 (A. D. 994); died the 10th of the first Jumâda, 458 (A. D. 1066), at Naisâpûr, whence his body was transported to *Baihak* (*his native place*), which is a collection of villages in the dependency of Naisâbûr, at twenty parasangs from that city; *Khosrûjerd* is the name of one of those villages.

(1) The persons who know the Koran by heart are called *Hâfiz*; but this title is given more especially to

those doctors who have learned by heart the contents of the six great collections of Traditions (see the *Miskât-al-Masâbîh*, vol. I, p. 3), who can cite the names of the persons by whom each tradition has been successively handed down, and who can point out those traditionists whose authority cannot be admitted without limitation and those who merit full confidence. The word *hâfiz* is sometimes made use of to designate a narrator of historical traditions.

(2) Abû 'l-Fath al-Omari was one of the most noted doctors who studied under al-Kaffal and Abû 't-Taiyb as-Sâlûki; he died A. H. 444 (A. D. 1052).—(Al-Othmâni's *Tabakât*, fol. 85 verso.)

(3) *Sentences*; that is, *legal opinions* received as positive precepts by the followers of his sect. Al-Othmâni remarks (*Tabakât*, fol. 22 verso), that among the numerous authors who wrote on the life and virtues of as-Shâfi, the ablest and most exact was al-Baihaki, who, in two thick volumes, treated fully of his merits, the circumstances of his life, etc. all on the best authority.

(4) Abû 'l-Kâsim Zâhir Ibn Tâhir as-Shahâmi and his brother Abû Bakr Wajîh were two celebrated traditionists of that time.

(5) Abû 'l-Muzaffar Abd al-Munim al-Kushairi was son to Abd al-Karîm Ibn Hawâzin, whose life is given in this work.

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## AN-NASAI THE HAFIZ.

The hâfiz Abû Abd ar-Rahmân Ahmad Ibn Ali Ibn Shoaib Ibn Ali Ibn Sinân Ibn Bahr an-Nasâi, chief traditionist of his age and author of a *Sunan*, or collection of traditions, was an inhabitant of Old Cairo, in which city his works got into circulation, and where he had also many pupils. Muhammad Ibn Ishak al-Isfahâni gives the following account of his death: "I heard our elders in Old "Cairo relate that Abû Abd ar-Rahmân left Misr towards the end of his life and "went to Damascus, where he was asked what he thought of Moâwia and what "traditions he knew respecting the merits of that prince; to which he made this "reply: 'It is not then enough for Moâwia to enter (*into salvation*) on an equal "footing with others, but he must even surpass them by exclusive merits (1)!' "But some relate that his answer was: 'I know not any tradition respecting his "special merit but this: *May God never satiate thy belly!*' (2) Now this "doctor was an advocate for the rights of the khalif Ali; so the people began "to strike him on the sides, nor did they discontinue till they thrust him "out of the mosque. (In another account it is said that they struck him "on the testicles and trod him under foot.) He was then borne to Ramla, "where he expired." The hâfiz Abû 'l-Hasan ad-Dârakutni relates as fol-30 lows: "An-Nasâi, after the ill-treatment he underwent at Damascus, asked

" to be borne to Mecca, where he died on his arrival, and was buried be-
" tween as-Safa and al-Marwa; his death happened in the month of Shabân,
" A. H. 303" (February, A. D. 916). The hâfiz Abû Noaim al-Isfahâni adds the following particulars: "The people having trampled on an-Nasâi at
" Damascus, he died from the effects of that ill usage whilst he was bearing (*to*
" *Mekka*). He composed a work called *al-Khasâis* (*Particularities*), treating of
" the merits of Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib and those of his family; the greater part of the
" traditions contained therein are alleged on the authority of Ahmad Ibn Hanbal.
" Having been asked why he did not write a work on the merits of Muhammad's
" companions, he answered: 'On entering Damascus, I found a great number of
" persons holding Ali in aversion, for which reason I intended that God should
" direct them by means of this book.' He used to abstain from food every
" second day, and was remarked for being of an ardent temperament." The hâfiz Ibn Asâkir of Damascus relates that he had four wives, to each of whom he paid equal attentions, and that he possessed concubines besides. Ad-Dârakutni declares him a martyr, on account of the trials he underwent at Damascus, and says that he died on Monday, 13th Safar, 303 (August, A. D. 915), at Mekka; others state that he died at Ramla, in Palestine. Abû Said Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Yûnus, author of the Annals of Egypt, writes in that work: "An-Nasâi came to Misr a
" long time ago, he was a traditionist of the first order; his word was held a sure
" authority, his information was exact, and his memory retentive. He left Misr
" in the month of Zu 'l-Kaada, 302." I find in my handwriting, in the rough copy of this work, that an-Nasâi was born at Nasâ, A. H. 214 or 215 (A. D. 829, 830).—*Nasâi* means *native of Nasâ*, a city in Khorasan, which has produced a number of eminent men.

(1) The expression راسا براس has been already explained, page 48, note (5).

(2) Moâwia was so voracious that his greediness became proverbial. (See Freytag's *Proverbia Meidanii*, t. I, p. 135.) The imprecation cited by an-Nasâi was probably uttered by one of Moâwia's enemies, and party spirit prevented it from being forgotten.

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## AL-KUDURI.

Abû 'l-Husain Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Jaafar Ibn Hamdân,

surnamed al-Kudûri, was a doctor of the sect of Abû Hanîfa, and became president of the Hanefites in Irak. In treating speculative points he had the talent of expressing his ideas with great precision; he was also versed in the traditions; and the khatîb Abû Bakr, author of the History of Baghdad, who had learned them from him, alleged his authority in citing them. He wrote several treatises on the doctrines of his sect; among others, that celebrated work, the *Mukhtasar* (Abridgment). He was accustomed to discuss controversial subjects with Abû Hâmid al-Isfaraîni, the Shafite doctor; in whose life has already been given the high opinion which he expressed of Abû Hâmid's merits (1). Al-Kudûri was born A.H. 362 (A.D. 972-3); he died on Sunday, 5th of Rajab, 428 (April, A.D. 1037), at Baghdad, and was buried the same day in (*the court of*) his dwelling, in the street of Abû Khalf; but his body was afterwards transported to a tomb in the great street of al-Mansûr, where it was placed by the side of Abû Bakr al-Khowârezmi, the Hanefite doctor (2).—*Kudûri* is derived from *kudûr*, plural of *kidr* (caldron): I know not for what reason he was so called; but such is the derivation of that appellation as given by as-Samâni, in his work called *al-Ansâb*.

(1) See page 54.

(2) The shaikh and imam Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Musa Ibn Muhammad al-Khowârezmi, a celebrated professor, and mufti of the Hanefite sect; for intelligence, learning, and integrity, he possessed a high reputation; and his society was courted by persons of every rank. Died A. H. 403 (A. D. 1012-3). (*Tabakât al-Hanafyîn;* MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, fonds St. Germain, No. 132, fol. 142 verso.)

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## AT-THALABI AN-NAISABURI.

Abû Ishak Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ibrahîm at-Thalabi, native of Naisâpûr, and a well-known commentator on the Koran, was the most skilful man of his time in explaining the difficulties of that book; and his work, entitled *the Great Commentary*, surpassed all others on the subject. He is also author of the *Kitâb al-Araîs* (*Book of Brides*), containing the history of the prophets, and of other treatises. As-Samâni makes mention of him and adds: "Some of the learned say "that the name of Thalabi, or Thaâlibi, was given to him not as a patronymic, "but as a surname." Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Kushairi relates the following circum-

stance concerning him: "I saw in a dream the Lord of Glory (1), who was speak- 31
" ing to me and I to him; during this it happened that the Lord (may his name be
" exalted), said: 'The holy man draweth near.' I turned, and lo! Ahmad at-
" Thalabi was drawing near." Abd al-Ghâfir Ibn Ismaîl al-Fârisi, in his *Siâk*,
or continuation of the history of Naisâpûr, speaks of him and praises him: "He
" was," says he, "an exact and trust-worthy transmitter of traditions; he gave
" them on the authority of Abû Tâhir Ibn Khuzaima and the imam Abû Bakr
" Ibn Mihrân, teacher of the art of reading the Koran correctly. He taught
" a great number of traditions, which he had learned from many masters.
" He died in 427 (A. D. 1035-6)." Another writer states that his death took
place in the month of Muharram, 427; and a third that it happened on Wednesday, 23rd Muharram, 437 (A. D. 1045).—*Naisâbûri* means *belonging to Naisâpûr*, which is one of the fairest and greatest cities in Khorasan, abounding, above others, in all the conveniencies of life; it was so called because Sâbûr zû 'l-Aktâf, a Persian king of the last race, having come to the site of the place, which was then overgrown with reeds, was pleased with it and said: "It were " well a city were here;" he then ordered the reeds to be cut down and the city to be built; and it was named Naisabûr, because *Nai* in Persian means *reed*. This is what as-Samâni says in his *Ansâb*.

(1) See page 46, note (7), and Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, vol. I, p. 271, 338.

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## IBN ABI DUWAD.

The kâdi Abû Abd Allah Ahmad Ibn Abi Duwâd Farah Ibn Jarîr Ibn Mâlik Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Abbâd Ibn Salâm Ibn Mâlik Ibn Abd Hind Ibn Lakhm (1) Ibn Mâlik Ibn Kanas Ibn Mana Ibn Borjân Ibn Daus Ibn ad-Dîl Ibn Omaiya Ibn Hudâka Ibn Zahr Ibn Iyâd Ibn Nizâr Ibn Maadd Ibn Adnân al-Iyâdi: this kâdi was celebrated for his manly character and his zeal in serving his friends; and many anecdotes of his humane interference with the khalif al-Motasim are still preserved. Abû Abd Allah (2) al-Marzobâni makes the following mention of him in the *Murshid*, where he treats of the Motazelite divines: "It is said that Ahmad Ibn

" Abi Duwâd's family drew its origin from a village near Kinnisrin (3), but he
" himself, when yet a boy, was taken to Damascus (4) by his father, who went
" there on a commercial undertaking. Ahmad passed his youth in the pursuit
" of learning (more particularly jurisprudence and scholastic theology), till he
" attained that eminence he afterwards held. He studied under Haiyâj Ibn al-
" Alâ as-Sulmi, and had been a pupil of Wâsil Ibn Atâ's (5); this rendered him
" partial to the doctrines of the Motazelites." "Never," says Abû 'l-Aînâ, "did
" I meet a person invested with authority who spoke with more correctness and
" precision than Ibn Abi Duwâd." Ishak Ibn Ibrahîm al-Mausili relates the following anecdote respecting him: "I heard Ibn Abi Duwâd say at the court of
" al-Motasim: 'I never speak first to a khalif about business in the presence of
" the vizir Muhammad Ibn az-Zaiyât, lest he should learn (*from my example*)
" how to begin a conversation with the prince and how business is done (6).'
" He was the first who ever opened a conversation with a khalif, for till that time
" none spoke to the prince till he spoke first to them." Abû 'l-Aînâ says that Ibn Abi Duwâd was a good poet, and that he expressed his thoughts with elegance and precision. Al-Marzobâni relates that his name is mentioned by Dibil Ibn Ali l-Khozâi, in his book containing the list of poets, and that some fine verses of his are quoted there.—Ibn Abi Duwâd used to say: "There are three classes of
" men who must be treated with honour and esteem: the learned, the magis-
" trates, and our friends; whoever slights the learned, loses his religion; who-
" ever slights the magistrates, loses his property; and whoever slights his
" friends, loses his manliness."—Ibrahîm Ibn al-Hasan relates as follows:
" We were assembled in the presence of al-Mâmûn, and the names of the people
" of Medina who engaged their fidelity to Muhammad on the night of al-Akaba (7),
" were enumerated; there was some disagreement however on the subject,
" when Ibn Abi Duwâd came in, and counted them up one by one, names, sur-
" names, and genealogies; on which al-Mâmûn said: 'When men want a man
" of talent for companion, let them take a person like Ahmad!' 'Nay,' said
" Ahmad, 'but when a man of learning keeps company with a khalif, let him
" find one like the Commander of the Faithful, from whom he may gain inform-
32 " ation, and whose conversation is more learned than his own.' "—One of Ahmad Ibn Abi Duwâd's maxims was: "A man is not perfect unless he have abilities
" sufficient for elevating to the pulpit his friend, though a simple soldier of po-

"lice, and for sending to the gibbet his enemy, though a vizier (8)." Abû 'l-Ainâ relates of him the following anecdote: "Al-Afshîn (9) bore envy towards "Abû Dulaf al-Kâsim Ibn Isa 'l-Ijli for his knowledge of the pure Arabic lan-"guage and for his bravery; he therefore plotted against him, and caused witness "to be borne that he had committed treason and murder; he then had him "arrested on a pretext he imagined, and, having held a sitting to try him, "he ordered him to be brought forth along with the headsman that was to put "him to death. When news of this reached Ibn Abi Duwâd, he instantly "mounted his horse (10), set off with the notaries who happened to be present (*at "his tribunal*) (11), and came in on al-Afshîn, before whom Abû Dulaf had "just been led for execution. He then stopped and said: "I am a messen-"ger to thee from the Commander of the Faithful; he commands thee to do "no ill to al-Kâsim Ibn Isa, and moreover to give him up to me.' Turn-"ing then to the notaries, he said: 'Bear witness that I have delivered him the "message sent by the Commander of the Faithful, and that al-Kâsim is alive "and in health.' The notaries answered: 'We are witnesses thereof.' So al-"Afshîn could not do al-Kâsim harm, and Ibn Abi Duwâd went instantly to the "khalif al-Motasim and said: 'Commander of the Faithful! I have fulfilled in "thy name a message which thou didst not give me, yet I count it for one of my "best deeds, and through it I hope for Paradise.' He then told him what had "passed, and the khalif approved his conduct, and having sent for al-Kasim, he "set him at liberty and gave him a present; he then reprimanded severely al-"Afshîn for having dared to act so.—Al-Motasim, being moved by violent anger "against Muhammad Ibn al-Jahm the Barmakide, ordered his head to be "struck off; the prisoner was already placed blindfolded on the executioner's "leather carpet (12), and the sword was just brandishing to strike him, when Ibn "Abi Duwâd, conscious that no petty shift could save him, said to the khalif: "'How canst thou take his wealth, if thou killest him?'—'Who is to hinder "me?' replied the khalif.—'God,' answered the other, 'doth not permit it, nei-"ther is it allowed by the Apostle of God, nor by the justice of the Commander of "the Faithful! for his wealth belongeth to his heirs if thou slayest him, unless thou "givest legal proof of his guilt. It is much easier for thee to order him, while "he yet liveth, to refund what he hath embezzled.' 'Keep him in custody,' said "al-Motasim, 'till an inquest be held.' Then, after some delay, the affair ended

" by Muhammad's paying a sum of money and being set at liberty."—The following anecdote is told by al-Jâhiz: "Al-Motasim was moved with wrath against " an inhabitant of Mesopotamia, and had the sword and executioner's carpet " brought in; he then said to the prisoner: 'Thou hast done so, and acted so (13); " strike off his head!' 'Commander of the Faithful,' said Ibn Abi Duwâd, 'the " sword is going here before justice; make some delay in this business, for the " man is wrongly accused.' The khalif kept silence for a short time——here " we shall finish the narration in Ibn Abi Duwâd's own words: 'I had then so " pressing a call to make water, that I could no longer retain, yet I knew that " if I went out, he should surely die; so I gathered my garments under me and " yielded to it, but I succeeded in saving the man. When I stood up, al-" Motasim saw that my garments were wet, and said: 'O Abû Abd Allah, was " there any water under you?' 'No, Commander of the Faithful,' I replied, " 'but it happened so and so.' On hearing the circumstance, the khalif laughed, " and prayed for me; saying: 'Well done! may God bless thee!'—Al-Motasim " then clothed him in a robe of honour and ordered him a present of one hun-" dred thousand dirhems."—Ahmad Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân al-Kalbi says that Ibn Abi Duwâd was all soul from his head to his foot, and Lâzûn Ibn Ismaîl makes this remark: "I never saw one man more submissive to another than " al-Motasim was to Ibn Abi Duwâd; when a trifle was asked of him, he would " refuse, but Ibn Abi Duwâd would then come in and speak to him in favour of " his (*the khalif's*) family, of the people in the frontier garrisons, of the inha-" bitants of Mekka and Medina, and of those who dwelt far off in the countries " of the East and West, and al-Motasim would grant all he desired. One " day he spoke to the khalif to obtain a sum of one million of dirhems for dig-" ging a canal in the most distant part of Khorasan, and received this answer: " 'What have I to do with this canal?' 'Commander of the Faithful,' said Ibn " Abi Duwâd, 'God will call you to an equal account of your superintendence " over the affairs of the most distant, and over those of the nearest of your sub-" jects.' He then continued to manage adroitly the humour of the khalif till the " money was granted." Al-Husain Ibn ad-Dahhâk, the celebrated poet, said to one of the metaphysicians of that time: "In the opinion of us (*poets*) Ibn Abi Duwâd " does not know the (*pure Arabic*) language; you look on him as not being " a good metaphysician; the jurisconsults think him unskilled in the law;

" but al-Motasim considers him learned in all those sciences." Ibn Abi Duwâd narrates in these terms the origin of his connection with the khalif al-Mâmûn: " I used to go with the other doctors to Yahya Ibn al-Aktham's assemblies (14), 33 " and I was there one day when a messenger came from al-Mâmûn to state that " the Commander of the Faithful desired Ibn al-Aktham to go to him with all his " company. Ibn al-Aktham was unwilling to take me with him, but he had " no means of leaving me behind; so I went with the others, and we held a conver- " sation in the presence of al-Mâmûn, who turned to look at me when I began to " speak, and listened to my words with attention and approbation. He then " asked me who I was, and I told him my pedigree. 'What,' said he, 'has delayed " you so long from coming to see us?' Not wishing to do an ill office to Yahya, " I replied: 'Destiny detained me, and it was necessary that the term of God's " written decree should arrive.' 'Let it be known to you (15),' said he, 'that " in future we shall hold no assembly unless you come to it.' I answered: " 'Yes, Commander of the Faithful (*I shall obey your order*).' After that, " our connection was gradually formed." Others relate this affair in a different manner: Yahya Ibn al-Aktham, they say, went to Basra from Khorasan to act as kâdi in the name of al-Mâmûn; this was towards the end of the year 202 (about June, A. D. 818). Yahya was then a young man, somewhat more than twenty years of age. He there chose for companions a number of men remarkable for their learning and honourable character, among whom was Ibn Abi Duwâd. When al-Mâmûn came to Bagdad in 204, he told Yahya to choose some from among his companions to be admitted into the society of the khalif and to be his frequent visitors. In consequence of this, Yahya selected twenty, and among them Ibn Abi Duwâd, but the khalif, on finding the number too great, ordered Yahya to make a selection out of them, and ten persons were chosen, amongst whom was Ibn Abi Duwâd; but the khalif desired a fresh reduction to be made, and Yahya chose five, one of whom was Ibn Abi Duwâd: such was the origin of his connexion with the khalif. When al-Mâmûn was on his death-bed, he addressed to his brother al-Motasim his testament, which contained this recommendation: "As for Abû Abd Allah Ahmad Ibn Abi Duwâd, let him never cease to " be the associate of your councils on every subject, for he is most worthy of " having such confidence placed in him (16); and I recommend you not to take " a vizir when I die." Al-Motasim, on his accession to the khalifate, appointed

Ibn Abi Duwâd chief kâdi (*kâdi 'l-kodât*), and deposed Yahya Ibn al-Aktham; and Ibn Abi Duwâd became so great a favourite with the khalif, that neither his public nor private business was done without his advice. In the month of Ramadân, A.H. 220 (September, A.D. 835), Ibn Abi Duwâd cruelly persecuted Ahmad Ibn Hanbal and tried to force him to admit that the Koran was created (17).—Al-Motasim in dying was succeeded by his son al-Wâthik Billah, under whom Ibn Abi Duwâd continued to enjoy high favour; when he died, his brother al-Mutawakkil succeeded to the khalifate, and in the beginning of his reign Ibn Abi Duwâd lost the use of his right side from a paralytic stroke, in consequence of which, al-Mutawakkil conferred the place of kâdi on Muhammad, son of Ahmad Ibn Abi Duwâd, who was afterwards, in 236 (A.D. 850), replaced as *Inspector of Grievances*(18) by Yahya Ibn al-Aktham.—Al-Wâthik had ordered that every person should arise on seeing the vizir Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik az-Zaiyât, and Ibn Abn Duwâd would stand up on seeing the vizir, but then turn towards the kibla in order to say his prayers; for which reason Ibn az-Zaiyât pronounced the following verses:

> He says his prayers since he had the advantage of bearing hatred against me; I see that from that time, he fulfils his pious duties and his fasts. May his heart be never free from such envenomed hatred as may leave him no repose (19).

The praises of Ibn Abi Duwâd were celebrated by a number of contemporary poets, and Ali ar-Râzi relates this anecdote on the subject: "I saw the poet "Abû Tammâm with Ibn Abi Duwâd, to whom he was making a man recite "for him a poem in which were these words:

> 'The generosity of Ahmad Ibn Duwâd has caused all the afflictions of evil Fortune to 'be forgotten! Never did I travel to distant regions without owing to his bounty 'my conveyance and my subsistence.'

"Ibn Abi Duwâd here asked him if that thought was his own, or if he had "borrowed it? To which Abû Tammâm replied that it was his own, but that "he made in it an allusion to the following verse, composed by Abû Nawâs:

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> 'If our words seem to convey the praises of any other, it is thou alone on whom our 'thoughts are turned (20).'

Abû Tammâm had passed a great number of days at the door of Ibn Abi

Duwâd without being admitted to see him, for which reason he complained bitterly of his conduct to one of his friends. Some time after, he was introduced, and Ibn Abi Duwâd said to him: "O Abû Tammâm, have you reproached "enough?" To which he answered: "Reproaches are made to individuals only, "but thou art all mankind (21); and how can reproaches be made to them?" "Where did you come by that idea?" said the kâdi. Abû Tammâm replied: "I borrowed it from the knowing one" (meaning Abû Nawâs), "who said of "al-Fadl Ibn ar-Rabi:

'God is not to be blamed if he unite (*the noble qualities of*) all mankind in a sole 'individual.'

On the appointment of Ibn Abi Duwâd as Inspector of Grievances, Abû Tammâm addressed his complaints to him in a poem, which contained the following passage:

Since your neglect causes the ruin of poetry and poets, we need not wonder if they perish through the neglect of foreigners (22)! Yet poetry (*like the laden camel*) stirs from side to side, and strives to rise with the burden you put on it since you became redresser of wrongs (23). Did poetry not give to facts a permanent form, men ambitious of glory would never learn whence you obtained your honours.

The same poet made his eulogium in a poem beginning thus:

Didst thou see the (*fair*) faces which appeared to us between al-Liwa (24) and Zarûd?

And which contains this elegant thought:

When God wishes to reveal (*to the knowledge of the world*) that excellence which remains (*modestly*) folded up, he allows an envious tongue to attack it. Did fire not inflame whatever it approaches, the sweet odour of aloes-wood had remained unknown (25).

The praises of Ibn Abi Duwâd were celebrated also by Marwân Ibn Abi 'l-Janûb in the following verses:

The tribe of Nizâr (26) possesses all glory and honour despite its foes! Tell those who pretend to surpass that Nizâr from whom spring the tribes of Khindif (27) and Iyâd—Tell them that the Apostle of God and the khalifs belong to that family which is ours, and that Ahmad Ibn Duwâd comes from it also. Until the day of judgment (28), no such persons will ever be found in any family but ours! (*To it alone belong*) a prophet sent by God, the successors in his covenant, and he who is directed and who directs to good.

When Abû Hiffân al-Muhazzami (29) heard these verses, he pronounced the following:

> Tell those who pretend to surpass the tribe of Nizâr, princes in the earth ruling over slaves! Tell them that the Apostle of God and the khalifs belong to that family which is ours, but that we totally disclaim the pretended descendant of Iyâd. Iyâd itself shall not be one of our tribes, if it admit the pretensions of Ahmad Ibn Abi Duwâd.

55 When Ibn Abi Duwâd heard these verses, he said: "No one ever gave me so " severe a wound as that boy al-Muhazzami has done: were I not unwilling to " show that I pay attention to him, I would inflict on him a punishment such " as none ever suffered before! He has gone up to one of my proudest honours " and utterly destroyed it (30)."—Ibn Abi Duwâd used to recite frequently the following verses, but did not say whether they were his own or another's:

> Thou (*O Lord!*) art no feeble aid;—and success in all affairs is ensured by powerful aid. To-day we stand in need of thy succour; the physician is only called in when the disease is violent.

Al-Marzobâni has furnished us with some of the preceding anecdotes, but another historian gives the following on the authority of Abû 'l-Aînâ: "The " khalif al-Motasim was displeased with Khâlid Ibn Yazîd Ibn Mazyad as-Shai- " bâni" (whom we shall speak of again in the life of his father Yazîd), "and " recalled him from his government (31), that he might appear before him to " answer for his inability to make up a sum of money which he was called " upon to pay; he had besides to answer other accusations. Al-Motasim " held therefore a sitting in order to condemn him to punishment, and would " not listen to the intercession of Ibn Abi Duwâd, on whose generosity Khâlid " had thrown himself. The khalif having taken his seat, the kâdi Ahmad (*Ibn* " *Abi Duwâd*) went to a place inferior to his own, on which al-Motasim said: " 'Abû Abd Allah (32), you are sitting out of your place.' To this the kâdi " replied: 'It is meet I should not sit in my place, but in a lower.' 'Why " so?' said the khalif. The kadi answered: 'Because the public say that my " place is not the place of one who can intercede and whose intercession will " be heard.' 'Go back to your place,' said al-Motasim. 'Shall I go,' said the " kâdi, 'as one whose intercession has been heard or as one whose intercession " has been rejected?' 'Nay,' replied the khalif, 'go as one whose intercession

"has been heard.' Ibn Abi Duwâd went up therefore to his place, and, when "seated, said: 'The public will not be aware that the Commander of the Faith- "ful has pardoned him, unless he receive a robe of honour.' The khalif ordered "him to be clothed in a robe of honour. Abû Duwâd continued: 'There is "due to him and his people six months' salary, which must be paid "them, so if thou givest orders that they receive it now, it will serve instead of "the (*customary*) present.' The khalif said: 'I shall order it to be done.'"—(*The historian continues to relate*) that when Khâlid went forth in his robe of honour with the money borne before him, the people were waiting in the streets to witness his punishment, and one of them called out to him: "Praise be to "God for thy escape, O prince of Arabs!" to which Khâlid replied: "Silence! "by God! the prince of Arabs is truly Ahmad Ibn Abi Duwâd!"—Great jealousy and mutual dislike existed between the kâdi Ahmad and the vizir Ibn az-Zaiyât; so much so, that the latter refused to receive the visits of a friend of the kâdi's, specially commissioned by him to direct his affairs: the kâdi, on hearing of this, went to the vizir, and said: "I assure you that I do not come to you "(*as others do*), to obtain from you either augmentation of slender means or "exaltation from lowly rank; but the Commander of the Faithful has placed "you in a post which obliges me to visit you: when I do so, it is on his ac- "count; and when I remain absent, it is on yours." He then rose up and retired. He was indeed possessed of such noble and honourable qualities as surpassed description. A poet composed a satire of seventy verses against the vizir Ibn az-Zaiyât; when the kâdi Ahmad heard of it, he pronounced these verses:

> Better than a satire of seventy verses, is their purport condensed into a single verse,
> *How much the state requires a shower of rain, to wash away that filthy stain of oil!* (33)

When Ibn az-Zaiyât heard of this epigram, he composed the following, in which he alluded to the profession of one of the kâdi Ahmad's ancestors, who was reported to have been a seller of pitch:

> O thou who vainly thinkest to satirize us, thou exposest thyself to death in attacking me. Our honour cannot be diminished by the mention of oil; the reputation of our family is too well known. 'Tis you who defiled the state with your pitch, and nothing could clean it till we washed it with our oil.

Ibn Abi Duwâd lost the use of his side the 7th of the second Jumâda, 233 36

(January, A. D. 848), a hundred and some days after the death of his enemy the vizir; some say forty-nine or fifty days only: the date of the vizir's death shall be given in the letter *M*(34). When the kâdi received his paralytic stroke, he was replaced by his son Abû 'l-Walîd Muhammad, who did not however fulfil the duties of his place to general satisfaction, having incurred the blame of many and merited the praise of a few only; so much so, that Ibrahîm Ibn al-Abbâs as-Sûli, whose life has been already given, composed against him these lines:

The faults which appear in you so plainly have effaced (*the memory of*) the virtues which your father left you as a legacy. By him you surpassed the sons of honourable men, as by yourself you have surpassed the sons of the vile.

In which verses, I must say that the poet has gone to the extremes of eulogium and blame: the idea is quite novel.—Muhammad continued to fill the places of kâdi and inspector of wrongs for the army till the year 237 (A. D. 851), when al-Motawakkil, being displeased with him and his father Ahmad, ordered his lands to be sequestered; this happened on the 24th Safar of the above year; he then deprived him of his place as inspector of wrongs, and afterwards, on Thursday, 5th of the first Rabi, he dismissed him from his place of kâdi and took from him a sum of one hundred and twenty thousand dinars (35), with precious stones to the value of forty thousand dinars, after which he sent him away from Baghdad to Sarrman-râa. The place of kâdi was then entrusted to Yahya Ibn Aktham as-Saifi (whose life shall be given in the letter *Y*).——At the time when Ibn Abi Duwâd incurred the displeasure of the khalif so far as to be deprived of his landed property, witnesses had been examined to prove the crime he was accused of, and a great number of them and other persons were present in court; there was one of those witnesses in whom the kâdi, during his administration, had placed little confidence, and who now stood up and said: "Call on us to witness in your behalf(36) according to what is written in this instrument;" on which the kâdi answered: "No! no! no! that is not your place;" and turning round to the other witnesses, he said: "Bear ye witness for me;" on which the man sat down abashed, and the public were filled with admiration for the firmness of the kâdi and his strength of mind (37).——The kâdi Ahmad Ibn Duwâd died of his palsy in the month of Muharram, A. H. 240 (June, A. D. 854), and it is stated on his

own authority that he was born at Basra in 160 (A.D. 776-7): he was, it is said, about twenty years older than the kâdi Yahya Ibn al-Aktham, but this is in contradiction with what is mentioned by me in the life of Yahya; I have, however, written it down here as I found it given, and God knows best whether it be correct or not.—Muhammad, son of Ibn Abi Duwâd, died in the month of Zu 'l-Hijja, twenty days before his father. Al-Marzobâni, in his book abovementioned (*the Murshid*), notices great variations in the dates of Ibn Abi Duwâd's and his son's death; so I prefer giving here all he says on the subject: "Al-Mutawakkil appointed Muhammad, son of Ibn Abi Duwâd, to act in the "place of his father as kâdi and inspector of wrongs for the army; he then dis- "missed him from these places on Wednesday, 19th Safar, 240, and sequestered "the landed property of the father and son, but this business was settled by a "fine of one million of dinars. Abû 'l-Walid Muhammad, son of Ahmad, died "at Baghdad in Zû 'l-Kada, 240, and his father died twenty days after. As- "Sûli states, however, that the anger of al-Mutawakkil against Ibn Abi Duwâd "took place in 237." Al-Marzobâni says farther on: "The kâdi Ahmad died "in Muharram, 240, and his son died twenty days before; some say that the "death of the son occurred towards the end of the year 239, and that they "both died at Baghdad; some again state that the son died in Zu' l-Hijja, 239, "and the father on Saturday, 23rd Muharram of the year 240, at about a "month's distance. God alone knows the truth in all that."—Abû Bakr Ibn "Doraid says that Ibn Abi Duwâd was full of affability towards men of education, no matter to what country they belonged, and that he had taken a great num- 37 ber of them under his care, treating them as members of his family and defraying their expenses. On his death a crowd of those clients went to the door of his house and cried out: "He is to be buried, that man who was the pillar of "generosity and the ornament (38) of literature! of whom it was never said: "*Here he has committed a fault; there his talent has failed him.*" When his bier was borne up, three of them went forward to it, and the first recited these verses:

To-day is dead the support of the state and of the language; he is dead, the protector whose succour was ever implored in misfortune! The paths of learning are dark since the sun of generosity is hidden by the mist of the winding-sheet.

The second then advanced and said:

Through humble modesty he sought not the pulpit or the (*vizir's*) seat; yet, had he wished, the pulpit and the (*vizir's*) seat were his. Taxes are gathered for another, but for him is gathered a harvest of praises and (*heavenly*) rewards.

Then the third came forward and said:

It is not the powder of musk which has been used to perfume his corpse, but rather the praises which he left behind. The noise you hear is not the creaking of the bier; it is the sound of hearts which are breaking.

Abû Bakr al-Jurjâni relates having heard Abû 'l-Aînâ ad-Darîr (*the blind*) say: "I never met in the world with a man more polite than Ibn Abi Duwâd; he " would never say, on my leaving him: *Page, take his hand* (39); but, *Page,* " *go out with him.* I look on this expression as free from alloy, and (*though* " *he uttered it*), he will not be the poorer (40); and I never heard it from any " other."—We may now conclude, for this article has become rather long, but the honourable actions of Ibn Abi Duwâd were so numerous!—*Iyâdi* means *belonging to the tribe of Iyâd*, who was son to Nizâr Ibn Maadd Ibn Adnân.

(1) This name and the preceding are uncertain; the MSS. all differ.

(2) In the Arabic text, this name is erroneously printed *Obaid Allah.*

(3) The town of Kinnisrin no longer exists, having been gradually abandoned by its inhabitants for the city of Aleppo, from which it lay at the distance of ten miles in a southern direction. It was however one of the most important places of Syria during the first centuries of Islamism, having been one of the military colonies or settlements جند established by the Arabs, when they conquered that country.

(4) *Damascus;* in the Arabic: *as-Sham.*

(5) Wâsil Ibn Atâ was the founder of the Motazelite sect. His life is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(6) The printed Arabic text and most of the MSS. have here الثانى لها but النائى is the right reading.

(7) *Abulfedæ Annales*, t. I, p. 59.

(8) The pulpit or *minbar* was in those times specially reserved for the khalif or his deputy, who alone had the right of pronouncing the *khotba*. (See d'Ohsson, t I, p. 204.) The gibbet was merely the trunk of a palm-tree to which the bodies of executed persons were *tied* and exposed to public view. It sometimes happened that living criminals were tied up in the same manner.

(9) See *Elmakin*, p. 141 *et seq.*—To what d'Herbelot says of this general, under the heads Afschin and Babek, I shall only add here, that Ibn Shâkir, in his *Oyiun at-Tawârikh* (MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 638, fol. 232 *v.*), says that al-Afshin was descended from the ancient kings of Persia; and Sibt Ibn al-Jawzi states in his Miraât az-Zamân (MS. No. 640, fol. 117 *v.*), that the real name of al-Afshin was Haidar Ibn Kaus; and that the governors of Osrûshana أسروشنة, a province in Transoxiana, bore the title of Afshin, in the same way as each king of Persia was called Chosroes, and of Greece, Cæsar.

(10) In the East, respectable persons never stir out but on horseback.

(11) See page 53, note (8).

(12) As executions often took place in the audience-hall of the khalif, a skin was then spread under the condemned person to catch the blood.

(13) The verbs فعل and صنع have both a peculiar signification in certain cases, and mean *to do something wrong or disagreeable:* فعلت وصنعت *thou hast done* (wrong) *and committed* (evil).—ولافعلن لاصنعن *I shall do and act,* i. e. *I shall punish* – فعالة *a female who acts* (wrong), *a prostitute.*

(14) The vizirs and kâdis held assemblies at their houses on stated days.

(15) In the Arabic text لا اعلمن is printed for لاعلمن, which is the right reading, though the MSS. give the other; a similar error exists in good MSS. of the Koran, where لا اذبحنه is written for لاذبحنه in the 21st verse of the 27th Surat.

(16) Literally: *He is the place for that.*

(17) Ibn Abi Duwâd followed the Motazelite doctrine, and of course believed the Koran to have been created; orthodox Moslims are bound to believe that it existed from all eternity. (See Pocock's *Specimen*, 2nd edit. p. 222; and d'Ohsson's *Tableau de l'Empire Othoman*, tom. I, p. 83 *et seq.*)

(18) The Inspector of Grievances was a judge like the kâdi, but he possessed moreover executive power.

(19) Literally: *As may leave him sitting down and standing up.* (See De Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, tom. I, p. 89, and t. III, p. 270.)—The vizir had in view the double signification of this expression.

(20) Ibn Khallikân has certainly made a mistake here and given a wrong verse.

(21) *Thou art all mankind*, because thou possessest all their good qualities.

(22) This appears to be an allusion to the Turkish officers in al-Motasim's service.

(23) *The burden you put on it* is the obligation of celebrating your justice.

(24) See note (1), page 25.

(25) Aloes-wood does not emit its perfume till burned.

(26) We have seen, by Ibn Abi Duwâd's genealogy, that he descended from Nizâr.

(27) *Khindif* is the true orthography of the word, not *khindik*, as given in the Arabic text on the authority of the MSS.

(28) Literally: *The day when men shall call unto one another.* (See *Koran*, surat 40, verse 34.)

(29) Abû Hiffân Abd Allah Ibn Ahmad Ibn Harb is supposed by the Khatîb to have been born at Basra. He dwelt at Baghdad, and was considered as possessing great literary acquirements: the celebrated al-Asmâi was one of his masters. (*History of Baghdad* by the Khatîb, Arabic MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, fonds Asselin, No. 541.) The date of his death is not given.

(30) Literally: *Undid it button by button.* عروة means a *loop* or *button-hole.*

(31) Khâlid had obtained from al-Mâmûn the government of Mosul. (See the life of Yazîd.)

(32) The khalif here addresses him by his surname, which was a mark of great friendship.

(33) *Ibn az-Zaiyât* means: *son of the oilman.*

(34) Ibn az-Zaiyât died A. H. 233.

(35) The dinar of that time would now have an intrinsic value of about eleven shillings British.

(36) The verb شهد على signifies: *bear witness against* or *for* a person. It is used with the latter signification in the *Koran*, surat 5, verse 48. As a legal term, it means: *bear witness in respect to a person or thing.*

(37) Ibn Abi Duwâd had so unfavourable an opinion of this person, that he would not allow him to give evidence even in favour of himself.

(38) Literally: *The date.*

(39) That is: *Take his hand and lead him out.*

(40) The Arabian critics compare the pure and genuine idiomatic expressions of their language to good coin; indeed the word نقد which means *to separate good coin from bad*, is often used to signify *criticism.*

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## THE HAFIZ ABU NOAIM AL-ISBAHANI.

The celebrated hâfiz Abû Noaim Ahmad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ishak Ibn Mûsa Ibn Mihrân al-Isbahâni (*native of Ispahan*), author of the *Hilyat al-Awliâ* (1), and one of the principal traditionists, was a hâfiz of the highest authority (2): he had studied under men of the first merit, who themselves received from him useful information. His *Hilyat* is a very fine book, and his History of Ispahan has furnished me with the life of his father Abd Allah and the genealogy here given. In this life he says that his ancestor Mihrân became Moslim, which indicates that he was the first of them who followed that religion; he also adds that Mihrân was freedman to Abd Allah Ibn Moawia Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Jaafar Ibn Abi Tâlib, of whom we shall again make mention (3). In the same article, he states that his father Abd Allah died in the month of Rajab, A. H. 365 (A. D. 976), and was buried beside his maternal grandfather. Abû Noaim was born in Rajab, 336 (beginning of A. D. 948), or 334 according to some, and died at Ispahan in the month of Safar, 430 (November, A. D. 1038); others placed his death on Monday, 21st Muharram of that year.—"*Isbahân*, " pronounced *Asbahân* and *Isfahân* (4), is one of the most famous cities in the " province of al-Jibâl (*or Persian Irak*), and was so called from its Persian 38 " name *Sibâhân*, which means *collection of troops*. It was denominated thus " because the kings of Persia, the Khosroes, used to assemble their troops in " that place as in the encampments (*askar*) of Fâris, Kermân, al-Ahwâz, etc. on " the occurrence of any serious event. *Sibâhân*, in Arabic *Isbahân*, was " built by Alexander Zû 'l-Karnain." Such are the observations made by " as-Samâni.

(1) The *Hilyat al-Awlia*, or *Ornament of the Holy Men*, contains the lives of the principal Moslim saints, the relation of their miraculous gifts and actions, etc.

(2) The meaning of the word hâfiz has already been explained; see page 57, note (1).

(3) See d'Herbelot, Abdalla, *fils de Moavie.*

(4) The Arabs, not having in their alphabet an equivalent for the letter *p*, are obliged to write Ispahan with a *b* or an *f*.

## AL-KHATIB AL-BAGHDADI.

The hâfiz Abû Bakr Ahmad Ibn Ali Ibn Thâbit Ibn Ahmad Ibn Mahdi Ibn Thâbit, better known by the name of al-Khatîb (*the preacher*), native of Baghdad, composed a history of that city, and other useful works. He was a hâfiz (1) of exact knowledge and a scholar of profound learning; had he written nothing but his History, that production would be sufficient for his reputation, as it shows him to have possessed vast information; and yet he is author of nearly one hundred works, and his merit is too well known to require description. He learned jurisprudence from Abû 'l-Hasan al-Mahâmili, the kâdi Abû 't-Tayib at-Tabari and other masters, but though a doctor of the law, he made the Traditions and history his principal study. His birth took place on Thursday, 23rd of the latter Jumâda, 392 (May, A. D. 1002), and his death occurred at Baghdad on Monday, 7th Zu 'l-Hijja, 463 (September, A. D. 1071): as-Samâni says that he died in the month of Shawwâl. I am informed that Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi was one of those who carried his bier, through gratitude for the great service rendered him by the Khatib, whom he had been accustomed to consult on the difficulties in his works. It is a singular coincidence that the death of the Khatîb, who was the hâfiz of the East, took place on the same day as that of Abû Omar Yusûf Ibn Abd al-Barr, author of the *Kitâb al-Istiâb*, who was at that period the hâfiz of the West (2): (see the life of Ibn Abd al-Barr in the letter *Y*). Ibn an-Najjâr says in his History of Baghdad that Abû 'l-Barakât Ismail Ibn Saad the Sûfi (3) related the following circumstance: "The shaikh Abû Bakr Ibn Zahrâ the Sûfi had a tomb made "for himself by the side of Bishr al-Hâfi's, and went once a week to sleep in it "and read the Koran through; but the Khatîb, in dying, had desired to be buried beside the grave of Bishr, for which reason the students of the Traditions went to Ibn Zahrâ and requested him to give the Khatîb the preference, "and allow him to be interred in that tomb which he had got made for himself, but Ibn Zahrâ gave a most determined refusal, and said: 'Must the place "I prepared for myself since so many years be taken from me?' On seeing "him so resolute, they went to my father Abû Saad and told him what had "passed, on which he sent for Ibn Zahrâ and addressed him in these terms:

" 'I will not ask you to give them up the tomb, but I will propose to you this " question: Were Bishr al-Hâfi among the living and you seated by his side, " and if the Khatib were then to enter and take a place lower than yours, would " it be becoming in you to remain seated above him?' 'Certainly not,' replied " Ibn Zahra, 'I should rise and give him up my place.' 'So you should do at " the present moment,' said my father; and on this the heart of the shaikh Ibn " Zahrâ relented, and he gave them permission to bury the Khatîb in his tomb, " which was done.—The Khatîb was interred by the gate of Harb (4); during " his illness he gave in alms all his riches, which amounted to two hundred " dinars, and which he distributed to the traditionists, jurisconsults, and " fakirs; he also ordered that the clothes he wore should be given in charity, " and that all his books should be appropriated as a *wakf* (5) to the use of " Moslims. He left no posterity. The number of his works is upwards of sixty. " The shaikh Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi was one of those who carried his bier. " Some say he was born in 391 (A. D. 1001), but God knows best. There " exist relations of holy dreams (6) in which he appeared after his death. " He had become chief professor and hâfiz of Traditions in that epoch." End of the extract from the work of Ibn an-Najjâr.

(1) See page 57, note (1).

(2) Northern Africa, Sicily, and Spain are the countries which the Moslims designated by the appellation of *the West* (*al-Maghrib*).

(3) Lower down the father of this Sûfi is named Abû Saad, instead of Saad as here given; but one of the MSS. has Abû Saad in both places, and this is probably the true reading.

(4) In the original text this word is incorrectly printed جرب.

(5) See page 49, note (7).

(6) See note (7), page 46.

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## ABU 'L-HUSAIN AR-RAWANDI.

39 Abu 'l-Husain Ahmad Ibn Yahya Ibn Ishak ar-Râwandi, a celebrated scholar and author of a discourse on metaphysics, was one of the most talented men of his time: the works he composed amount to about one hundred and fourteen; among them are the Ignominy of the Motazelites, the Crown, the Emerald, the

Jewel (*al-Kasab*), etc.; he wrote also an account of his sittings and conversations with a number of learned metaphysicians. The doctrines he professed were peculiarly his own, and are to be found stated in the writings of the schoolmen. He died A. H. 245 (A. D. 859), at the place called the Rahaba of Mâlik Ibn Tawk at-Thalabi (1); some say at Baghdad; he was then about forty years of age. In the work called the *Bustân* (2) his death is placed in 250, but God knows best!—*Râwandi* means *native of Râwand*, a village in the dependencies of Kâsân near Ispahan; there is another place called Râwand outside Naisapûr; this Kâsân must not be confounded with Kâshân, situated in the neighbourhood of Kumm. This Râwand is mentioned by Abû Tammân at-Tâi in his Hamâsa, chapter of Elegies (3); he says: "They relate that two men of the "tribe of Asad went forth to Ispahan, and took there into fellowship as brother "a *dihkân* (4), who lived in a place called both Râwand and Khuzâk; they made "him their cup-companion, and one of them having died, the *dihkân* and the "other survivor took his tomb for cup-companion, inasmuch as they drank "two cups and poured out one upon the tomb; then the *dikhân* died, and the "man of the tribe of Asad who remained drank to the graves of both, and sung "these words:

> 'O my two friends! awake; how long do you repose! Is it then true that your sleep 'shall have no end? Is it by reason of your lengthened slumber that you answer not 'him who calleth unto you?—(*It would seem*) as if a cup-bearer had steeped your senses 'in wine! Know ye not that in all Râwand and Khuzâk I have no other friends but you? 'I shall remain by your tombs, and never quit them during the long course of nights, 'unless a voice ( ) answer from your graves. I will weep over you till the hour 'of death, but what will give answer to the moans of the afflicted if he weeps your 'loss? Could one life be given to preserve another, I had offered mine as a ransom 'for yours. I now pour out wine upon your graves; if it reach you not, it will at 'least moisten the earth by which you are covered.'

*Khuzâk* is the name of another village in the neighbourhood of Râwand.

(1) See Abû 'l-Fadâ's Geography, Arabic text, page 280.

(2) Hajji Khalifa, in his Bibliographical Dictionary, notices sixteen works bearing the title of *Bustân*; the one cited here by Ibn Khallikân is perhaps that composed by Abû Hâmid al-Isfarâini.

(3) See Freytag's *Hamâsa*, page 398.

(4) *Dikhân* is a Persian word, signifying both *farmer* and *historian*; it is generally used to designate a person of ancient Persian family, possessing hereditary landed property. See Dr. Mohl's translation of the *Shâh Nâmeh*. t. I, page 8 of the Introduction.

(5) See a curious note on this superstition in M. de Sacy's *Anthologie Grammaticale*, p. 211.

## AHMAD IBN MUHAMMAD AL-HARAWI.

Abû Obaid Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abi Obaid al-Abdi al-Muwaddib (*the schoolmaster*) al-Harawi al-Fâshâni: such is the genealogy usually given of the author of the *Kitâb al-Gharîbain*. I have however found it stated thus on the title-page of a copy of his work: Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân. He was ranked among the men of profound learning, and his book shows him to have possessed no inferior talent; but I have no knowledge of any circumstances of his life deserving mention, excepting the fact of his having been pupil to Abû Mansûr al-Azhari the philologist (whose life I intend to give); it was under him that al-Harawi studied and acquired his information. The work which I have mentioned contains the explanation of the uncommon expressions peculiar to the Koran and the traditions of the Prophet; it is a useful book, and copies of it have spread to every country. It is said that the author was fond of loose conversation, that he took (*wine*) in private, and
40 kept company with men of wit in their parties of pleasure and debauch: God pardon him (*for doing so*) and us (*for mentioning it!*). To something of this kind also al-Bâkharzi appears to allude in his biographical notice on some learned men of Khorasan. Al-Harawi died in the month of Rajab, A. H. 401 (A. D. 1011): this patronymic is derived from Herât, the name of one of the great cities in Khorasan which capitulated to Al-Ahnaf Ibn Kais, (*general*) under the orders of Abd Allah Ibn Aâmir (*in the thirtieth year of the Hijra*) (1).—*Fâshâni* is derived from Fâshân, name of a village in the dependancies of Herât; it is also called Bâshân according to as-Samâni; mention has already been made of Kâshân and Kâsân (2). These four names are sometimes confounded one with another, but written as they are here, no mistake can occur.

(1) See note (3), page 50. Al-Ahnaf had already invaded Khorasan, A. H. 22. See Major Price's *Retrospect of Muhammadan History*.

(2) See page 77.

## AL-KHAWAFI.

Abû 'l-Muzaffar Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Muzaffar al-Khawâfi, doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, was the most able polemic divine of his time; he had studied jurisprudence under the Imam al-Haramain, and was one of his most distinguished pupils. He was kâdi of Tûs and its environs, and obtained great reputation among the learned by his skill in argument and his ability in silencing an adversary. He was a fellow-student of Abû Hâmid al-Ghazzâli, and both were equally gifted with great talents, which the former showed in argument, the latter in his writings. Al-Khawâfi died at Tûs, A. H. 500 (A. D. 1106).—*Khawâfi* is derived from Khawâf, a canton of Naisapûr, containing many villages.

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## ABU 'L-FUTUH AHMAD AL-GHAZZALI.

Abû 'l-Futûh Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ahmad at-Tûsi al-Ghazzâli, surnamed Majd ad-din (*glory of religion*), was a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, and brother to the imam Abû Hâmid al-Ghazzâli. He was a good preacher, handsome in person, and endowed with the gift of miracles and other signs of divine favour. His ruling passion was making public exhortations, and for this he neglected the law of which he was a doctor; but he gave lectures on this science in the *Nizâmiya* College, when acting as substitute for his brother Abû Hâmid, who had ceased to profess from religious scruples. The work written by his brother, and entitled *Ihyâ olûm ad-din* (*Revival of Religious Sciences*) was abridged by him into one volume with the title of *Lobâb al-Ihyâ* (*Pith of the Ihyâ*); he was also author of another treatise, named *Al-Dakhîrat fi Ilm al-Basîrat* (*the Treasure, treating of the science of Vision*) (1). He had travelled over many countries, acting as a servant to the Sûfis, and was disposed to solitude and retirement from the world. Ibn an-Najjâr relates this anecdote in his History of Baghdad: "A person in the presence of Ahmad al-Ghazzâli "read out of the Koran this verse: *O, my servants! who have transgressed*

"*against yourselves*, etc. (2), on which al-Gazzali remarked that God had "ennobled them by calling them *his* servants (*which had not been the case*, "*were the possessive pronoun omitted*); and he then cited the following "verses (*in support of his observation*):

'The blame which I incur for loving Laila (3) bears lightly on me; it pains me 'little, that my enemies say: "He is an outcast." When called by my name, I am deaf; 'but I hear (*and answer*) when people say: "O slave of Laila!"'

It is thus another poet has said:

Call me by no other name than *slave of Laila*, for that is the noblest of my names.

41 Ahmad al-Ghazzâli died at Kazwin, A.H. 520 (A.D. 1126). The patronymic *Túsi* is derived from *Tús*, the name of a place in Khorasan composed of two towns, *Tâberân* and *Nawkân*, to which appertain more than one thousand villages. *Ghazzâli* is a derivative from *Ghazzâl* (*cotton spinner*), formed after the system generally followed by the people of Khowârezm and Jurjân, who from *Kassâr* (*a fuller*) form *Kassâri*, and from *Attâr* (*a druggist*), *Attari* (4). Some pronounce *Ghazâli* with a single *z*, deriving it from *Ghazâla*, the name of a village in the dependancies of Tûs, but this pronunciation differs from the one in general use, though as-Samâni has adopted it in his *Ansâb*.—*Kazwín*, a large city in Persian Irak, situated near the castles of the Ismaîlites (5).

(1) It is difficult to say what the *science of vision* may be, but judging from the character of the author, I am inclined to think that this work contains some mystic doctrine.

(2) *Koran*, surat 39, verse 54.

(3) I have substituted here the proper name *Laila* for the pronoun *her*, so as to be enabled to render into English the idea which comes in the next verse; as the words, *O slave of her* would be unintelligible, though a literal translation of the Arabic.

(4) The people of Khowarezm, in so doing, committed a great barbarism, for *kassâri* and *attari*, if they had any meaning, would signify a *fullerman*, a *druggistman*.

(5) The fullest account of the Ismailites is given by M. de Sacy in his History of the Druzes, t. I, introduction.

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## IBN BARHAN AL-USULI.

Abû 'l-Fath Ahmad Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad al-Wakîl, generally known by the

name of Ibn Barhân, was a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, and profoundly learned in the dogmas (*Osûl*) of faith and the minor principles of doctrine, as also in those points wherein the four orthodox sects agree or differ. He studied jurisprudence under Abû Hâmid al-Ghazzâli, Abû Bakr as-Shâshi and Abû 'l-Hasan al-Kiya al-Harrâsi; having become master of the subject, he composed the *Wajîz*, or Brief Exposition of the Principles of Jurisprudence, and professed during less than a month (1) in the Nizâmiya College at Baghdad, where he died A. H. 520 (A. D. 1126.)

(1) In the *Tabakât as-Shafyin:* شهرا واحدا; which fixes the sense of دون الشهر, an expression of very doubtful import. The author of this *Tabakât* says: Ibn Barhân was born at Baghdad, A. H. 479; he composed the *Bâsit* or *Detailed* treatise on the Law, the *Wasît* or treatise of *Medium* extent, and the *Wajîz*, or *Brief* exposition, as also other works. His talent for resolving legal difficulties became proverbial; and though Ibn Khallikân states that he died in 520, it is well known that 518 was the year of his death.

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## AN-NAHHAS THE GRAMMARIAN.

Abû Jaafar Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ismaîl Ibn Yûnus al-Murâdi, surnamed an-Nahhâs, was an eminent grammarian and native of Egypt. Among the instructive works written by him may be reckoned his Commentary on the Koran; a Treatise on the grammatical analysis of the Koran; another on the verses of the Koran which have been abrogated and those which abrogated them; a work on grammar, entitled *at-Tuffâha* (*the Apple*); one on Etymology; an Explanation of the verses given as examples by Sibawaih in his grammar, being the first work on the subject; the Secretary's Guide; the *Kâfi* (*Sufficient*), a treatise on grammar; a treatise on the ideas usually met with in poetry; the works of ten poets edited and commented by himself; a greater and a less treatise on the Pause and the Commencement of Phrases; a Commentary on the seven Moallakas; Lives of the Poets (*Tabakât as-Shuarâ*); etc. His traditionary learning was obtained from Abû Abd ar-Rahmân an-Nasâi, whom he he gave as his authority when communicating that species of information to others; the grammar he learned from Abû 'l-Hasan Ali al-Akhfash, Abû Ishak

az-Zajjaj, Ibn al-Anbâri, Niftawaih, and the first literary men of Irak, having travelled from Egypt to that country for the purpose of studying under them. He was a man of sordid habits, parsimonious and niggardly towards himself; on being given a turban-cloth, he would cut it into three, out of avarice; what he required for his sustenance, he would buy himself, or else live upon his acquaintances, to whom he became a burden; notwithstanding which, he was ardently sought after by numbers, for the profit and instruction which were to be obtained from his lessons. Died at Old Cairo, on Sunday, 5th of Zu 'l-Hijja, 338 (May, A. D. 950); some say 337. He came by his death in the following manner: he had seated himself on the staircase of the Nilometer, by the side of the river, which was then on the increase, and began to scan some verses according to the rules of prosody, when a common fellow who heard him, said: "This man is pronouncing a charm to prevent the overflow of the " Nile, so as to raise the price of provisions;" he then thrust him with his foot 42 into the river, and nothing more was heard of him.—*Nahhâs* means *a worker in copper;* in Egypt this name is given to him who makes vessels in brass.

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## IBN BAKIYA AL-ABDI THE GRAMMARIAN.

Abû Tâlib Ahmad Ibn Bakr Ibn Bakiya al-Abdi, an able and talented grammarian; he wrote a good commentary on the grammatical treatise composed by Abû Ali 'l-Fârisi, and entitled the *Idâh*. The only circumstance of his life which has come to my knowledge is the fact of his having studied grammar under Abû Said as-Sîrâfi, Abû 'l-Hasan ar-Rummâni and Abû Ali 'l-Fârisi. Died on Thursday, 20th Ramadân, A. H. 406 (A. D. 1016). —*Abdi* means *descended from Abd Kais*, who was the son of Afsa (1) Ibn Doma and ancestor of a great and famous tribe.

(1) See note (1), page 46.

## ABU 'L-ABBAS IBN SAHL THE KATIB.

The kâtib Abû 'l Abbâs Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Karim Ibn Sahl, author of the *Kitâb al-Kharâj* (1). He died A. H. 270 (A. D. 883). Being totally ignorant of the circumstances of his life, I must pass it over in silence; my only reason for mentioning him is on account of his celebrated work, as its readers might wish to know at what time the author lived.

(1) This work appears to be a treatise on the revenue arising from the land tax; the author's having been a *kâtib* or writer in one of the government offices appears to confirm this conjecture.

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## THALAB THE GRAMMARIAN.

Abû 'l-Abbâs Ahmad Ibn Yahya Ibn Zaid Ibn Saiyâr the grammarian, generally known by the name of Thalab, was an adopted member of the tribe of Shaibân, wherein he had for patron Maan Ibn Zâida, whose life we shall give in the letter *M*. Thalab was chief grammarian and philologist among the learned men of Kufa (1); he had taken lessons from Ibn al-Aarâbi and az-Zobair Ibn Bakkâr, and his authority was cited by his pupils al-Akhfash al-Asghar, Abû Bakr Ibn al-Anbâri, Abû Omar az-Zâhid, and others. Complete confidence was placed in the exactness of his traditional information; his opinion was decisive in doubtful questions; he was a man of virtue, noted for his retentive memory, his veracity, his knowledge of the genius of the Arabic language, and his correctness in reciting ancient poetry: even while a youth, he held a high place among the masters in learning. When Ibn al-Aarâbi had doubts on any point, he would say to Thalab: "Abû 'l-Abbâs! what is your opinion on the "subject?" such was the confidence he placed in his extensive information. Thalab used to say: I began my travels for the purpose of studying Arabic and philology in the year 216; at the age of eighteen I had read the *Hudûd* by the grammarian al-Farrâ, and on completing my twenty-fifth year, I knew by heart (*and mastered*) every question without exception which al-Farrâ had treated.

Abû Bakr Ibn Mujâhid al-Mukri relates as follows: "Thalab said to me: 'O "Abû Bakr! the *koranists* were taken up with the Koran and obtained a happy "reward; the traditionists were taken up with the Traditions and obtained a "happy reward; the doctors were taken up with the law and obtained a happy "reward; I have been taken up with *Zaid* and *Amr* (2); O, that I knew what "my state will be in the next world!' After quitting him, I had a vision in my "sleep that very night, and I saw the blessed Prophet, who said to me: 'Give "my greeting to Abû Abbâs and say: *Thou art master of the superior sci-* "*ence* (3).'" On this expression the holy servant Abû Abd Allah ar-Rûdbâri (4) observes that the Prophet's meaning was: *By this* (science) *spoken language is made perfect and discourse becomes connected; all other sciences also stand in need of it.*—Abû Omar az-Zâhid, surnamed al-Mutarriz, relates the following anecdote: "I was once at one of Abû 'l-Abbâs Thalab's literary "parties, when a person asked him a question, to which he answered: 'I do "not know.' 'How!' said the other, 'you say *I do not know*, and yet it is "to reach you that the camels pant (*in their hurried march*); and towards you "that travellers advance from every city (5).' To this Abû 'l-Abbas replied: 'Did 43 "your mother possess a date (6) for every thing I do not know, she would be a "rich woman.'"—Thalab is author of the *Fasîh* (*the Pure*), a (*philological*) work, small in size, but of great utility; he composed also some poetry: Abû Bakr Ibn al-Anbâri says, in one of his dictated lessons (7): "Thalab recited to me "the following verses, but I know not whether they are his or another's:

'Since thou, who art the food of my life, hast abandoned me; how long then will 'that life endure of which thou wast the food? It will last as long as the desert-lizard (8) 'can live in water; as long as the fish can live in a verdant plain.'

"On this, Abû 'l-Hasan Ibn al-Barâ (9) recited us these additional verses:

'Wast thou then deceived in me, because I assumed affected patience, though that 'soul of mine had received from thee a mortal wound? If what I suffer were inflicted 'on the solid rocks, it would overthrow them; if on the wind, the wind would cease to 'blow, and would remain in a lengthened slumber!—But patience! God may cause us 'to meet again; and then I shall complain to thee of the woes which were caused by 'thee and which I encountered for thy sake.'

Thalab was born in the third month of the year 200 (October, A. D. 815), according to Ibn al-Karâb (10) in his History; but others place his birth in 201 or

204: a circumstance, however, which points out the year 200 is furnished by the following relation given by Thalab himself: "I saw the khalif al-Mâmûn "on his return from Khorasan in the year 204; he had just gone forth from "the *Bab al-Hadîd* (*Iron Gate*) on his way to ar-Rusâfa; the people were "drawn up in a double line, and my father bore me up in his arms and said: "'That is al-Mamûn, and this is the year four;' which words I have kept in "mind up to the present moment; I was at that time four years of age." He died on Saturday, 17th (some say 10th) of the first Jumâda, A. H. 291 (April, A. D. 904) at Baghdad, and was buried in the cemetery at the Gate of Syria. The accident which caused his death happened in the following manner: he had left the mosque on Friday, when the afternoon-prayer was over; and some time before he had got a deafness, which prevented him from hearing unless with great difficulty; he was holding a book in his hand and reading it in the street, when a horse knocked against him and threw him into a deep pit, out of which he was taken nearly senseless. He was immediately borne to his house, complaining of his head, and he died the next day.—*Shaibâni* means *belonging to Shaibân,* which is a tribe sprung from Bakr Ibn Wâil; there were two chiefs of this name; Shaibân son of Thalaba son of Okâba, and Shaibân son of Duhl son of Thalaba son of Okâba; so the former was uncle to the latter.—Thalab composed the following works: the *Masûn* (*Precious, a treatise on grammar*); Points on which Grammarians disagree; on the Idiomatic Expressions peculiar to the Koran; on the faulty Expressions made use of by the Vulgar; the differences which exist between the seven *readings* or editions of the Koran; on the usual Ideas found in the poems of the ancient Arabs; on Diminutive Nouns; on Nouns of the first and second Declension; on those parts of Speech which can, or cannot assume the functions of others; on anormal Words and Expressions; a Collec-lection of Proverbs; on the Confidence (*to be placed in the ancients*) (11); on the final Pause and the commencement of Phrases; a Vocabulary; on the Alphabet; a Collection of *Sittings,* or Discourses; the *Awsat,* or Grammar of *Medium* Extent; on the Parsing of the Koran; Questions discussed; *Hadd an-Nahw* (*the Limits of Grammar*).

(1) In the early ages of Islamism, the grammarians and philologers who studied at Kûfa differed on certain questions from those of Basra. These two schools are often spoken of.

frontier city of Alexandria on the morning, or, as some say, on the eve of Friday, 5th of the second Rabî, 576 (August, A. D. 1180). He was interred at Wala, which burial-place lies within the city walls near the Green Gate (*al-Bâb al-Akhdar*), and contains the tombs of many holy men, such as at-Tortûsi and others. It is said that this cemetery takes its name from Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Wala as-Sabâi (*native of Saba in Yemen*), who inhabited Egypt and had studied under Ibn Abbâs (3): other derivations have also been given. The date here assigned to his birth is the one I found given by the learned traditionists of Egypt, and among the rest, the hâfiz Abd al-Azîm al-Mundiri (4), the first traditionist of his age; but I have since found a different statement in the *Zahr ar-Riâd, etc.* (Meadow Flowers, or Elucidator of the purport and scope (*of figurative Expressions and Allusions*), by Jamâl ad-dîn as-Safrâwi (5), who 45 says: "My master, the hâfiz Abû Tâhir as-Silafi has told me from conjecture, and "not from certain assurance, that he was born in 478; this obliges me to con-"clude that he lived to the age of 98 years." I read also in the History of Baghdad, by Muhibb ad-dîn Ibn an-Najjâr, the following passage in confirmation of as-Safrâwi's statement: "Abd al-Ghani al-Makdisi (6) relates having asked "the hâfiz as-Silafi the date of his birth, and that he received this answer from "him: 'I remember the assassination of Nizâm al-Mulk (7) in the year 485, and "I was then under ten years of age!" Now, if his birth was in 472, as the people of Egypt state, as-Silafi would not have said: *I remember the assassination of Nizâm al-Mulk in the year* 485; for it must be concluded from what they say that as-Silafi was then thirteen or fourteen years of age; but it is not the custom for a person (*mentioning a circumstance which happened*) when he was of that age, to say: *I remember such and such an event;* it could only be said by one who was then four or five or six years of age. Whence it appears that as-Safrawi's statement comes nearer to truth than the other; he was, besides, a pupil of as-Silafi's and had heard him say: *My birth was in* 478. As-Safrâwi is also an author whose word cannot be called into question, and on whose exactness no doubts can be thrown; to which I may add that I have not heard of any person within the last three hundred years, who lived for a century, much less of one who lived for more, the kâdi Abû 't-Tayib at-Tabari excepted; for he lived to the age of 102 years, as we shall again mention in his life.—*As-Silafi* was so named after his grandfather Ibrahîm Silafa. *Silafa* is a Persian word, meaning *three*

*lips* (*seh leb*); he received this appellation because one of his lips was split and appeared double, without counting the other, which remained in its natural state. This word was originally *Silaba*, but the *b* has been replaced by *f*.

(1) In the original Arabic, these two verses are remarkable for the verbal artifice of their construction.

(2) See page 29, note (1).

(3) Abû 'l-Abbâs Abd Allah *Ibn Abbâs* (son to Abbâs, uncle of Muhammad), was born at Mekka, A.D. 619, three years before the Hijra. Immediately on his birth he was presented to Muhammad, who begged of God to instruct him in the knowledge of the divine law and the interpretation of the Koran. The deep learning and piety which Ibn Abbâs displayed in after-life were attributed by the Moslims to the efficacy of their Prophet's prayers; and when yet a youth, his merit was so generally recognised, that the khalifs Abû Bakr, Omar and Othman always yielded him the place of honour in their assemblies. He was considered as the ablest interpreter of the Koran then in existence, and it was said of him that none knew better the traditions, the legal decisions of the three first khalifs, the law, the interpretation of the Koran, and the sciences of poetry and arithmetic. Crowds flocked to him from all parts to hear his lectures, and it is related on good authority that he gave regularly public lessons, one day on the interpretation of the Koran; the next, on the law; the third, on grammar; the fourth, on the history of the Arabs ايام العرب; and the fifth, on poetry. It was to his efforts that the study of the poems composed before the introduction of Islamism, became of such importance to the Moslims; for he frequently quoted verses of the ancient poets in proof of the explanations he gave of different passages of the Koran, and he used to say: "When you meet with a difficulty in the Koran, look "for its solution in the poems of the Arabs, for these are the registers of the Arabic nation." On being asked how he had acquired his extensive knowledge, he replied: "By means of an enquiring tongue and an intelli- "gent heart." He was appointed governor of Basra by the khalif Ali, and remained there for some time; he then returned to Hijaz, and died at Tâif, A. H. 68 (A. D. 687), aged 70 years. The celebrated Muhammad Ibn al-Hanafiya pronounced funeral prayers over him and said: "To-day is dead the doctor ربانى of this "people and the sea of learning." He was tall in stature, large bodied, of a clear complexion and remarkable for the beauty of his countenance and his dignified appearance; his hair was dyed with hinna. Towards the end of his life, he lost the use of his sight.—(*Tab. al-Fukahâ. Tab. al-Kurra. Siar as-Salaf.* MSS. of the *Bib. du Roi*.)

(4) The hâfiz Zaki ad-din Abû Muhammad Abd al-Azim Ibn Abd al-Kawi Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Salâmi al-Mundiri was descended from a family which dwelt in Syria, but he himself was born in Egypt, in the month of Shabân, 581 (November, A. D. 1185). Having attained a profound knowledge of the Koran, Arabic literature, jurisprudence, and traditions, and composed a *Mojam* and other important works, he became shaikh of the college for the study of the traditions (*Dâr al-Hadîth al-Kâmiliya*); this college was founded at Cairo, A.H. 622 (A.D. 1225), by al-Malik al-Kâmil Nasr ad-din Muhammad, son of al-Malik al-Aâdil. This was one of the only two colleges specially designed for teaching the Traditions; the other was founded at Damascus by al-Malik al-Aâdil Nûr ad-din Mahmûd Ibn Zinki. During the twenty years of his administration, he led a most abstemious, pure, and holy life, and instructed numerous pupils, who became later illustrious for their learning: Ibn Khallikân was one of the number. He wrote also an abridgement of the imam Moslim's Traditions; a summary of the Traditions published by Abû Dâwûd; a collection of useful notes on the same work; a valuable treatise entitled, *At-Targhîb wa 't-Tarhîb* (*Incitement and Determent*), the first volume of this work, which contains a collection of Traditions, is in the *Bib. du Roi*, fonds St. Germain,

No. 86), etc. He died in Egypt in 656 (A. D. 1258).—(see *Tabakat as-Shâfyîn.*) It is worthy of remark that the *Bibliothèque du Roi* is in possession of a volume containing a portion of the work of Abû Dâwûd (No. 354, *ancien fonds*), in which is found a number of notes in the handwriting of Abd al-Azîm al-Mundiri.

(5) The imam Jamâl ad-dîn Abû 'l-Kasim Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Abi 'l-Fadl Abd al-Mujîd Ibn Ismaîl Ibn Hafs as-Safrâwi, doctor of the sect of Malik, was born at Alexandria about the commencement of the year 544 (May, A. D. 1149), and died in 636 (A. D. 1238-9). Besides the *Zahr ar-Riâd*, he wrote a treatise on the seven editions of the Koran, the title of which is: *al-Ilân fi 'l-Karaat as-Sabi.*—(*Tabakât al-Korrâ* MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, ancien fonds, No. 742, fol. 191.)

(6) The hâfiz Abd al-Ghani Ibn Abd al-Wâhid al-Makdisi, doctor of the sect of Ibn Hanbal, learned the Traditions at Damascus, Alexandria, Baghdad, and Ispahân, and became the highest authority on the subject. He composed a number of works, and was remarkable for his piety, his strict observation of the precepts contained in the *Sunna*, and the exhortations which he made to induce his hearers to do what was right, and avoid what was forbidden. Died A. H. 600 (A. D. 1203). His life has been written in two volumes by the hâfiz Diâ ad-Dîn *(light of religion)*. (*Al-Yâfi's* Annals).—The hâfiz Diâ ad-Dîn Abû Abd Allah Muhammad al-Makdisi, doctor of the sect of Ibn Hanbal, was a traditionist of great authority in Syria. The hâfiz as-Silafi was one of his masters. Died A. H. 643 (A. D. 1245.) (*Tab. al-Huffâz.*)

(7) This event is related in the Annals of Abû 'l-Fadâ.

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## SHARAF AD-DIN IBN MANA AL-IRBILI.

Abû 'l-Fadl Ahmad, son to the learned shaikh Kamâl ad-dîn Abû 'l-Fath Musa Ibn Rida ad-dîn Abû 'l Fadl Yûnus Ibn Muhammad Ibn Mana Ibn Mâlik Ibn Muhammad Ibn Saad Ibn Saîd Ibn Aâsim Ibn Aâid Ibn Kaab Ibn Kais Ibn Ibrahîm, doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, and surnamed Sharaf ad-dîn (*nobleness of religion*), came of an eminent and powerful family, which was one of the first in Arbela. This imam was possessed of great talent and judgment, and to an exemplary conduct he joined a handsome person. He is author of a good commentary on the *Tanbîh*, a treatise on Moslim law (*composed by Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi*); two Abridgements of the *Ihya Olûm ad-Dîn* by the imam Al-Ghazzâli, one of them concise, the other more detailed. In the course of his lectures (1) he explained portions of the *Ihya*, which he cited from memory; his mind being richly stored with traditional knowledge and extensive information. His family was noted for its learning, as may be seen hereafter in the lives of his paternal uncle and grandfather, as also of his father, whose plan of study he followed in acquiring his varied information in the sciences. A great number of pupils finished their education under him, and the professorship of the college founded at Arbela

by the prince of that city, al-Malik al-Muazzam Muzaffar ad-dîn Ibn Zain ad-dîn, was confided to him after the death of my father. It was towards the beginning of the month of Shawwâl, A. H. 610, that he arrived at Arbela from Musul; my father having died on the eve of Monday, 22nd Shabân of the same year. When a boy, I followed his lessons, and I never yet heard any one who lectured so well; he did not cease to fill that place until he made his pilgrimage to Mekka; when he returned, he made a short stay, and then went to Musul, A.H. 617 (A.D. 1220), where he was appointed president of the *Kâhiriya* College; he remained in this place, constantly studying and teaching till his death, which took place on Monday, 24th of the second Rabi, 622 (May, A. D. 1225): born at Musul, in the 46 year 575 (A.D. 1179). He was the best of men, and when I think of him, the world is of little value in my eyes.—On reflecting, I observe that the life of Sharaf ad-dîn began and ended with the reign of an-Nâsir lidîn Allah Abû 'l-Abbâs Ahmad, for this khalif was invested with authority A.H. 575, the year in which Sharaf ad-dîn was born, and they both died at one and the same period. It was at Arbela that Sharaf ad-dîn began to comment the *Tanbîh*, having borrowed a copy of it from me, which contained useful notes written in the margin by a man of considerable talent, and all which I afterwards perceived to have been inserted by him in his commentary. The author of these notes was the shaikh Rida ad-dîn Abû Dâwûd Sulaiman Ibn al-Muzaffar Ibn Ghânim Ibn Abd al-Karîm al-Jîli (*native of Jîlân*), follower of the sect of as-Shâfi and mufti in the Nizamiya College of Baghdad. He was one of the most distinguished and talented men of his age, and composed a work on jurisprudence, forming fifteen volumes; he was very religious and had refused to fill every honorable place which was offered for his acceptance (2). His death took place on Wednesday, 3rd of the first Râbi, A. H. 631 (A. D. 1233), and he was interred in the Shûnîziya (*a cemetery of Baghdad*), having lived upwards of sixty years: it was some time after the year 580 that he left his country to study in Baghdad.—Let us return to Sharaf ad-dîn: this doctor did not quit his native place in furtherance of his studies, but made them at Musul under his father's tuition, and for this reason the jurisconsults used to express their astonishment at his being able to study at his native place and in the midst of his family, holding, as he did, a high rank and being taken up with temporal affairs. He produced, however, what we see; and were I to undertake the description of his excellent qualities, I should be long in finishing; so what has been already said must suffice.

(1) The expression القى الدروس, which, though of frequent occurrence, is not to be found in our Lexicons, means *to make a course of lectures.*

(2) He was offered the place of kâdi at Baghdad, and that of superior of the great monastery (*ar-Ribât al-Kabîr*); his work was entitled the *Ikmâl* (*completion*).—(*Tab. as-Shâfyin.*)

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## IBN ABD RABBIH.

Abû Omar Ahmad Ibn Abd Rabbih (1) (*son to the slave of his lord*) Ibn Habîb Ibn Hudair Ibn Sâlim al-Kortubi (*native of Cordova*), was descended from an enfranchised slave of the Spanish Omaiyide khalif Hishâm Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Moawia Ibn Hishâm Ibn Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân Ibn al-Hakam. This writer was deeply learned in traditional knowledge and possessed great historical information; his *Ikd*, or Necklace, is a work of much merit and contains something on every subject, and the *Diwân*, or Collection of his poetical compositions, is very good; the following are specimens of his poetry:

> O thou, on whose face the *izâr* (2) hath traced two lines which excite (*my mind to*) sadness and anguish! I was not convinced that thy looks were a cutting sword, till thou placed on thy cheeks (*the* izâr *as*) a baldrick.

He has repeated the same idea in the following lines (which have been attributed, however, to Abû Tâhir the kâtib (3), and to Abû 'l-Fadl Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wâhid al-Baghdadi):

> There was a youth on whose cheeks the *izâr* had traced its outline with (*dark*) musk, whilst they were dyed with the blood of hearts (*wounded by his beauty*). On feeling convinced that the (*languishing*) narcissus of his eyes was a cutting sword, he took the violet (*-like* izâr) for a baldrick.

This idea has been borrowed by Bahâ ad-din as-Sinjâri, who says, in one of his poems:

> O sword of his eye, thou art now complete in beauty! Before his *izâr* appeared, thou wast without a baldrick.

By Ibn Abd Rabbih:

> She bid me adieu with sighs and embraces, and then asked when we were to meet again: she appeared to me unveiled, and the dawn was lighted up (*by that beauteous*

*neck*) which tunicks and collars encircled. "O thou whose looks languish (but not 47
" from sickness)! whatever place is before thy eyes becomes the death-bed of lovers.
" The day of separation is indeed a dreadful day! O! that I had died before the day
" of separation."

By the same:

> If the fair see that the garment of thy youth is folded up (*by approaching age*), they will fold up from thee their favours; and when they call thee *uncle* (4), that name serves only to increase thy disappointment.

The next verses are taken from a long *kasída* addressed to al-Mundir Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn al-Hakam Ibn Hishâm Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Moawia Ibn Hishâm Ibn Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân al-Hakami the Omaiyide, king of Spain:

> Spain is covered with glory through al-Mundir Ibn Muhammad! Its birds have become tame, and its wild beasts accustomed to man.

On which the vizir Ibn al-Maghribi makes the following observation in his work entitled *Adab al-Khawâss*: "It is related that this poem, on getting into " circulation, gave great pain to Abû Tamîm Maadd al-Moizz lidîn Allah, and " that he felt much mortified by the falsehoods and misrepresentations which it " contained, till an answer was composed to it by his own poet Abû 'l-Hasan Ali " Ibn Muhammad al-Iyâdi of Tunis, who wrote, with that intention, a *kasida* in " the same rhyme and measure, beginning thus:

> ' The rustic hut where Zainab passed the spring is in ruins; that dwelling, which ' before had a voice, is now become silent.'

By Ibn Abd Rabbih:

> The raven croaked and I said: That is the greatest liar among birds unless his forebodings be confirmed by the cry of the camel (5).

In which verse is an allusion to these words of another poet:

> The feet of our camels were worn and wounded by their journey; they could no longer assist (*their rider and bear him*) towards (*the object of his*) love: among camels will always be found some lame and some broken-winded. The evil omen consists not in the croaking and foreboding of the raven, the only evil omen is the camel, the male and the female.

There is every abundance of fine ideas, besides the foregoing, in the poems of this author. He was born the 10th of Ramadân, A. H. 246 (November, A. D.

860); died on Sunday, 18th of the first Jumâda, 328 (March, A. D. 940), and was buried the next day in the cemetery of the Banû 'l-Abbâs at Cordova. Some years before his death, he lost the use of his side from palsy.—*Kortubi* means *native of Cordova*, which is a great city in Spain and capital of the empire.

(1) *Ibn Abd Rabbih* is now pronounced, according to the vulgar idiom, *Ibn Abd Rubbûh*. In the بغية الملتمس (Arabic MS. belonging to the Asiatic Society of Paris; consult on this work Casiri's *Bibliotheca Arabica*, No. 1671), the author states that Abd Rabbih was grandfather of our poet and that his father's name was Muhammad. Besides the *Ikd* or *Collar*, a work containing much important information on the manners of the ancient Arabs, and of which some extracts have been given by M. Fresnel in his letters, Ibd Abd Rabbih composed a great deal of poetry, which he collected into a work entitled *al-Mahasât;* in which every erotic piece was followed by another on morality and devotion; his intention in this was to purify محص (*Mahas*) the profane ideas of the one by the religious sentiments of the other.

(2) See page 35, note (2).

(3) Perhaps Ibn Abi Tâhir is the true reading. His life is given in the abridgement of the Khâtib's History of Baghdad: it runs as follows:—The kâtib Abû 'l-Fadl Ahmad Ibn Abi Tâhir Taifour طيفور came of a family which dwelt at Marw; he was an eloquent man, a poet and a narrator of historical traditions; he possessed also great intelligence, and was celebrated for his learning. He composed a history of the khalifs and their adventures, giving his facts after Omar Ibn Shabba and others. His son states that he died in 280 (A. D. 893); he was buried in the cemetery near the Gate of Syria (*at Baghdad*). Born at Baghdad, A. H. 204, the year of al-Mâmûn's entry (*to that city: see page* 18). (MS. No. 634, *fol.* 50 *verso*).

(4) *Uncle* and *Aunt* were the terms made use of in addressing elderly persons; *son of my uncle* and *daughter of my uncle* were the titles used between persons of the same age, though strangers to each other.

(5) The nomadic poet imagined that the raven foresaw the epoch in which a tribe was to change its quarters; and that it then hastened, with ill-omened cry, towards the spot which was soon to be abandoned, and in which he hoped to have found his mistress still remaining. The *Ghorâb al-Bain*, or *raven of separation*, is often spoken of by poets. Some camels utter loud cries when loading for a journey.

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## ABU 'L-ALA AL-MAARRI.

Abû 'l-Alâ (1) Ahmad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Sulaimân Ibn Muhammad Ibn Sulai- 48 mân Ibn Ahmad Ibn Sulaimân Ibn Dâwûd Ibn al-Mutahhar Ibn Ziyâd Ibn Rabîa Ibn al-Harith Ibn Rabîa Ibn Anwar Ibn Asham Ibn Arkam Ibn an-Nomân Ibn Adi Ibn Ghatafân Ibn Amr Ibn Barih Ibn Khozaima (2) Ibn Taim Allah Ibn Asad Ibn Wabara Ibn Thalab Ibn Hulwân Ibn Imrân Ibn Alhâf Ibn Kudâa at-Tanûkhi al-Maarri (*native of Maarrat an-Nomân*) was a celebrated philologer and poet,

profoundly learned in all the various branches of polite literature. He studied grammar and philology under his father at Maarra, and Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Saad the grammarian at Aleppo; his numerous works are well known, and his epistles have been carefully preserved; the *Luzûm*, or poetical pieces, composed by him on a more strict principle than is required by the usual rules of prosody (3), are numerous and fill nearly five books; he composed also the *Sikt az-Zand* (*Falling Spark of Tinder*), with a commentary by himself, and entitled by him, *Dau as-Sikt* (*Light of the Spark which falls*). I have been told that he is also author of a book on belles-lettres, called *al-Aîk wa'l-Ghusûn* (*the Forest and the Branches*), and generally known by the title of *al-Hamza wa'r-Ridf* (4), in about one hundred parts; and I have been informed by a person who happened to read the one hundred and first, that he did not know what could be wanting on the subject after the volume he had read. Abû l'Alâ was the most learned man of the age, and had, among other pupils, Abû 'l-Kasim Ali at-Tanûkhi and the khatîb Abû Zakariyâ at-Tabrîzi. He was born at Maarra about sunset on Friday the 27th of the first Rabî, A. H. 363 (December, A.D. 973); about the beginning of the year 367, he lost his sight from the small-pox, a white film having covered his right eye, while the left had disappeared completely. (*Relative to this*) the hâfiz as-Silafi relates the following anecdote: "I was informed by Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn al-Walîd Ibn Azîb al-"Iyadi that he went with his uncle to visit Abû 'l-Alâ, whom he found sitting "on a felt rug, and that he was an old man. 'He prayed a blessing on me,' "said he, 'and stroked my head, for I was then a boy. At this moment I "think that I still see him and his two eyes, one of which was starting out of his "head (5) and the other deeply sunk in its orbit; his face was marked with "the small-pox; his body lean.'" When Abû 'l-Alâ had finished his *al-Lâmi al-Azîzi*, which is a commentary on the poems of al-Mutanabbi, one of the company happened to read to him some of the descriptive passages composed by that poet, on which Abû 'l-Alâ said: "One would think that al-Mutanabbi had "looked into futurity and seen me when he pronounced this verse:

> 'I am he whose learning is seen by the blind, and whose word causeth the deaf to 'hear.'

He made a commented abridgement of Abû Tammâm's poetical works, and entitled it *Zikra Habîb* (*Recollections of a Beloved*) (6); another, of the poems

of al-Bohtori, which he named *Abth al-Walîd* (*Sport for Children*) (7); and a third of al-Mutanabbi's, to which he gave the title of *Mojîz Ahmad* (*Miracle of Muhammad*) (8). In these three works he explained the obscure words and allusions found in their poems, and indicated the ideas which they had borrowed from others, or later poets from them; he also declared himself their champion, in criticizing, however, some passages of their writings, and, occasionally, pointing out their faults. He went to Baghdad in the year 398 (A. D. 1007-8), and a second time in 399, when he remained there a year and seven months; after which, he returned to Maarra and, confining himself to his house, began to compose his works. Numbers then frequented his lessons; pupils came to him from every region; and learned men, vizirs, and persons of rank became his correspondents. He called himself the *doubly imprisoned captive* (9), in allusion to his voluntary confinement, and the loss of his sight. During forty-five years he abstained from flesh through a religious motive, as he followed the opinion of those ancient philosophers who refused to eat flesh, so as to avoid causing the death of any animal; for in killing it, pain is inflicted; and they held it as a positive principle, that no hurt should be done to any living creature (10). At the age of eleven years he made verses, and we select the following from his *Luzûm*:

> Seek not to attain superior rank by thy own efforts; unless Fortune favour the elegant writer, his pen is as inefficient as a spindle. Two *Simâks* (11) have their dwelling in the sky; and though one bears a lance, the other is unarmed.

49 Abû 'l-Alâ died on Friday, 3rd of the first Rabî, some say the 13th, A. H. 449 (May, A. D. 1057), and I have been told that, in his will, he ordered the following verse to be written on his tomb:

> I owe this to the fault of my father; none owe the like to mine.

This is also in accordance with the belief of those ancient philosophers who taught that the engendering of a child and the bringing of it into the world is a wrong done to it, for it is then exposed to accidents and injuries. His illness lasted three days, and on the fourth he died, having none near him but his nephews: on the third day, he told them to write down what he was going to say, and they took paper and pens for that purpose, but he dictated to them

observations which were quite incorrect; on which the kâdi Abû Muhammad Abd Allah at-Tanûkhi said: "May God lighten your grief! the shaikh is "already dead!" The next day, Abû 'l-Alâ expired, and his disciple Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Hammâm deplored his death in these lines:

> Though, from religious feelings, you never caused tears to flow, you now oblige our eyes to shed tears of blood! You have sent abroad a (*glorious*) reputation, (*spreading around*) like (*the odour of*) musk, and perfuming the listener and the mouth (*of him who speaks your praises*) (12). When pilgrims wish to pass the night conversing on your merit, I see the wearer of the *ihrâm* pay (*before-hand*) a fine to expiate (*the sin of being perfumed* (13).

In the first of these verses the poet makes allusion to Abû 'l-Alâ's religious belief, which forbade the slaying of animals; of this we have already spoken. His tomb is in the court of a house belonging to his family; this court is entered by a little old door; the whole is in extremely bad order from neglect and want of care, for the family do not pay the least attention to it.—*Tanûkhi* means *belonging to Tanûkh*, which name was given to a number of tribes that had assembled together, in former times, in the province of Bahrain, where they fixed their dwelling, after binding themselves by oath to afford each other mutual assistance. The word *tanûch* means *to dwell*. This was one of the three Arabian tribes which professed Christianity; the two others were Bahrâ and Taghlib.—*Al-Maarri* means belonging to *Maarrât an-Nomân*, a village of Syria near Hamâh and Shaizar; it was called after an-Nomân, son of Bashir al-Ansâri (14), who took up his dwelling there. Maarrât an-Nomân was taken by the Franks from the Moslims in the month of Muharram, 492 (December, A. D. 1098), and continued in their possession till the year 529 (A. D. 1134-5), when it was taken by Imâd ad-dîn Zinki Ibn Ak Sunkur, who generously restored to the (*Moslim*) inhabitants the property (*which the Franks had taken from them*).

(1) The orientalists of the old school pronounced this name Abû l'-Ola, but the true pronunciation is Abû 'l-Alâ: M. de Sacy has published some of his poems in the *Chrestomathie*. The text and Latin translation of two other poems by the same author will be found in M. Vuller's edition of Tarafa's *Moallaka*.

(2) This is the true reading; see *Kamûs* under برح

(3) There are some poems in which the final foot of each verse is doubly or even triply rhymed. This is what the Arabic prosodians call *Luzûm ma la Yalzum, Iltizâm* or *Iynât*.—See De Sacy's Commentary on Hariri, page 419.

(4) This title induces me to think that at least a portion of the work was in verse, having for rhyme a *hamza* with a letter of prolongation, which, in that case, is called the *ridf* by Arabic prosodians.

(5) M. de Sacy, in his *Chrestomathie*, tom. III, page 89, reads in this place ناظرة for نادرة; but all the MSS., without exception, and the context of Ibn Khallikân's article are against his opinion.

(6) Or *Recollections of Habîb;* Abû Tammâm's name was *Habîb*.

(7) Or *Amusement afforded by Walîd;* the poet al-Bohtori was so called.

(8) Or *Miraculous Excellence of Ahmad*, which was the real name of al-Mutanabbi.

(9) Literally: *The pledge of the two prisons*. M. de Sacy has completely misunderstood this expression.— See *Chrestomathie*, t. III, p. 90.

(10) The author of a marginal note in the MS. of Ibn Khallikân, No. 93, fonds St. Germain, says: It might be concluded from the words of Ibn Khallikân, that Abû 'l-Alâ continued in these heterodox opinions till his death; but, says he, more than one historian state that he returned to the principles of Islamism.— In the essay on the life and poetry of al-Mutanabbi (quoted page 110, note), it is stated that Abû 'l-Alâ composed a Koran which, as he imagined, was to surpass Muhammad's in influence as it did in style. A short extract of it is then given.

(11) The star Acturus is called by the Arabs the *Simâk bearing a lance (as-Simâk ar-Râmih);* and *Spica Virginis* bears the name of *as-Simâk al-Aazal (the unarmed Simâk)*. The signification of the word *Simâk* is doubtful; the Arabic commentator on Ulug Bek says that these stars were so called on account of their altitude (the Arabic verb *Samaka* means *to rise, to be exalted*). M. Ideler, in his *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, page 51 *et seq.*, has treated this question, without obtaining, however, a satisfactory solution.

(12) In interpreting this difficult verse, I have followed *al-Yâfi*, who explains it in his Annals (Arabic MS. No. 644, year 449.) This writer quotes the Koran, surat 37, verse 147, to prove that أو takes sometimes the signification of واو. Al-Yâfi attributes to Abû 'l-Alâ some eloquent epistles.

(13) The *Ihrâm*, or dress worn by pilgrims on entering the sacred territory of Mekka, consists in two pieces of clean, white, woollen cloth, without seams. When wearing the Ihrâm, pilgrims are not allowed to make use of perfumes.—See D'Ohsson's *Tableau de l'Empire Othoman*, tom. III, pp. 64, 68.

(14) See *Mishkât al-Masâbîh*, vol. 1, page 228 note. To what is there said of an-Nomân Ibn Bashîr may be added that his death took place A. H. 64.

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## ABU AAMIR IBN ABD AL-MALIK AL-ASHJAI AL-ANDALUSI.

Abû Aâmir Ahmad Ibn Abi Marwân Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân Ibn Zi 'l-Wizâratain (1) al-Aala Ahmad Ibn Abd al-Malik Ibn Omar Ibn Muhammad Ibn Isa Ibn Shuhaid al-Ashjaî, native of Cordova in Spain, was descended from al-Waddâh Ibn Razâh, who was a partisan of ad-Dahhâk Ibn Kais al-Fihri at the battle of Marj Rahit (2). Ibn Bassâm mentions al-Ashjaî in the *Kitâb ad-Dakhîra*, and praises him in the highest terms; he gives also copious extracts from his epistles and poetical writings, with an account of the principal

events of his life. He was one of the most learned men in Spain, versed in a variety of sciences, and eminent in all the branches of literature; a written correspondence in a playful style was carried on between him and Ibn Hazm the Zâhirite, and a number of works of singular merit and originality were composed by him, amongst which the following may be specified: *Kashf* 50 *ad-Dakk wa Iydâh as-Shakk; at-Tawâbî wa 'z-Zawâbî; Hânût Attâr* (3). To his talents he joined a most noble character, and many anecdotes are related of his generosity. As a specimen of his poetry we give the following beautiful passage from one of his *Kasîdas:*

> The vultures know that his warriors are lions when they meet with a warrior's prey! pinched with hunger, they hover above his head; but the points of his lances send them to their nests, glutted with food.

Though this is a beaten thought, and one in which he was anticipated by a number of poets both before and after the establishment of Islamism, yet he has expressed it most happily and turned it with much elegance. The following verses are a specimen of his light and graceful style:

> (*My mistress,*) oppressed with inebriation, yielded to sleep, and the eyes of the (*jealous*) keepers who guarded her at night were closed in slumber. Though (*her dwelling*) was remote, I went towards it and drew near gently, as one in quest of an object which he well knows where to find. I glided towards her, as slumber glides towards (*weary eyes*), and I went up to her chamber, as a sigh mounts up (*from the bosom*): And I passed my night with her in delight, till the mouth of morning smiled: And I embraced the fairness of her neck and sipped kisses from her dark red lips.

How prettily has the same idea been expressed in the following verses composed by Abû 'l-Mansûr Sarrdarr:

> How often, during the shades of night, have we arrived, without previous notice, at (*the encampment of an Arab*) tribe; but found not, by their fire, a person who could direct us to our way (4). And yet their scouts were not remiss; but we fell in among them (*gently*) as falls the dew.

A number of poets have employed the foregoing thought, but it takes its source in this verse by Amro 'l-Kais (5):

> And I mounted up (*gently*) towards her, after her family had fallen asleep; so mount bubbles in water, one after another.

Most of Abû Aâmir's poetry is of surpassing beauty: he was born, A. H. 382

(A. D. 992), and died at Cordova, on Friday morning, 30th of the first Jumâda, 426 (April, A. D. 1035): on the next day he was interred in the cemetery of Omm Salma (6). Mention is made of his father Abd al-Malik in the *Kitâb as-Silat* (*by Ibn Bashkuwal.*) — *Al-Ashjaï* means *belonging to Ashja* which is a great tribe descended from Ashja son of Raith son of Ghatafân.

(1) *Zû 'l-Wizâratain* (*possessing the double wizirat*); a title given to those ministers who were at the same time invested with civil and military authority.—(See Mr. Weyer's work, entitled "*Specimen criticum* "*exhibens locos Ibni Khacanis de Ibn Zeidouno,*" page 60, note.)

(2) The battle of Marj Râhit took place in the 64th year of the Hijra between the partisans of the khalif Marwân Ibn al-Hakam and Abd Allah Ibn az-Zubair. Ad-Dakkak fought for Ibn az-Zubair, and was slain with a great number of his people. In the Hamâsa are some fragments of poetry relating to that event. Al-Waddâh was made prisoner in that battle by the khalif Marwân, who spared his life. It was from him that the family of the Banû Waddâh in Murcia were descended. (*Ar-Rushâti;* quoted by the author of the *Bughiat al-Multamis.*)

(3) According to Hajji Khalifa, the first of these three works is a treatise on legerdemain; the title of the second is rendered *Genii et Dæmones* by Mr. Flugel (see *Lex. Biblog.*, No. 3711); and that of the third signifies *the Perfumer's* or *Druggist's Shop;* according to the author of the *Bughiat*, this work treats of grammar.

(4) In the Koran, *surat* 27, *verse* 7, is found the following passage: "Remember when Moses said to his "family: I see a fire from which I will bring you tidings (*of your way*)." The Arab tribes used to light fires by night on high places, so that travellers in the desert might be directed towards their hospitable dwellings, and receive information to guide them on their way.

(5) See my edition of *Le Diwan d'Amro 'l-kais*, page 34.

(6) Abû Aâmir, in his latter days, was the standard-bearer of poetry and eloquence in his country; he left none like him, and died childless. He was a man of a generous character, and a gay disposition; he had considerable knowledge in medicine. (*Bughiat al-Multamis.*)

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## IBN FARIS AR-RAZI THE PHILOLOGER.

Abû 'l-Husain Ahmad Ibn Fâris Ibn Zakariyâ Ibn Muhammad Ibn Habib ar-Râzi was a deeply learned man in various sciences and in philology especially, having acquired a most exact knowledge of that subject: his work the *Mujmil fi 'l-Loghat*, or Collection of philological Observations, contains, notwithstanding its concision, a great mass of information (1). He composed also the *Hilyat al-Fukahâ* (*Ornament of Doctors*); some beautiful epistles and a treatise on philological questions, which work jurisconsults studied with great atten-

tion, and from which al-Hariri took the idea of his *Makâma*, entitled *at-Taibiya* (2), in which he proposes legal questions to the number of one hundred. Ibn Fâris dwelt at Hamadân and had for pupil Badî az-Zamân al-Hamadâni, the author of the *Makâmas* (and whose life shall be given). He composed some good poetry, of which we may give the following passages :

A (*nymph*) graceful and slender passed near us, she was a Turk by nature and by name (3). She looked with a tender, a tempting glance; (*a glance*) as languishing as a grammarian's proofs are slight (4).

By the same :

Hearken to the words of a true adviser: a man of good counsel and a friend: "Take "care; beware that you pass a single night with your confidence placed in those whose word alone is an authority (5).

By the same :

When you have to send a person on business which has engaged your mind, send an agent who requires no prompting, and let that agent be—money.

By the same :

Though the burning fire (*of indigence*) parches my entrails, I will still say: May a shower (*of abundance*) fall upon Hamadân! Why should I not offer a sincere prayer for that city where I had the advantage of forgetting all that I learned (6). I have forgotten what I best knew except (*the art of getting into debt*); for I am now in debt and have not a dirhem in my house.

Ibn Fâris has written a great deal of good poetry; he died at Rai in the year 390 (A. D. 1000), and was buried opposite to the chapel in which are deposed the remains of the kâdi Ali Ibn Abd al-Azîz al-Jorjâni; some say however that he died in the month of Safar, A. H. 375 (June, A D. 985), at Muhammadiya, but the first is the more received opinion.—*Râzi* means belonging to *Rai*, a well known city in the province of Dailam: the derivative takes a *z*, in the same manner as *Marwazi* derived from Marw (7).—Ibn Fâris is also author of these verses :

They asked me how I was; I answered: "Well; some things succeed and some fail: "when my heart is filled with cares, I say: One day, perhaps, they may be dispelled. "A cat is my companion; books, the friends of my heart; and a lamp, my beloved "consort."

(1) The *style* of the *Mojmil* is concise, no doubt; but the work itself, which is an Arabic lexicon, forms two respectable folio volumes. A copy of it is in the Bibliothèque du Roi, *fonds St. Germain*, Nos.194, 195.

(2) *Taibiya* is derived from *Taiba*, one of the names given to the city of Medina. The thirty-second Makâma was so called because, towards the beginning of it, mention is made of Taiba. In M. de Sacy's edition, this Makâma is entitled *al-Harbiya.*

(3) The Turkoman tribes have always had the reputation of being great robbers; this lady was of that race, and sustained the character of her nation by stealing—hearts.

(4) Literally: *Weaker than the proof of a grammarian.* It has been already observed (page 28, note (3)), that, in Arabic, *languishing* and *weakly* are expressed by the same word. *The grammarian's proofs* are those passages cited by him in confirmation of some general rule.—It would seem that Ibn Fâris, *the philologer*, had not a very profound respect for grammarians.

(5) This is manifestly directed against those relators of religious and historical traditions, who, for their well-known veracity, were dispensed, by public opinion, from naming the persons through whom their information came. The Arabic name is *Thikat*, which means *confidence*, and is used to signify *a man worthy of confidence.* The verse literally translated would run thus: *Beware that you pass a night with confidence in confidences*; but this gives quite a different idea from that intended to be expressed by the author.

(6) The people of Hamadân were proverbial for their ignorance, and Ibn Fâris pretends that their company was contagious; he does not regret, however, the loss of his learning, which he probably prized as little as the science of the grammarians and the veracity of the *Thikât.* (See the two preceding notes.)

(7) See page 7.

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## ABU TAYIB AL-MUTANABBI.

Abû Tayib Ahmad Ibn al-Husain Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Abd as-Samad al-Jôfi al-Kindi, surnamed al-Mutanabbi, was a native of Kûfa: a different genealogy of this celebrated poet has been given as follows: Ahmad Ibn al-Husain Ibn Murra Ibn Abd al-Jabbâr; but God alone knows which is exact. Al-Mutanabbi came of a family which inhabited Kûfa, but he went to Syria in his youth, and, travelling over its provinces, studied and attained proficiency in various branches of literature (1). He had acquired an extensive knowledge of pure Arabic, drawn from the best sources and which he has handed down *(in his poetical compositions)* (2); and he possessed so great information on the subject of its idiomatic and obsolete expressions (3) that, when a question was proposed to him, 52 he never failed proving his opinion by citing analagous examples in prose and verse composed by the Arabs of the desert (4). It is related that the learned

Abû Ali 'l-Fârisi, author of the *Iydâh* and the *Takmila,* once asked him how many plural nouns there were of the form *fila,* and received immediately for answer *Hijla* and *Zirba*: and Abû Ali says that he passed three nights in consulting philological works to find a third plural noun of a similar form, but without success. Such a remark, coming from Abû Ali, is quite sufficient to establish al-Mutanabbi's proficiency (*in philology*). (*Hijla* is the plural of *Hajal* (*a cock-partridge*), and *Zirba* is the plural of *Zaribân,* a word pronounced with the same vowels as *Katirân,* and which serves to designate a small quadruped emitting a fetid smell). As to his poetry, it is the height of perfection, and it is needless to give specimens here, since it is so well known (5); I shall merely notice two verses which the shaikh Tâj ad-din al-Kindi has attributed to him, and are not to be found in his works; the shaikh gives them on the best traditional authority remounting to the author, so I insert them here on account of their rarity :

> Was it because you saw me (*look up to you*) with the eye of one who needs your favour, that you treated me with contempt and hurled me down the precipice? But 'tis I who am to blame, not you; for I had fixed my hopes upon another than the Creator.

When al-Mutanabbi was in Egypt, he fell sick and was visited, during his illness, by a friend; who, after his recovery, abstained from going to see him; our poet, in consequence, wrote him this note: "You were a kind companion to "me (may God be kind to thee!), when I was unwell, and you have abandoned "me on my convalescence; it now depends upon you (with God's assistance), "to prevent me from loving sickness, and preserve my health from suffer-"ing (6)."—The critics of al-Mutanabbi's poetry may be divided into different classes: some consider him superior to Abû Tammâm and his successors; whilst others pronounce Abû Tammâm superior to him; and the poet an-Nâmi (whose life comes immediately after) has said: "One single corner of poetry remained "unoccupied, but al-Mutanabbi took it up; and I often wished that I had anti-"cipated him in two ideas which he has versified, and which never occurred to "any poet before him; the one is contained in these verses:

> 'Misfortune shot at me with the arrows of calamity, till my heart was covered with 'them, so that the darts which struck it broke against those which were fixed in it 'already.'

"The other is in the following:

'(*He marched*) at the head of an army raising a cloud of dust which obscured the 'sight; and (*it seemed*) as if the soldiers saw with their ears (7).'

The learned have taken much pains in explaining and commenting the poetical works of al-Mutanabbi, and I have been informed by one of the masters under whom I studied, that he met with upwards of forty commentaries, both great and small, on these poems: a mark of popularity such as never was obtained by the works of any other poet. He was, without doubt, a highly-gifted man, favoured with the happy talent of expressing perfectly his ideas in verse. The surname of *al-Mutanabbi* (*the pretended prophet*) was given him because he had set up for a prophet in the flat country near Samâwa (8), where he was followed by a great multitude of the Banû Kalb and other tribes; but Lûlû, governor of Hims (*Emessa*) and lieutenant to the Ikhshîd family, having marched against him, took him prisoner and dispersed his partisans; he kept al-Mutânabbi in confinement for a long period, and having at length brought him back to the Moslim faith, he set him at liberty: other accounts have been given (*of the origin of this surname*), but this is the most correct. Al-Mutanabbi then became a follower of the emir Saif ad-Dawlat Ibn Hamdân; this was in the year 337 (A. D. 948-9); he afterwards left him and entered Egypt in 346 (A. D. 957), where he celebrated the praises of Kâfûr al-Ikhshîdi and Anûjûr Ibn al-Ikhshîd (9), and was permitted to stand in the presence of the (*minister*) Kâfûr, with boots on his feet and the loins girded with a sword; when he rode out he was accompanied with two ushers, mamlûks of the prince, wearing swords and belts. Being afterwards dissatisfied with Kâfûr, he composed a satire against him and left him on the eve of the Feast of Sacrifice (9th, Zû 'l-Hijja), A. H. 350 (January, A. D. 962). On this, Kâfûr dispatched camel-riders to different quarters in pursuit of him, but without success. That 83 minister had promised him a government, but on seeing the liberties he took in his poems and his haughty spirit, he became apprehensive of him (*and refused to keep his word*). On being reproached with his conduct towards the poet, he said: "My (*good*) people! would he who claimed the gift of prophecy after "Muhammad's (*having fulfilled his mission*), not be capable of claiming (*a* "*share in*) the empire with Kâfûr? This reflection should suffice you."—Ibn Jinni the grammarian relates that he studied the poems of Mutanabbi under the

author himself, and that he once read to him the *kasída* in praise of Kâfûr, which begins thus:

> I combat my love for you, but love will vanquish; and I wonder at your aversion, but your affection would be more worthy of wonder.

On coming to these lines:

> O! that I knew if I shall ever pronounce a poem in which I shall have no complaint to make and no reproach. I suffer from (*afflictions*), the least of which had driven poetry away; but know, daughter of a (*noble*) race! that my heart preserves its vigour!

Ibn Jinni said to him: "It is painful for me to think that such a poem could "have been made in praise of any other than Saif ad-Dawlat;" to which al-Mutanabbi answered: "I cautioned him however and warned him (*against "neglecting me*), but it would not avail: did I not say:

> 'Brother of Generosity! bestow what you possess; but bestow not on others that which I pronounce (10).

"Yet he gave me to Kâfûr through his bad management and defective judg-"ment." — Saif ad-Dawlat held an assembly every night to which the men of learning came, and where they conversed together in his presence: (*in one of these meetings*) a discussion took place between al-Mutanabbi and Ibn Khâlawaih, the grammarian, who (*at last*) sprung upon al-Mutanabbi and, striking him on the face with a key he had about him, inflicted a wound, from which the blood flowed on al-Mutanabbi's garments: the poet, moved with anger, departed for Egypt, where he composed poems in praise of Kâfûr: he then travelled to Persia and composed panegyrics on Adad ad-Dawlat Ibn Bûwaih ad-Dailami, by whom he was generously rewarded (11); on leaving him, he went to Baghdad, and thence to Kûfa, where he arrived on the 8th Shâbân (A.H. 354, August, A.D. 965); he was then attacked by a chief of the tribe of Asad, named Fâtik Ibn Abi 'l-Jahl, at the head of a troop of partisans: al-Mutanabbi also had with him a number of companions, so a combat took place, in which he was killed along with his son al-Muhassad and his slave Muflih: this occurred near an-Nomâniya, at a place called as-Sâfia, or the Mountains of as-Safia, in the western part of the Sawâd (*or province*) of Baghdâd, at two miles' distance from Dair al-Aâkûl (12). Ibn Rashik mentions in that chapter of his *Omda*, which

treats of the good and harm done by poetry, that Abû Tayib al-Mutanabbi, on seeing himself vanquished, was taking to flight, when his slave addressed him in these terms: "Let it never be said that you fled from combat; you, who are "the author of this verse:

'The horse, and the night, and the desert know me (*well*); the sword also, and the 'lance, and paper and the pen!'

Upon this, al-Mutanabbi turned back and fought till he was slain; so it was this verse which caused his death. This event happened in the month of Ramadân, 354 (September, A. D. 965): some say, on Wednesday 24th, or 27th or 28th of the month; others, on Monday 22nd, or on the 25th. He was born at Kûfa in the year 303 (A. D. 915-6), in the quarter called Kinda; for which reason only he was surnamed *al-Kindi*, as he did not belong to the tribe of Kinda, but to that which sprung from *Jófí* Ibn Saad al-Ashîra Ibn Madhij Malik
54 Ibn Odad Ibn Zaid Ibn Yashhob Ibn Gharib Ibn Zaid Ibn Kahlân (13). The Saad mentioned in the foregoing genealogy, was named *Saad al-Ashîra* (*happiness of relations*), because he rode abroad accompanied with, it is said, three hundred sons and grandsons; and when asked who they were, answered, "My relations" (*Ashîrati*); as he dreaded the influence of the evil eye (*had he said: They are my children*) (14).—Some persons say that al-Mutanabbi's father was a water-carrier at Kûfa, and that he afterwards emigrated to Syria with his son, who was brought up there: allusion is made to this circumstance in the following verse, by a poet who lampooned al-Mutanabbi:

What merit (*fadl*) is there in a poet who from morn to night seeks for reward (*fadl*)? At one time he lived by selling water in Kûfâ; at another, by selling his prostituted talent (15).

(In the life of Abû Tammâm Habib, the celebrated poet, will be found some verses (*directed against him*), by Ibn al-Moaddal, which contain a similar thought).—The poet Abû 'l-Kasim al-Muzaffar Ibn Ali at-Tabasi (16) composed the following elegy on the death of al-Mutanabbi:

Cursed be that fortune which has deprived us unawares of so eloquent a tongue (17). Never will a second al-Mutanabbi be seen; what second can be found to match that faultless pearl (18)? His lofty mind was to him an army, and placed him in the pride of power. In his poetry he was a prophet, and the ideas he has expressed show forth his miraculous powers.

*Tabasi* means *native of Tabas*, which is a city in the desert lying between Naisâpûr, Ispahân and Kermân.—It is related that al-Motamid Ibn Abbâd al-Lakhmi, prince of Cordova and Seville, recited one day the following verse from a celebrated *Kasída* of al-Mutanabbi's:

Our camels, broken with fatigue, receive fresh strength when their eyes obtain a sight of thee..

In his admiration, the prince continued repeating this verse, when Ibn Wahbûn (19), who was one of the company, improvised the two following:

If the son of al-Husain was skilled in poetry, you also are skilled in making generous gifts! 'tis gifts which open the lips (*of grateful poets*). Proud of his poetic talent, al-Mutanabbi declared himself a prophet; had he known that you would recite his poems, he had thought himself a god.

Al-Iflîli relates that al-Mutanabbi, being in the hippodrome (*Maidân*) with Saif ad-Dawlat Ibn Hamdân, recited to the prince his *Kasída* which begins thus: *Fortune grants to each man that to which he has been accustomed.* When Saif ad-Dawlat returned to his palace, he desired the poet to repeat the poem, which he did without rising from his seat; one of the persons present, wishing to deprive al-Mutanabbi, by stratagem (*of the honour conferred on him in being allowed to remain seated*), addressed him and said: "Abû 't-Tayib! if you "repeat your poem standing, I will be able to hear it, for most of those present "do not." To this Abû 't-Tayib replied: "Have you not heard the beginning "of it: *Fortune grants to each man that to which he has been accustomed?*" which was an excellent repartee.—To sum up his character, we may only say that he was a man of high soul and lofty thought; and that his history is long and his adventures numerous; for which reason we have preferred being concise on the subject (20).

(1) As it has already been observed, students, at the age of fifteen or sixteen, went to travel for the purpose of taking lessons from professors in different countries.

(2) I have here paraphrased the original passage, so as to give a clearer idea of its import.

(3) In the *Histoire des Sultans mamlouks*, translated from the Arabic of al-Makrizi by M. Quatremère, that learned oriental scholar renders the word حوشى by *bas, rustique* (see preface, page 9, note); this, however, does not appear correct; it would have been no recommendation of al-Mutanabbi's instruction, to say that he had great information in the *low* or *vulgar* expressions of the Arabic language. The word حوشى

signifies *obsolete, gone into disuse,* and is used in opposition to مستعمل *in general use;* see an example in the Arabic text of Ibn Khallikân, page 173, line 1.

(4) The inhabitants of the desert spoke the purest Arabic.

(5) Some information on the subject of al-Mutanabbi's poetry will be found in M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie,* tom. III, page 27 of the second edition.

(6) In the original, this note has a terseness and concision of which the translation can offer no idea.

(7) That is: The dust prevented them from seeing their way, and they were directed only by the commands of their chief; so, their ear guided them on their march, not their eye.

(8) Samawâ is situated on the west bank of the Euphrates, in about the latitude of 31° 20′.

(9) Some details respecting the life of Anûjûr will be found in the life of Kâfûr.

(10) That is: Let not other princes obtain from me those praises which are yours by right.—In the Arabic text, انت has been put by mistake for انا which is the reading of the best MSS., and confirmed by all the copies of the Diwan of al-Mutanabbi which have been consulted.

(11) To form an idea of the great sums this poet must have gained, we need only state that Adad ad-Dawlat is said to have given him thirty thousand dinars, and the vizir Ibn al-Omaid a like sum. (*Yâfi* MS. No. 637, fol. 266 verso.) This however appears to be an exaggeration.

(12) Dair al-Akûl was situated on the Tigris, about 30 miles below Baghdad.

(13) This celebrated genealogy is certainly corrupt as here given. Ibn Khaldûn, in his History of the Ancient Arabs, now publishing by Dr. Arri, has treated the subject with his usual learning and judgment.

(14) To have had so many male descendants must have excited jealousy, and a glance of a jealous eye might have had a fatal effect upon them. The superstition of the eastern nations on that subject is well known since the publication of Mr. Lane's *Modern Egyptians.*

(15) Literally: *By selling the water of the face.* The ingenuous blush of a modest and honorable man is called by the Arabs *the water of the face* ماء الوجه or ماء المحيا; the poet who has lost all sense of shame, and sells his praises to the most unworthy, has exchanged his honourable character, his modest dignity, for money.

(16) This poet lived to be a contemporary of at-Thaalibi, who in his *Yatîma* gives some verses of Abû 'l-Nasr al-Harthimi on his authority.

(17) Literally: Haud amplius ad pastum ducat Deus agmen temporis quod nobis incidit, linguæ tali (*silentium imponens*).

(18) Literally: The undrilled pearl of the age.

(19) Abû Muhammad Abd al-Jalîl Ibn Wahbûn, a celebrated poet and man of learning was born at Murcia in Spain. In the year 480 (A. D. 1087) he was killed by a troop of Christians as he was travelling from Lorca لورقة to his native place. (*Bughiat al-Multamis.*)

(20) Al-Husain, the father of Abû 't-Tayib al-Mutanabbi, was generally known by the name of *Aidân as-Sakkâ,* or *Aidân the water-carrier,* for which reason this poet is sometimes called *Ibn Aidân* or *Ibn as-Sakkâ.* When yet a school-boy, al-Mutanabbi composed verses, which are still extant; and these essays of his youth announce already that superior talent which shines forth so brightly in the productions of his maturer age. The early part of his life was spent in Syria and among the Bedwin tribes which inhabited the desert to the west of the Euphrates. One of his contemporaries, Abû'l-Hasan Muhammad Ibn Yahya al-Alawi relates that al-Mutanabbi, when a boy, lived in his neighbourhood at Kufa; that he was fond of learning and literature, and that after living for some years with the Arabs of the desert, he came back a complete Bedwin. He picked up the greater part of his learning at booksellers' shops, his memory being so tenacious, that he had only to read a book once, in order to learn it by heart. His intercourse with the nomadic Arabs had a powerful

influence on his character; from them he acquired that intrepidity which pervaded his future conduct, and that lofty spirit which breathes in his poems; he imbibed also, at the same source, that knowledge of the pure Arabic tongue which excited the admiration of his countrymen and gained the greatest publicity for his verses. It was some time after the three hundred and twentieth year of the Hijra, that Abû 't-Tayib asserted his apostolic mission; and persuaded some of the inhabitants of al-Latâkiya that he was a prophet sent by God. "I come," said he, "to this generation which erreth and leadeth into error; I come to fill the world with justice, as it is now filled with wickedness; I shall reward those who obey God's commands, and strike off the heads of the disobedient!" He pretended also to possess the gift of miracles, and one of the signs which he gave to confirm his veracity was, that when the rain fell around him in torrents, it did not touch a certain hill on which he stood. This manifestation of his power (which the orthodox Moslim historian attributes to magic art) had the effect of seducing great numbers. Unfortunately for the prophet, the governor of Emessa caused him to be arrested and imprisoned; and al-Mutanabbi in his cell, with his head and arms confined in a sort of pillory, and his feet in the stocks, had time to reflect on his situation, and renounce the dangerous gift of prophecy. In one of his poetical supplications to the governor, he reminds him that minors should not be punished for schism or heresy, because by law they are not obliged to fulfil the duty of prayer. Having at length obtained his liberty, he remained for some time neglected and in poverty; but a poem which he addressed to Abû 'l-Ashâir ابو العشائر (an officer of Saif ad-Dawlat's, who commanded at Antioch), revealed his superior talent. About that time, Saif ad-Dawlat himself came to Antioch, and was visited by al-Mutanabbi, who recited to him a poem composed in his honour; and the piece was of such remarkable beauty, that the prince conceived the highest esteem for the author, and offered him his protection. The poet, in accepting this favour, would not, however, sacrifice the feelings of honourable pride by which he was always actuated: he required and obtained the authorisation of being seated in the presence of Saif ad-Dawlat, when reciting to him the poems which he was to compose in his praise; and he insisted on being dispensed from saluting the prince in the usual manner, which was by kissing the ground in his presence. At the court of Saif ad-Dawlat he met the principal poets of the day, but he surpassed them all by his vigorous and original talent. The celebrated Abû 'l-Alâ used to say, "Abû Nawâs expresses himself thus; al-Bohtori, thus; Abû Tammâm, thus; and *the poet* (meaning al-Mutanabbi), thus." Avarice was the only fault with which al-Mutanabbi was reproached; his moral conduct was the more exemplary, as most of his associates were men of pleasure and debauch: and a rigid Moslim remarked, that though he never fasted, nor prayed, nor read the Koran, yet he never told a lie, nor committed fornication. When Saif ad-Dawlat went forth on his military expeditions, he was accompanied by al-Mutanabbi, and on one occasion, the prince and the poet had to cut their way through the ranks of the Greeks to avoid being taken prisoners. The fortune of Abû t-Tayib was now too great not to excite jealousy; his rivals, and an-Nâmi among others, succeeded in alienating Saif ad-Dawlat from his favorite poet. A number of learned men were one day conversing in the prince's presence, and the grammarian Ibn Khâlawaih was giving his opinion on some question relating to the Arabic language, when al-Mutanabbi said to him: "Silence, fellow! what hast thou to do with Arabic, thou who "art a Persian from Khuzestan?" This rebuke was answered by a wound in the face, inflicted with a key which Ibn Khâlawaih carried in his sleeve. During this scene, Saif ad-Dawlat did not interfere either by word or deed. Al-Mutanabbi continued to perceive other symptoms of his patron's indifference towards him; he remonstrated with him in a noble poem, asserting his right to be respected, and vindicating his character from the attacks of his enemies; but his complaints were of no avail, his expostulations useless; disgusted at length with a treatment he so little deserved, he abandoned the court of Aleppo and retired to Damascus. This city was then in the possession of the Ikhshîd family; and its governor, Ibn Malik, a Jew and a native of Tadmor (Palmyra), was under the immediate orders of Kâfûr, the ruler of Egypt. The Jew wished al-

Mutanabbi to compose a poem in his honour, but met with a prompt refusal, and the poet, finding his situation most unpleasant, withdrew to Ramla. The emir of that city, Ibn Toghj طغج received him with great honour and made him abundant presents, among which were a horse whose trappings were heavy with gold, and a sword richly ornamented. He then passed into Egypt on the written invitation of Kâfûr. This able statesman was originally a slave, employed in the most menial duties, and treated with the greatest contumely; but the poor negro eunuch, whose prominent belly, splay feet, and perforated lower lip had furnished such subjects for laughter to his fellow-slaves, had now become master of an empire. Such was the person who claimed the praises of al-Mutanabbi; and by means of rich presents, rather than intimidation, he wrung from the poet those measured, and sometimes ambiguous eulogiums which fill the *Kasîdas* called the *Kâfûriyât*. Another person whom al-Mutanabbi saw in Egypt was the celebrated Fâtik al-Majnûn, and the noble character of this emir obtained the ready and heartfelt encomiums of Abû 't-Tayib. In return for the glory which the verses of al-Mutanabbi conferred on Kâfûr, he demanded the government of Saida (*Sidon*), but met with a refusal: this, with the obligation of praising a negro, excited the indignation of the poet, and though surrounded by spies, who informed Kâfûr of all his actions, he succeeded, at length, in escaping from Old Cairo, and after a variety of adventures he arrived at Kûfa. He then visited Baghdad, where al-Muhallabi, vizir to Moizz ad-Dawlat Ibn Bûwah, received him with eager joy, in hopes of obtaining the praises of so illustrious a poet, but al-Mutanabbi refused to gratify his wishes, on the pretext that he was accustomed to celebrate princes only. This so provoked the vizir, that he encouraged all the poetasters of Irak to attack al-Mutanabbi, who set out for Arrajân, where he found a protector in Abû 'l-Fadl Ibn al-Omaid. After spending some time with this vizir, he passed to the court of Adad ad-Dawlat at Shîrâz, and was treated most generously by that prince, who gave him upwards of two hundred thousand dirhems (about 8000 pounds sterling) as a testimony of the satisfaction he received from the praises of the poet. It was on leaving Shîrâz to return to Kûfa that he was assassinated. The details of this event are preserved in a letter addressed by a contemporary to the *two Khâlidites*, who were poets at the court of Saif ad-Dawlat. The length of this note prevents me from giving a translation of this letter; I shall only observe that Fâtik al-Asadi, by whom he was slain, had a motive for his deed; al-Mutanabbi had satirized his family, and particularly his cousin Dabba and Dabba's mother. Fâtik had declared his intention beforehand to the writer of the letter, who informed al-Mutanabbi of his danger, and recommended him to take an escort with him; but this advice was rejected by the poet, who replied: "It shall never be said that I sought any other safeguard than my sword!" Persuasion and entreaty were employed to change his determination, but he would not hearken to any advice: the result of his temerity and obstinacy was his death.

The above note is the summary of a number of passages contained in an interesting work, entitled الصبح المنبى عن حيثية المتنبى (MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, fonds Asselin, No. 705.—See M. de Sacy's opinion of this work in the *Anthologie Grammaticale*, page 476.)

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## AN-NAMI.

Abû 'l-Abbâs Ahmad Ibn Muhammad ad-Dârimi al-Missîsi, surnamed an-55 Nâmi, was one of the ablest and most talented poets of his time. As an encomiast

of Saif ad-Dawlat Ibn Hamdân, he enjoyed the special favour of that prince, who considered him as second in talent and rank to al-Mutanabbi only. He was a man of great merit and instruction; possessing superior abilities and well informed in philology and literature. There exists a collection of observations dictated by him (*to his pupils*) at Aleppo, and in which he cites as authorities (*his masters*) Abû 'l-Hasan Ali al-Akfash, Ibn Durustuya, Abû Abd Allah al-Kermâni (1), Abû Bakr as-Sûli, Ibrahîm Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân al-Orûdi and his own father Muhammad al-Misîssi. He himself is cited as authority by (*his disciples*) Abû 'l-Kasim al-Husain Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Osâma al-Halabi, Abû 'l-Husain Ahmad brother to the preceeding, Abû 'l-Faraj al-Babbaghâ, Abû 'l-Khattâb Ibn Aûn al-Harîri, Abû Bakr al-Khâlidi, and the kâdi Abû Tahir Sâlih Ibn Jaafar al-Hâshimi. The following verses, taken from one of his *Kasîdas*, addressed to Saif ad-Dawlat, are among the finest which he composed :

Illustrious prince! thy lances gain thee glory in this world and in Paradise hereafter. Every year which passes finds thee with thy sword in the necks of enemies, and thy steed harnessed with bit and saddle. Time rolleth on, and still thy deeds are all for glory; thy words for piety, and thy hands for bestowing gifts.

By the same:

Is it then true that (*the cruel*) Zurûd is the author of my death? The promises which she made me, are they then come to this? I stopped (*near her former abode*), unable to restrain my grief, and fixed to the spot, I seemed like one bereft of life. Seeing me thus, my censorious foes were perplexed with doubt, and they said to the ruined mansion: Which of these two is the pillar (*that sustained the rustic hut*)?

An-Nâmi had some encounters with al-Mutanabbi and sustained contests with him in reciting extemporary verses. It is related by Abû 'l-Khattâb Ibn Aûn al-Harîri, the poet and grammarian, that he went one day to visit an-Nâmi, and found him seated; his head was white like the *Thaghâma* (2) when in flower, but one single black hair still remained. "Sir!" said Ibn Aûn, "there is a "black hair in your head."—"Yes," replied an-Nâmi, "it is the sole remnant "of my youth, and I am pleased with it; I have even written verses on it." Then, at the request of Ibn Aûn, he recited these lines:

In that head a single hair still appeared preserving its blackness; 'twas a sight which rejoiced the eyes (*of my friends*). I said to my white hairs, which had put it in fear: "I implore you! respect it as a stranger. A dark African spouse will not long remain "in the house where the second wife is white of skin."

He then said; "O Abû Khattâb! a single white hair spreads terror among a "thousand black; what then must be the case with one black among a thousand "white?"—He is also author of the following verses, which have been erroneously attributed to the vizir Abû Muhammad al-Muhallabi:

An enemy whom I called my beloved hastened towards me, arrayed in a red summer dress. The wine sported in her eyes and made her cheeks like a brilliant flame. "How," said I, "hast thou obtained such beauty? Thou comest here in a strange "attire. Is it with the redness of your cheeks that thou art clothed, or is your gar- "ment dyed with the hearts'-blood (*of lovers*)?"—"It is the wine," said she, "which "(*by its reflexion*) makes my tunic seem like the sky at sunset; it cometh near the colour "of the wine, which itself approaches to that of my cheeks (3).



An-Nâmi died at Aleppo, A.H. 399 (A.D. 1008-9); others say 370 or 371; aged 90 years.—*Darimi* means *descended from Dârim Ibn Mâlik*, a great branch of the tribe of Tamîm.—*Missîsi* signifies *native of al-Missîsa* (*the ancient Mopsuestia*), a city on the coast of the sea of Rûm (*the Levant*), near Tarsûs, Sîs and other places in the same region. It was built in the year 140 (A.D. 757), by Sâlih Ibn Ali in pursuance of orders given by his nephew, the khalif al-Mansûr.

(1) Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Mûsa al-Kermâni (*native of Kermân*) had a profound knowledge of philology and grammar; he wrote a beautiful hand and was a correct copier, which caused his writings to be in great request. He was a professional copyist, working for hire: he composed also some books, the titles of which are given in the *Fihrest*, from which this notice is taken; the years of his birth and death are not mentioned, but we may conclude from what Ibn Khallikân says, that he was still living at the beginning of the fourth century.

(2) The *thagâma* is in all probability a species of Artemisia: it must not be confounded with *toogama*, mentioned by Rauwolf, after Kæmfer, as the Arabic name of the palma Christi.

(3) Literally: And thus my dress, the wine, and the colour of my cheeks are a neighbour to a neighbour of a neighbour.

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## BADI AZ-ZAMAN AL-HAMADANI.

The hâfiz Abû 'l-Fadl Ahmad Ibn al-Husain Ibn Yahya Ibn Saîd al-Hamadâni, surnamed Bâdi az-Zamân (*prodigy of the Age*), is author of some beautiful epistles and excellent *Makâmas* (1), which al-Harîri took as a model in the composition of his; framing them on the same plan, and imitating the manner

of their author, in whose footsteps he walked. In his preface, al-Hariri acknowledges the merit of his predecessor, and admits that he was guided by his example in the path he followed. Al-Hamadâni was eminent for his knowledge of pure and correct Arabic, in which he cited as his masters Ibn Fâris, author of the *Mujmil,* and others: his epistles are admirable and his poetry full of beauty. He dwelt at Herât, a city in the province of Khorasân. The following is a specimen of his epistolary style: "When water has long remained " at rest, its noxious qualities appear; and when its surface has continued tran- " quil, its foulness gets into motion: thus it is with a guest; his presence is dis- " pleasing when his stay has been protracted; and his shadow is oppressive " when the time for which he should sojourn is at an end. Adieu." Another of his letters runs thus: " (*To him whose honourable*) presence is a point " of union for the needy, not to say the *Kaaba* of pilgrims; the station of " honour, not to say the station of sanctity (*at Mekka*); the desire of guests, " not to say (*the valley of*) Mina near (*the hill of*) Khaif; the source of gifts, " not to say the *Kibla* of prayer (2):—to him let this be a consolation: death " is awful till (*it comes, and then*) it is found light; its touch seems grating till " (*felt, and then*) it is smooth; the world is so hostile and its injustice so great " that death is the lightest of its inflictions, the least of its wrongs. Look then " to the right; do you see ought but affliction? Look to the left; do you see " ought but woe?"—The verses which follow are taken from a long poem of his composition:

> The gush of the (*fertilizing*) shower were like thee (*in thy liberality*), did it, in smiling, pour forth gold. Fortune were like thee, did it not deceive; the sun, did he speak; the lion, were he not hunted; the sea, were its waters fresh.

The following satirical verses on the city of Hamadân are also attributed to him, but I have since found that they were composed by Abû 'l-Alâ Muhammad Ibn Husûl, a native of that place:

> Hamadân is my native place; I must allow it that honour; but it is the vilest of cities.
> Its children are, for ugliness, like old men; and its old men, for reason, like children.

His prose and verse abound in beauties of every kind. He died of poison at Herat, A. H. 398 (A. D. 1008). I have since found, however, the following note written at the end of his epistles which have been collected by the hâkim

Abû Saîd Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Muhammad Ibn Dôst: "End of the Epistles.
87 "The author died at Herat on Friday, 11th of the second Jumâda, 398" (February, A.D. 1008). On this the hâkim observes: "I have been assured by persons of good authority that he fell into a lethargy and was buried with precipitation. He recovered when shut up in the tomb, and his cries having been heard that night, his grave was opened, and he was found dead from fright, with his hand grasping his beard (3)."

(1) M. de Sacy has given six of these *Makâmas* in his *Chrestomathie*, and in the notes he has inserted a very full notice on al-Hamadâni and his writings.

(2) All this, in the original Arabic, is a mere play upon words, and has as little real meaning as the translation here given. The valley of Mina is in the neighbourhood of Mekka.

(3) The bodies of Moslims are not put into coffins; they are merely covered with a shroud, and placed in a vault, or in a hollow excavated in one of the sides of the grave, sufficient space being left for the body to sit up, as it must do, when questioned by the angels Munkir and Nakir.

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## ABU 'L-KASIM IBN TABATABA.

Abû 'l-Kâsim Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ismaîl Ibn Ibrahîm Tabâtabâ Ibn Ismaîl Ibn Ibrahîm Ibn Hasan Ibn Husain Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib; this sharif, who descended from Muhammad through Husain, belonged to the family of ar-Rass and was a native of Egypt. The descendants of the khalif Ali who inhabited that country were placed under his jurisdiction as their *nakîb* or chief; he was also one of the principal heads of that body. He composed some fine poetry on ascetic and other subjects, fragments of which are given by at-Thaâlibi in his *Yatîma;* among the number, he quotes the following verses:

My friends (1)! the Pleiades excite my envy, and the instability of Fortune grieves me to the heart. They are six (*stars*), yet their union subsists unbroken, while I now miss the sole person whom I love (2).

At-Thaâlibi quotes also as his these lines, which he attributes however, at the commencement of his *Yatîma*, to Zû 'l-Karnain Ibn Hamdân:

She said to the fleeting image (3) which visited me (*in a dream*) and then returned: 'I pray thee! tell me how he is; do not extenuate nor aggravate.' The vision replied:

'I saw him nearly dead with thirst, and I said: Stop! avoid a source of which the 'waters are never drunk (4).' She answered: 'Thou sayest true; to love fully and 'sincerely is his custom.'—O! what refreshing coolness her words shed on my heart (5).

Besides the above, he has composed other fine passages. Among the verses attributed to him are the following on a long night, and which contain quite a novel thought:

The Pleiades seem, this night, to have been travelling all the day, and to have arrived at their evening station, fatigued with their journey. They have pitched their tents that their caravan may repose; for not a planet rolleth in its orbit, not a star speeds in its nightly way.

I have since met, however, with these two verses, in a long *kasída* inserted among the poetical works of Abû 'l-Hasan Ibn Tabâtabâ; and I extracted from a piece contained in that work, the lines which here follow:

They are gone, and, by their departure, they have left for ever in my heart the anguish which first arose when their caravan went forth upon its way. O, the days of joy now fled! they seem like a dream, so quick they passed away. If God, in his pity, granted to the true lover a lengthened life, those joys would have long endured for me. O my life gone by! take a year from my existence, and give me back some days of love.

I do not know who this Abû 'l-Hasan was, nor what degree of relationship existed between him and Abû 'l-Kasim.—The emir al-Mukhtâr, surnamed al-Musabbihi (6), makes mention of Ibn Tabâtabâ in his history of Egypt, and says that he died A. H. 345 (A. D. 956); another writer adds that his death took place on the eve of Tuesday, 24th Shabân: he was interred in the burying-ground reserved for the descendants of Ali, and which lies behind the New Musalla (7) at Old Cairo: he was aged 64 years.——His great-grandfather was surnamed Tabâtabâ from the circumstance of his pronouncing the gutteral *k* like *t*: 58 desiring one day his clothes to be brought to him, he was asked by his slave if it was a *durrá*, or coat, which he wanted? "No," said he, "a waistcoat, a "waistcoat (*tabá, tabá*);" wishing to say *kabá, kabá;* and these words became a nickname by which he was afterwards known.—*Ar-Rass* is, according to as-Samâni, the name borne by one of the branches of Ali's family.

(1) Literally: *My two friends!* in the dual; a very common form of expression among poets, and the origin of which is thus explained by az-Zawzani in his commentary on the *Moallaka* of Amru 'l-Kais, verse first: "The Arabs of the desert did so (that is, they employed the dual in addressing each other), because a man

" could not have less than two persons to help him in tending his flocks; one to take care of the camels, the
" other of the sheep; so their tongues became accustomed to the dual form, and they made use of it when
" speaking even to a single individual."

(2) *The sole person whom I love*; that is, God.

(3) The *Taif al-Khiâl* is often mentioned by Arabic poets: it is the image of the person beloved which appears to the lover in his dreams. It is supposed not to visit the lover unless sent by the mistress during her sleep. The lover also sends his image to visit the couch of his mistress, etc.—In the *Journal Asiatique* for April, 1838, will be found an article in which I have treated and explained this hitherto obscure subject.

(4) *The waters which are never drunk* are tears.

(5) *My heart*, in Arabic كبدى *my liver*. Arabic poets suppose the liver to be the seat of love, and the heart to be that of reason; this observation will be borne out by numerous examples. In European poetry, love resides in the heart, not in the liver; and reason in the head, not in the heart.

(6) This is the historian whom some of our orientalists erroneously call *Mesihi*.

(7) The New Musalla was built in the Sahra الصحراء or Little Karâfa, by Anbasa عنبسة governor of Egypt. The Old Musalla, founded by Amr Ibn al-Aâsi, not being sufficiently large, notwithstanding additions made to it, the New Musalla was constructed during the reign of Al-Mutawakkil, A. H. 240 (A. D. 855). —(Makrizi's *Khitat*.)—The use of the Musalla is explained in De Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, t. I, p. 191.—The Anbasa here mentioned was the last Egyptian governor of Arabic descent: his successors were Turks, chosen among the slaves of the khalifs. Anbasa was appointed to that situation, A. H. 238 (A. D. 852), and filled it till A. H. 242 (A. D. 856). His names were Abu Jaafar Anbasa Ibn Ishak Ibn Amr. (Makrizi's *Khitat*.)

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## ABU 'R-RAKAMAK.

Abû Hâmid Ahmad Ibn Muhammad al-Antâki, surnamed Abû 'r-Rakâmak, was a poet of repute; at-Thaâlibi, in his *Yatîma*, speaks of him in these terms: "He was the pearl of his age, the union of excellencies; one of those who " managed poetry in its gay and its serious moods, and who gained the prize of " excellence; he was a skilful eulogist, an able poet; and was for Syria what " Ibn Hajjâj (1) was for Irak." Among the most brilliant of his productions are the following verses, in which he extols Yakûb Ibn Killis, vizir to the Fatimite khalif al-Azîz Ibn al-Moizz al-Obaidi, prince of Egypt (the lives of both shall be given):

> We have heard the excuse (*of our beloved*), and we have pardoned her fault and her error.—The thoughts (*which I here express*) are (*intended*) for the person whom I mean (*to praise*); but I make allusion to thee, fair maid, that dwellest near; so hearken to my words. Him whom thy smiles seduce thou shalt always see (*absorbed in thought and*) unmindful of his attire (2): he knows that such (*love as his*) is the punishment which God

has destined for those whose eyes contemplate (*beauty*). God had rent the veil (*which concealed thy lover's feelings*); it is thine to tear off the veil from every dissembler.—The looks of her (*I speak of*) have fascinated my heart; 'tis so with every beauty, their looks have a magic power. Would it harm the (*cruel fair*) who has chosen to show aversion and dislike, did she at length consent to be pleased and to receive (*my*) visits? But I must avow my submission to her will, though she has inflicted torment when she avoided (*my sight*). I have never ceased to hope for her love, and suffer from her dislike; yet may I never be deprived of such a mistress!

The verses which follow are taken from that portion of the same poem which contains the panegyric:

This vizir hath not left on earth an enemy to al-Aziz, whose ardour he hath not quelled. He wages daily war against the vicissitudes of Fortune and the attacks of adversity, by bestowing abundant gifts. His hand would be covered with dishonour did avarice force it to withdraw; it is a hand accustomed to renew the charge in the combat of liberality. By its munificence, the number of foes to al-Aziz has been diminished, and of friends, increased. It is thus that the hand of the superior man worketh, day and night, good (*to friends*) and evil (*to foes*) (3). Choose then him for patron; none are safe who seek not his benignant shade—his generous protection. When you see him reflect with downcast eyes, and thoughts directed towards some (*lofty*) purpose; (*know that*) his quick and discerning judgment will leave nought in the bosom of futurity unscanned (4)! not a single place upon the earth, of which his mind will not embrace the confines. May God increase the extent of his (*power*); may he preserve him from even the apprehension of misfortune, and exempt him from the necessity of all precaution.

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His poetry is in general good, and of the same cast as that composed by Sari ad-Dilâ. He was a long time resident in Egypt, and much of his poetry consists in panegyrics on the princes and great men of that country. He composed poems in praise of the Fatimite khalif al-Moizz Abû Tammâm Maadd, of his son al-Azîz, and his grandson al-Hâkim; he celebrated also the praises of al-Kaîd Jawhar, the vizir Ibn Killis, and other men of rank. (The lives of the persons here named will be found in this work.) The emir al-Mukhtâr al-Musabbihi makes mention of this poet in his history of Egypt, and assigns the year 399 (A. D. 1008-9) as that of his death; another writer adds that he expired on Friday, 22nd Ramadân of that year; while a third says that it was on the second Rabî. I suppose that he died at Misr (*Old Cairo*).——*Antâki* means *native of Antâkiya* (*Antioch*), a city near Aleppo.—*Rakâmak* is a nickname (5).

(1) The life of Ibn Hajjâj will be found in this work: his name was al-Husain.

(2) Such I believe to be the meaning of the verse, which would be altered by rendering more closely the

final words; Shakspeare has expressed the same idea, and given *nearly* a literal translation of the words to which I allude, where he says: "Lord Hamlet, with *his doublet all unbraced.*"

(3) Such is the characteristic of a perfect man in the opinion of the Arabs, both before and since the establishment of Islamism.

(4) Literally: Will leave nought unturned in the interior of futurity.

(5) *Rakâmak* is not an Arabic word, neither is it, I believe, Persian or Turkish; and I am therefore in ignorance of its meaning.

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## JAHZAT AL-BARMAKI.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ahmad Ibn Jaafar Ibn Mûsa Ibn Yahya Ibn Khâlid Ibn Barmak, surnamed Jahza the cup-companion, was a man of talent and master of various accomplishments; he possessed a knowledge of history and astrology; he abounded in repartees, and was an amusing guest at social parties. Abû Nasr Ibn al-Marzobân has composed the life and collected the poetry of this member of the Barmakide family, who was also one of the wittiest men of his time. The following are specimens of his poetry, which is very fine:

> I am son to those men whose beneficence enriched mankind, and who have become the talk (*of the world*) for their signal liberality. There was no historian but spoke of their generous actions; no book but contained their praise.

> I said to her (*I loved*): 'Thou art sparing (*of thy favours*) towards me when (*I am*) 'awake; be then kind to thy afflicted lover, (*and let him see thee*) in (*his*) dreams!' She answered: 'Thou also canst sleep, and yet wishest me to visit thee in thy dreams!' (1)

> I am among a race who fly from (*committing an act of*) liberality, and who have (*therein*) inherited the character of their fathers. Fellows who would feel indignant (2) if I tried to obtain from them a present.—Come, my girl, fill me up an ample (*cup*) and sing (*this air*): *The protectors are gone under whose shelter one could live.*

> O thou troop (3), whose departure is an affliction! the lover left behind confides to thee the surest pledge—his heart.

> When she said to me: 'How wert thou during my absence? Didst thou wear the 'raiment of the rich or of the poor?' I answered: 'Ask me not! I lived morning and 'evening in the destitute state of one deprived of all,' (*not having thee*).

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The poetical works of Jahza have been collected and form a *Diwân*, of which the greater part is good: his adventures are well known. One of his verses currently quoted is the following:

The sky was so clear that people said: There is a contest between Jahza and the weather (4).

Jahza was an ugly man, and Ibn ar-Rûmi (*alluding to the circumstance*) said:

I am told that Jahza borrowed his goggle eyes (*Juhûz*) from the elephant on the chess-board (5), or from the crab. O, how his audience are to be pitied! To please their ears, they must afflict their eyes.

He died at Wâsit, A. H. 326 (A. D. 937-8); or 324, according to some: and it is said that his bier (6) was borne to Baghdad. — *Jahza* was a nickname given to him by Abd Allah Ibn al-Motazz; the Khatib (7) says that he was born in the month of Shabân, A. H. 224 (A. D. 839). The history of Baghdad and the *Kitâb al-Aghâni* make mention of him (8).

(1) That is: Since thou canst sleep, why not send thy image to visit me, rather than require mine to visit thee?—(See note (3), page 116).

(2) Literally: It were as if I wanted to pluck a hair from their noses.

(3) This is supposed to be addressed by a lover to the tribe of his mistress, on their setting out from their last habitation to some new station in the desert.

(4) Such is the literal translation of the Arabic verse; but it must be observed that the verb رق, which signifies *to be clear*, means also *to be of a good humour*. By a similar analogy, they say in German: *heiteres Wetter* (clear weather), and *ein heiteres Gemuth* (a serene or gay mind).

(5) In the Chinese, Hindû, and Persian game of chess, that piece bears the name of the elephant, which in the English game is called the bishop.

(6) When the bodies of the dead are transported to the cemetery, they are placed on a bier, off of which they are removed on reaching the grave.—See Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, vol. II, page 302.

(7) See his life, page 75.

(8) The manuscript of the *Aghâni*, belonging to the *Bib. du Roi*, makes only incidental mention of Jahza, but there is reason to believe that this MS. is incomplete. The author of the *Fihrest* (fol. 196), informs us that Jahza had studied under many learned men and *râwis*, or narrators of historical traditions, and that he played on the guitar; he was a man of dissolute life and of little or no religious principle. He composed a book on cookery, a history of celebrated players on the guitar الطنبور يين; a treatise on the excellence of the ragout called Sikbâj سكباج; Recollections of the khalif al-Motasim; Recollections of his own time; on Astrologers whose predictions were accomplished. It appears from the same work that he acquired great reputation by his wit and prompt repartees; in the abridgement of the Khatib's History of Baghdad (MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 634, fol. 42, verso), it is stated that he was the first singer of his time. Both authors abstain from speaking of his adventures, on account, it would seem, of their notoriety.

## IBN DARRAJ AL-ANDALUSI.

Abû Omar Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Aâsi Ibn Ahmad Ibn Sulaimân Ibn Isa Ibn Darrâj al-Kastalli al-Andalusi (*native of Spain*), katib and poet to al-Mansur Ibn Abi Aâmir (1), is counted in Spain among the good poets and the men eminent for their learning. At-Thaalibi makes mention of him in the *Yatîma* and speaks of him in these terms: "He was for the country of Andalus, that "which al-Mutanabbi was for Syria, a poet of the highest order, and equally "elegant in what he said and wrote." He then gives some fine passages from his compositions. Ibn Bassâm also, in his *Dakhîra*, speaks of Ibn Darrâj and gives specimens of his epistles and poems. I learn from his collected poetical works, which form two volumes, that al-Mansûr Ibn Abi Aâmir ordered him to compose a poem in imitation of the *kasîda* made by Abû Nawâs al-Hakami in praise of al-Khasîb Ibn Abd al-Hamîd, chief of the land-tax office in Egypt (2); the poem by Abû Nawâs begins thus:

> O maid that dwellest near our double tent (3)! thou hast a jealous father; and the least (*favour*) one can hope, can hardly be obtained from thee.

In consequence of this order, Ibn Darrâj recited to him an elegant *kasîda*, which contains, among others, the following passage:

> Woman! knowest thou not to remain (*here*) is to die; and that the dwellings of the indigent are tombs? Thou strivest to appal me with the terrors of a lengthened journey, but (*know!*) that (*journey*) will be the means of (*my*) kissing Ibn Aâmir's hand. Let me then drink of the desert's waters, though stagnant; so that I arrive where the waters of Generosity are pure. Though the perils of the desert waste be reserved for him who rides therein, the reward (*of his toil will be*) great.

In the same poem is this description of his parting from his wife and child:

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> When she approached to say adieu—and already her sighs and lamentations had shaken my fortitude—she conjured me to remember our mutual love; and there, in the cradle, lay an infant lisping a feeble cry: it was unable to reply when spoken to, but its looks knew well how to touch the tender soul (4): lodged in the safe dwelling of our hearts, soft arms and bosoms were its bed. She that gave it the breast was one for whose neck and bosom a man would sacrifice his life; its nurse was one for the preservation of whose charms prayers would be offered to God: I disobeyed (*the smile which was*) its intercessor with my soul, and evening and morning led me on, till accustomed to my nightly journeys. The wing of separation bore me away; and her

fluttering heart (5), dismayed at my departure, bore away her (*senses in a swoon*). If she bade adieu to a jealous husband, he was only jealous of his fortitude (*which nearly yielded*) to her grief.—Had she then seen me when the ardours of noon were shed upon me, and the trembling mirage waved around; when I bared my face to the meridian fires, and submitted to their force; (the evenings too were warm); when I inhaled the life-giving breeze which flew across my path as I trod over the burning sands: (and Death wears many shapes in the coward's eye, but Danger is a vain sound to the ears of the brave!)—(*Had she seen me then*) she had clearly learned that I yield not to the injustice (*of Fortune*), and that I can bear with firmness the biting of adversity. He that is emir (*master*) over the terrors of the desert needs only his sword for vizir, when threatened with danger. Had she seen me with my soul intent on speeding the nightly journey, when my sounding steps held converse with the demons of the waste—when I wandered over the desert during the shades of night, while the roar of the lion was heard from his haunt among the reeds—when the brilliant Pleiades circled (*through the heavens*), like dark-eyed maids (*dancing*) in the green woods; and the polar stars were borne round like the wine-cups filled by a fair gazelle and circulated by an assiduous attendant;—when the milky way seemed like the gray hairs of age upon the head of the gloomy night—when the ardour of my resolution and the piercer of the darkness (6) were equally terrible—when languor closed the eyelids of the stars;—ah! then she had known that Fate itself obeyed my will, and that I was worthy the favour of Ibn Aâmir.

This poem is of considerable length, but the extract we have given is sufficient. Since we have spoken of this *kasîda*, we must cite also a portion of the one composed by Abû Nawâs, and imitated, in its rhyme and measure, by Abû Omar. Abû Nawâs, having set out from Baghdad for Egypt, with the intention of eulogizing Abû Nasr al-Khasîb, recited to him the poem we are now speaking of, and in which he named the different places where he stopped on the way: one verse of it has already been given in the life of Abû Ishak al-Ghazzi (7), and there is no necessity for inserting the whole of it here; it is besides of considerable length; we shall merely quote some select passages:

When my active camel bore me from her tent, she said: 'It is grievous for us to see 'thee going away! Is there not some place nearer than Egypt where riches may be 'found? There are surely many means of gaining riches.' I answered, whilst her fair companions were hastening after, and complaining of her speed; and, as they ran, perfumes dropped (*from their hair*): 'Let me go, so that the number of those who 62 'envy thee may be increased by (*the success of*) my journey to the city in which al-'Khasîb is emir. If our camels visit not the country of al-Khasîb, to what other ge-'nerous man can they go? Beneficence went not beyond him, neither did it stop before 'it reached him; no! wherever he is, Beneficence is there. (*He is*) the man of noble 'soul! he buyeth with his wealth a glorious reputation, for he knoweth how the vicis-'situdes of Fortune revolve.'

Though others may remain in ignorance of my words, the Commander of the Faithful (8) knoweth them well. Thou (*O! Khasîb*) hast not ceased to serve him with good

counsel, from the time of (*thy*) youth till the grey hairs appeared on (*thy*) cheeks. When an unforeseen event occurred, your prudence released the khalif from all anxiety (9), or your advice guided him in the choice of a minister.

The poet then enters into the description of the places where he stopped to rest, and he finishes thus:

In the tumult of battle, al-Khasîb shed glory on the sword and the lance; in peace, he gave lustre to the pulpit and the throne (10). Profuse in his bounty when the hands of others are contracted (*by avarice*); jealously respectful of female honour! O, Khasîb! if my (*description*) attain the height of thy (*glory*), I shall merit wealth, and thou, that I place my hopes in thy bounty. If thou grantest me thy favour, (*let it be because*) I deserve it; if you withhold (*thy approbation*), I shall ask (*thy*) excuse (*for my presumption*) and be grateful.

Abû Nawâs then celebrated the praises of al-Khasîb in a number of other poems, and on his return to Baghdad he made an eulogium on the khalif (11) who said to him: "What can you say of us, after having said of our lieutenant: "*If our camels visit not the country of al-Khasib?*" (the khalif here repeated this and the next verse.) Abû Nawâs remained for some time with his eyes cast towards the ground, and then held up his head and recited these lines:

When we praise you with sincerity, you are what we describe and even more; if our words seem to convey the praises of any other, it is thou alone towards whom our thoughts are turned.

From another piece of Abû Omar's, we extract the following verse:

If the valley where thou dwellest be inaccessible (*to thy lover*), let the place of our meeting be the valley of sleep; there I may chance to find thee (12).

In this verse, he comes near the following thought of another poet's:

Is there means of meeting thee in the lonely valley, for the grounds reserved by thy tribe are full of spies (13)?

Abû Omar was born in the month of Muharram, A. H. 347 (A. D. 958), and died on the eve of Sunday, 15th of the second Jumâda, 421 (A. D. 1030.)—*Darrâj* is the name of one of his ancestors. — *Kastalli* means *native of Kastalla* (14), a city in Spain, called also Kastalla Darrâj (*Kastalla of Darraj*); but I know not if it be after the ancestor of Abû Omar or some other person that it was so called.

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(1) Abû Aamir Muhammad Ibn Abi Aâmir surnamed al-Mansûr (*the victorious*), was created *hajib* or prime minister of the kingdom of Cordova, A. H. 366 (A. D. 976), on the accession of Hishâm al-Muwaiyad Billah. After achieving successfully more than fifty campaigns against the Christians, he was defeated by Sancho, king of Navarre, in the year 392 (A. D. 1001), and died of grief soon after. Though he made regularly two expeditions every year against the enemy, he found sufficient leisure to patronize men of learning. (*Bughiat*.—Condé—Abû 'l-Fadâ.)

(2) Al-Khasîb was appointed to this place by the khalif Harûn al-Rashîd, A. H. 190 (A. D. 805-6), and removed A. H. 191.—(*Al-Makîn*, page 119.)

(3) The dual is here employed for probably the same reason as in the case already noticed, page 115, note (1).

(4) Literally: The spot where affection touches, or lights on souls.

(5) Literally: ribs.

(6) *The piercer of the darkness;* the planet Saturn.

(7) See page 42.

(8) The poet means the khalif Harûn ar-Rashîd.

(9) Literally: You spared him the trouble of it.

(10) As governor, he had the right of pronouncing the khotba from the pulpit, and of giving public audience from the throne as representative of the khalif. It would appear from al-Makîn, page 114, and Abû 'l-Mahâsin, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 659, that in the time of ar-Rashîd the governor of Egypt was sometimes authorised to collect the revenue. It is necessary to observe, however, that al-Khasîb could not have presided at public prayers *in Egypt*, as he never acted as governor of that province.

(11) Probably the khalif ar-Rashîd.

(12) That is: let us dream of each other.

(13) Among the ancient Arabs, the shaikhs reserved for their own use a certain portion of ground near the camp; this was called the *Hima*, or *forbidden spot*, and no other dare feed his flocks or hunt in it. Later poets designate by this word the spot where the beloved is supposed to reside; and mystic writers call Heaven *the Hima*, because God, the object of love, dwells there.—(See *Chrestomathie*, tom. III, page 153.)

(14) Al-Idrisi places Kastalla on the sea-coast, fourteen miles east of Tavira: Condé says that it is now called Castellar.

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## IBN ZAIDUN AL-ANDALUSI.

Abû 'l-Walîd Ahmad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ghâlib Ibn Zaidûn al-Makhzûmi al-Andalusi al-Kortobi (*descended from the tribe of Makhzûm and native of Cordova in Spain*): this celebrated poet is spoken of in the following terms by Ibn Bassâm in the *Dakhîra:* "Abû 'l-Walîd attained the height of " perfection in prose and poetry, and closed the series of poets sprung from " Makhzûm; he had received from Fortune the best of her favours; he sur- " passed (*in abilities*) every person (*of his time*), and wielded his authority (*as* " *vizir*) to the welfare (*of friends*) and the detriment (*of foes*): he was endowed

"with a great talent for aptly expressing his thoughts in prose and verse, joined "to such information in literature as surpassed the ocean by its overflow, and "the moon by its lustre; his poetry had a power which no magic ever possessed, and (*an elevation*) which the stars could not rival; and he had received in portion (1) a prose style of a singular and original construction, "quite poetic in its terms and ideas. He was the son of one of the first jurisconsults in Cordova, and when his learning had attained its height, when his "poetic talent had acquired its excellence, when his position (*in the world*) "became eminent and when his tongue was free (*to give its mandates uncontrolled*), he left his native place and went, in the year 441 (A. D. 1049-50), to "al-Motadid Abbâd, prince of Seville, who adopted him as one of his privileged "friends, admitted him into his intimate society, hearkened to his counsels, "and treated him on the footing of a vizir." This author then gives a great number of epistles and pieces of poetry composed by Ibn Zaidûn, among others, the following:

Between me and thee subsists a feeling which, if pleasing to thee, shall never expire —a secret which has remained undivulged, whilst other secrets were revealed. He who would buy the share I hold in thy affections might offer me life itself; I would not sell my share in thy affections. Let it suffice thee that, although thou hast placed on my heart a burden which the hearts of men could not sustain, my heart sustains it. Be scornful, I shall suffer patiently; be proud, I shall endure it; be haughty, I shall be humble; return, I shall approach; speak, I shall hear; order, I shall obey.

By the same:

He has bid adieu to fortitude, the lover who bade adieu to thee: it is now betrayed, the secret (*of his love which he had*) confided to thee (*alone*). He gnashes his teeth (*with regret*) that he went not onward some steps more, when he followed thee to say farewell. Sister to the moon in exaltation and in lustre! may God reserve a time when I shall see thee reappear! If my nights are long during thy absence, 'tis thou who art the cause; I pass them in lamenting the shortness of the nights I spent with thee.

He is author also of some high-sounding poems, a portion of which I should give, were I not afraid of being prolix. One of his most brilliant gems (2) is the *kasída* which contains these verses:

Whilst our inmost thoughts conversed with thee (*when memory recalled thy image*), grief had nearly killed us, did we not assume fortitude. Since thou art gone, our days are become dark, though with thee our nights were bright. Yesterday our separation was not apprehended; to-day, our meeting again cannot be hoped for.

The poem (*from which this passage is taken*) is of considerable length, and each of its verses might be selected (*for its beauty*), but it would divert us from our plan were we to enter into long details. Ibn Zaidûn died and was buried at Seville on the 1st Rajab, A. H. 463 (A. D. 1071): mention is made of his father by Ibn Bashkûwâl, who speaks highly of him in his *Silat*, and says: "He was **64** "surnamed Abû Bakr; he died in the year 405 (A. D. 1014-5), at al-Bîra "(*Elvira*) (3), whence his body was taken to Cordova, where it was inter- "red on Monday, 7th of the second Rabî of that year: his birth was in A. H. 354 "(A. D. 965): he used to dye his hair black (4)." Ibn Zaidûn had a son named Abû Bakr, who acted as vizir to al-Motamid Ibn Abbâd, and was slain on the day in which Yûsuf Ibn Tâshifîn took Cordova from Ibn Abbâd and deprived him of his kingdom; the particulars of which event we shall give in the lives of these princes. Cordova was taken on Wednesday, 2nd Safar, 484 (March, A.D. 1091), and Abû Bakr was killed there. We have already given the true pronunciation of *Kortuba* (*Cordova*); it is therefore unnecessary to repeat it here: it will be found in the life of Ibn Abd Rabbih, author of the *Ikd* (5); the Franks took this city from the Moslims in the month of Shawwâl, 633 (about the 1st of July, 1236) (6)

(1) In the Arabic text, the word here translated by *he had received in portion*, is printed خطّ conformably to the MSS., but it is evident that the true reading is حظّ, and as such it is here adopted.

(2) Literally: One of his admirable necklaces.

(3) See Casiri's Bibliotheca Arabica, t. II, page 247 *et seq.*, and *Biographie universelle*, Zaidoun.

(4) It was more usual to dye it red; see note (3), page 46.

(5) See page 92.

(6) For further information respecting Ibn Zaidûn, see M. de Sacy's article in the *Biographie Universelle*, Zaidoun; the date of the taking of Cordova, A. H. 434 (1042), as there given, is incorrect: consult also the work of M. Weyers, entitled *Specimen criticum*, etc. This gentleman informs me that he still intends to publish the celebrated epistle of Ibn Zaidûn, with the commentary of Ibn Nubâta.

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## IBN AL-ABBAR THE POET.

Abû Jaafar Ahmad Ibn Muhammad al-Khaulâni, native of Seville in Spain, and surnamed Ibn al-Abbâr, was a poet of reputation, and, in the different

branches of his art, one of the ablest among the poets patronised by the prince of Seville al-Motadid Abbâd Ibn Muhammad al-Lakhmi. He was also a man of learning, having made compilations and composed (*some original treatises*); but he possessed an acknowledged talent, and showed unbounded abilities in his poetical works, from which we extract the following beautiful passage:

> She knew not the lasting passion with which her eyes inspired my soul, nor the anguish which was borne by my heart (1).—I should lay down my life for that (*fair*) visitor who sought, but could not approach the (*lover*) drowned in tears and consumed (*with love*). Apprehensive of spies, she came to me with hurried steps, her neck adorned with no other jewels but its grace and beauty. I handed her the cup, and the wine which it contained blushed (*with jealousy*) at the fragrance of her lips and the radiance of her teeth (2). (*We drank*) till her eyelids yielded to the blandishments of slumber, and the strength of the purple (*liquor*) subdued her to my will. I wished to give her my cheek for a pillow (3), but it was too small, and she said: Your arms are for me the best of pillows. She passed the night in a safe retreat where no fear assailed her; and I passed the night thirsting (*to taste her lips*), but I abstained (4). When this (*maid, beauteous as the*) moon, approached, the full moon was effaced (*by her beauty*), and all the horizon became dark with jealousy: the night was perplexed to know where the moon would rise, but the night knew not that I held the moon in my arms.

He has composed a number of pretty little pieces in the same style, and his *Diwân*, or collected poetical works are spoken of by Ibn Bassâm in the *Dakhîra*. Ibn al-Abbâr died A.H. 433 (A.D. 1041-2).—*Khaulâni* means *descended from Khaulân*, son of Amr, father of a great tribe which settled in Syria.—*Ishbiliya* (*Seville*) is one of the largest cities of Spain.

(1) See note (5), page 116.

(2) Literally: *The honeyed row of teeth and the hailstones*, to which white teeth are often compared by Arabic poets.

(3) The softness of the cheeks, their tenderness and delicacy, are common topics with the poets.

(4) Literally: *Without either returning from the source or going to it.* This expression was originally used by the nomadic Arabs in speaking of the power which their camels possessed of enduring thirst.

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## AL-MANAZI.

65 Abû Nasr Ahmad Ibn Yûsuf as-Sulaiki al-Manâzi, a man of superior talent and distinguished as a poet, was vizir to Abû Nasr Ahmad Ibn Marwân al-Kurdi,

prince of Maiyafârikîn and Diâr Bakr, whose life shall be given later. To his eminent learning and his abilities as a poet, was joined great skill in the management of affairs, and he went a number of times as ambassador to Constantinople. He had collected a great quantity of books, which he made over as a *wakf* (1) to the mosque of Maiyafârikîn and the mosque of Amid, in the libraries of which they are still to be found, and where they are known by the designation of *al-Manâzi's Books*. He had one time an interview, at Maarrat an-Nomân, with the poet Abû 'l-Alâ, who complained to him of his position, isolated as he was from mankind and badly treated by them; to which al-Manâzi replied: "What can they have to say to you, since you have resigned to them both this "world and the next (2)?" "Ah!" replied Abû 'l-Alâ, "and the next also?" repeating the words several times and much offended; he then hung down his head and did not utter another word till (*his visitor*) went away. In one of his journeys, al-Manâzi passed through the valley of Buzâa (3), and, charmed by the beauty of the spot and the feelings it inspired, he made on it these verses:

> A valley sheltered us from the heat of the burning sands, and a dense foliage gave to it a double shelter. We took repose under a tree which soothed us with its sound, as a nurse soothes her child just weaned. Fired with thirst, we drank of a pure spring whose waters were sweeter (*to us*) than wine to a boon companion. This valley wards off the sun on every point from which he can look towards it; him it excludes, but allows the zephyr to enter. Its (*brilliant*) pebbles cause the maids adorned with jewels to tremble, and they feel if the knot of their necklaces (*be unbroken*).

These verses are quite unique in their class, and have been cited, with others by the same author, in the *Zînat ad-Dahr*, a work composed by Abû 'l-Maâli al-Hazîri; among those given by him are the following:

> The boy I have is tall and slender; he is like Euclid's line: without breadth! the sense he possesses is extremely little: it is like the point—having no parts.

A number of his lesser pieces are to be found in the hands of the public, but the collection of his poetical works is very rare: I have been told that the kâdi al-Fâdil commissioned a man of learning, who was on his travels, to procure him a copy; this person, in consequence, made inquiries in every country to which he went, but could gain no information about the book, and he then wrote a letter to the kâdi, informing him of his want of success; this letter contained some verses, one of which had for second hemistich these words: *And the dwellings are not*

*inhabited by the poems of al-Manázi* (4). Died A. H. 437 (A. D. 1045-6).—*Manázi* means *native of Manázjird*, a city near Khartabirt (5); it must not be confounded with *Manázkird*, a castle in the dependencies of Khalât (6), of which mention will be made in the life of Taki ad-dîn Omar, prince of Hamâh. Khartabirt is the well-known *Hisn Ziád* (7). *Burzáa* is a considerable town half way between Aleppo and Manbij.

(1) *Wakf*, a concession in perpetuity for pious purposes.

(2) This is a sarcastic allusion to Abû 'l-Alâ's heterodox principles; see his life, page 94.

(3) See Abû 'l-Fadâ's Geography, page 267 of the Arabic text.

(4) This hemistich is remarkable only for having the word *al-Manâzi* preceded by another of nearly the same sound, *al-Manâzil (the dwellings)*.

(5) In Lapie's map of the Othoman Empire, the name of this place is written *Charpud;* it lies about 16 miles east of the Euphrates in 38° 25' latitude north.—See St. Martin's *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, t. I, p. 95.

(6) *Khalat*, a city of Armenia, is situated towards the northern extremity of lake Van.—*Idem*, t. I, p. 103.

(7) See Abû 'l-Fadâ's Geography; Arabic text, page 52.

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## IBN AL-KHAIYAT THE POET.

Abû Abd Allah Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Yahya Ibn Sadaka, 66 at-Taglibi (*member of the tribe of Taglib*), surnamed Ibn al-Khaiyât (*son of the tailor*), native of Damascus, was a kâtib (1) and poet of considerable merit. Having gone to travel, he composed poems in praise of the (*eminent*) men (*whom he saw*) in different countries; and went to Persia, where he also made verses in honour (*of its princes*). At Aleppo he met with the celebrated poet Abû 'l-Fityân Ibn Haiyûs, and presented him with his poetical works, on which Ibn Hayûs said: "This boy has announced to me my death, for it seldom happens in any profession, that a person of superior skill springs up, without its being an indication that the death of the oldest master in that profession is at hand." On coming to Aleppo in very low circumstances and utterly unable to support himself, he appealed to the generosity of Ibn Haiyûs in the following lines:

> What remains in my possession would not sell for a nut, and my aspect may dispense thee from inquiring into my real state. But I have still some honour left (2); that I have kept unsold; and where, where would a purchaser be found?

On reading these verses, Ibn Haiyûs exclaimed: "Had he said: *And thou art* "*surely the purchaser!* it would have been better."—The collection of Ibn al-Khaiyât's poems is so common, that it is useless to quote any of them: most of his *kasidas* are of remarkable beauty, and had he composed no other than the one which rhymes in *b*, that poem alone had sufficed for his reputation; it begins thus:

Obtain from the zephyrs of Najd (3), that they grant respite to his heart; for their perfume has nearly borne his senses away. Beware of that zephyr, when it breathes; the lightest evil it produces is the pains of love. O, my friends (4)! if you have ever loved, you must know what hold that passion takes of him whose heart is smitten and enamoured: he reflects, and reflection augments desire; the lover longs, and love deprives of reason the victim to whom it clings. An anxious pain with passionate despair and hope—intense desire, though far the place of rendezvous, or near. In our caravan there is one who encloses in his breast a wasting fire; and who says to the challenge of love: "Here (*is thy victim*)!" When a breath (*of the zephyr*) comes tremblingly from the desert (*where his mistress dwells*), it bears with it pain to (*afflict*) him, but (*does*) not (*bear*) its cure (5). (*In the caravan*) is one whom protecting spears surround; whose heart is turned away (*from me*), while in mine (*I feel*), from her aversion, (*pains*) like those which her guardian (*spears*) would cause. If I hear in our encampment a plaintive sigh, I am jealous from apprehension, fearing that it may proceed from love of her.

The poem from which these lines are taken is of considerable length, but we shall limit our extract to the foregoing citation. Another of his pieces is the following:

Ask the drawn sword of her glances if there still remains in my heart a drop of blood to supply the sources of my tears. Ah! there is no protector, none to excuse or sooth (*the lover*) on the day desire torments (*him*). She has drawn against us the sharp (*sword*) of her looks, that nymph with the slender waist. She is a Turk by nation (6), and the arrow she shoots off commits less ravage than the glances of her eyes. And (*let me not forget*) the night in which I went to meet her; when I held converse with sleeplessness, and care was the companion of my couch. The dread of her cruelty drove me for protection to her, yet how often do the most forward retreat (*before serious danger*). The wine-cup had then subdued her native rigour, and ebriety borne down her capriciousness; an embrace was lawfully due, and I then kissed a charming mouth and neck! Throughout the night my thoughts were at work; was it a false image which I had met,—the phantom of a nocturnal dream? How then had her aversion ceased? how did we meet in love? My (*soul so*) proud and (*so*) humble is the slave of love; her (*body so*) full and (*so*) slight is (*the throne*) of beauty. 67

In the following, he reproaches his family and friends:

O, you (*who dwell*) at the junction of the two streams, if I have treated you with rigour (7), my excuse has been already given; mistake not my (*reason for*) quitting the place which you inhabit; the man of noble mind is impatient under injustice.

By the same:

> Didst thou suppose that I could ever turn my love away from thee? (*Be it known to him*) who thinks it should be done, that a thousand reasons are against it (8).

I am much pleased with the two following verses from one of his *kasîdas*; they are extremely sentimental:

> When I call to recollection the tribe which dwells in the valley, love kills that heart of mine and gives it life. When I was at Rakmatain (9), I longed after them, but their tents were in the valley of Ghadâya (10); O, how distant were the objects of my desire! (11)

Ibn al-Khaiyât was born at Damascus, A. H. 450 (A. D. 1058); he died there on the 11th Ramadân, 517 (A. D. 1123): another statement, which however is not exact, places his death on the 17th Ramadân.

(1) See note (7), page 26; and note (4), page 33.

(2) Literally: *Some water of the face which I have kept from selling.* That is: I have still a feeling of honour which prevents me from prostituting my talents for money, and praising unworthy persons in hopes of being rewarded.—See note (15), page 108.

(3) The highland of Najd in Arabia is frequently celebrated for its flowers and their perfume; it is the Arcadia of the Arabic poets.

(4) Literally: *O my two friends.* See note (1), page 115.

(5) Literally: *Its companion;* the companion of pain or sickness داء, is the cure دواء.

(6) Compare this with the verses at page 101.

(7) Literally: *If my storm has borne you away.*

(8) In the Arabic, the relative pronoun in منه can be referred to two antecedents; the word بد signifies *flight*, and joined to the negative particle, *necessity;* the sense of the verse is consequently very difficult to determine, and the studied obscurity of its construction induces me to apprehend that I have missed the author's real meaning.

(9) *Ar-Rakmatain*, a valley near Medina, mentioned by ancient poets; a number of other places in Arabia bear this name.

(10) The valley of al-Ghadâya is not noticed in the biographical dictionaries of as-Soyûti, az-Zamakhshari and Yakût.

(11) The meaning of the expression بعد ما is given by az-Zawzani in his commentary on the 70th verse of Amro 'l-Kais's *Moallaka*.

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## AL-MAIDANI.

Abû 'l-Fadl Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ibrahîm al-Maidâni, native of Naisâpûr, was an eminent literary man and a learned philologer.

He was the favourite pupil of Abû 'l-Hasan al-Wâhidi, author of the commentary on the Koran; he then studied under other masters and acquired a solid knowledge of the Arabic language, particularly philology and (*the history of*) the proverbs current among the Arabs of the desert. He composed on the subject a number of instructive works, amongst others the Book of Proverbs (1) which bears his name, and to which no other similar work can be compared. He wrote also the *Kitâb as-Sâmi fi 'l-Asâmi* (*Book of him who aspires after the signification of proper Names*), a good treatise of its kind. He had learned by heart and taught (*a portion of*) the Traditions; and the following verses, which I believe are his own, were often recited by him:

> A hoary dawn broke upon the night of my cheeks, and I said: "It may perhaps be " satisfied with (*turning white*) my beard." But as it still spread, I reproached it and it answered: "Hast thou ever seen a dawn which was not followed by day?"

He died at Naisâpûr, on Wednesday, 25th Ramadân, A. H. 518 (A. D. 1124), and was buried at the Gate of Maidân Ziâd (*Hippodrome of Ziâd*). This *Maidân* was named after Ziâd Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân, and is one of the quarters of Naisâpûr: from it is derived the surname *Maidâni*.—Al-Maidâni had a son **68** called Abû Saad Saîd, who was distinguished for his talents and piety; he wrote a work, entitled *al-Ismâ fi 'l-Asmâ* (*Attainment of the signification of proper Names*), and died A. H. 539 (A. D. 1144-5.)

(1) Professor Freytag, of Bonn, has just published a Latin translation of this useful work.

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## IBN AL-KHAZIN.

Abû 'l-Fadl Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Fadl Ibn Abd al-Khâlik, surnamed Ibn al-Khâzin (*son of the treasurer*), came of a family which inhabited Dainaur, but he himself was born and died at Baghdad. This kâtib (1) and poet was a man of merit, and wrote the fairest hand of any in his time; he was father (2) to the celebrated kâtib Abû 'l-Fath Nasr Allah, who transcribed repeatedly the *Makâmas* (*of Hariri*), which copies are still extant, and who collected his father's poems into a *Diwân*: those poems are good, the verses being

well turned and the thoughts fine; as, for instance, the following, which contain a very original idea:

He who acts uprightly is disappointed in his wishes, and he who acts crookedly is successful (3) and attains his end. See the letter *alif* (ا), it held itself up straight, and missed gaining the diacritical point, which the *noun* (ن) obtained by its crookedness.

By the same:

Who will bring me that brunette whom (*her jealous relations*) have surrounded with (*lances*) like to her in colour (4), slenderness, and flexibility. Her lover should put on a double breastplate of patience, so as to face the point of the spear and watch when the eyes (*of her guardians*) yield to slumber. The wine of youth causes her to faulter (*in her gait*); it is not the breath of the zephyr (*which bends that flower*); she is drunk (*with youth*), and I am doubly drunk with love. My eyes are as a headstrong, spirited courser; when I slack their bridle, they bear me into trouble.

By the same:

O! thou who knowest all secrets; thou knowest what feeble resistance I can offer to the deceitful blandishment of her beauty! Let then my love for her (*lose its force and*) languish as her eyes! Let my consolation for her (*loss*) be as perfect as her beauty. The weight of mountains is less than what I bear on my heart afflicted by the pains of love.

The following verses were written by him to Abû 'l-Kasim al-Ahwâzi, a physician who had hurt him in letting blood:

God pity the overthrown! Those whom your hands wound are mangled by a lancet (5). You come upon your bands (*of patients*) with bandages, which you spread out and fold on one arm and another (6). You bleed them? by Allah! you mangle them; stabbing with the point of your well-aimed weapons. Is that a lancet-case or a quiver of arrows? or is it (*the sword*) Zû 'l-Fakâr borne by the corpulent bald-head (*Ali*) (7)? Woe be to me! if I meet thee after this, thou stern-faced Antar, unless I wear a cuirass (8).

Another day, this physician, having Abû 'l-Fadl for guest, treated him with great attention and had him conducted to the garden and bath belonging to the house; on this occasion, the poet composed these verses:

69 I visited a dwelling where I met no door-keeper but received me with smiles. The pleasure which appeared in the countenance of the servant was a harbinger of the kindest reception from the master (9). I entered his garden and I visited his bath; and gave grateful thanks to the kindness of their owner (10).

I have since found that the kâtib Imâd ad-dîn, in his *Kharîda*, attributes the

preceding verses to a physician of Ispahan, named Abû 'l-Kasim Hibat Allah Ibn al-Husain Ibn Ali al-Ahwâzi, who, he says, died some years later than A. H. 550 (A. D. 1155): he gives the same lines also in the life of Ibn al-Khâzin, so it is difficult to decide which is the author.—We extract also the following passage from the poetry of Ibn al-Khâzin:

(*I loved*) a slender-waisted (*nymph*), whose language showed that she was an Arab, but whose seducing looks were Indian (11). I sipped the cup of patience till I stole from her guardians an hour of interview, sweeter than honey. I softened her paternal and maternal uncles, a jealous one excepted, that was on her cheek (12), and resembled a drop of (*black*) musk deposed on the (*red*) flower of the pomegranate; it seemed to me as if a violet were growing in a rose.

By the same:

Thy image came to visit me, and my eyes stole an instant of hurried slumber unperceived by the spies who watched me (11). My lips had not as yet finished kissing the yielding (*beauty*); my hands had scarcely pressed the (*charms*) confided (*to them*), when I fancied that (*my enemies*) perceived (*me*), and that they all said: He had not slept were he not visited by her image (14).—Then (*the pleasing phantom*) fled away and vanished; and (*when present, the light of its beauty*) made me think the morning risen, though it had not yet appeared.

The greater portion of his poetry contains fine thoughts (15). He died in the month of Safar, A. H. 518 (A. D. 1124), at the age of 47 years; the hâfiz Ibn al-Jawzi says, however, in his *Muntazim*, that his death took place in 512. His son Abû 'l-Fath Nasr Allah was still alive in the year 575 (A. D. 1179), but I have not been able to learn the date of his death.

(1) See page 26, note (7).

(2) In the printed Arabic text, the conjunction و is misplaced; it should precede the هو, not follow it.

(3) Read بالانسعاف in the printed text.

(4) The spears of the ancient Arabs were made of a sort of yellow cane with knots at intervals (bamboo?), and are frequently named the yellow or brown (*sumr*) in the metaphorical language of the poets.

(5) This verse and the following contain some double meanings and puns which no translation can preserve.

(6) This verse has also the following meaning: *You come upon the bands with bands which spread out and surround* (the enemy, attacking him) *hand to hand.*

(7) See the description of the khalif Ali's personal appearance in Abû 'l-Fadâ's Annals, t. I, p. 339. Muhammad gave him the celebrated sword Zu 'l-Fakâr.

(8) This physician, it would appear, shed as much blood as the famous warrior Antara of the tribe of Abs (*Absi*; which word seems also to mean here *stern-looking*). In these burlesque verses is found the vulgar pronounciation Antar for Antara.

(9) Literally: *The advances of politeness on the face of the master.*

(10) This verse is designed to bear a double meaning, and may signify: I entered his paradise, and I visited his hell; and thanked Ridwân (*the angel who guards heaven*) and the kindness of Mâlik (*the angel who guards hell.*)

(11) That is: They wounded like swords made of Indian steel.

(12) The same word which in Arabic means *maternal uncle* signifies also *mole, beauty-spot*; this offered too fair an opportunity for quibbling to be neglected by the later Arabic poets.

(13) See note (3), page 116; it has been said that the lovers met in their dreams, and of course jealous spies would endeavour to prevent the lover from sleeping, when they had him in their power.—What is here translated by *hurried slumber*, signifies literally *the slumber of the fearful.*

(14) A true lover should never sleep but to dream of his beloved.

(15) We may judge from the verses just translated what were considered as *fine thoughts* by Ibn Khallikân and his contemporaries.

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## NASIH AD-DIN AL-ARRAJANI.

Abû Bakr Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Husain al-Arrajâni, surnamed Nâsih ad-dîn (*friend of religion*), was kadi of Tustar and Askar Mukram, and composed some extremely beautiful and charming poetry. Mention is made of him by the kâtib Imâd ad-dîn in his *Kharîda:* "In the prime of life," says he, "al-Arragâni was in the Nizâmiya College at Ispahan; (*the flow of*) his poetry "commenced some years later than A. H. 480 (A. D. 1087), about the period "of Nizâm al-Mulk's death, and continued till the end of his life, in the year "544 (A. D. 1149): he did not cease acting as deputy to the kâdi of Askar Muk-"ram, and was highly honoured and respected. His poetry is great in quan-"tity, and the collected portion is not the tenth part of what he composed. "Having gone to Askar Mukram in the year 549 (A. D. 1154), I met there his "son Muhammad Raîs ad-dîn, who read over with me several times a large "quire full of his father's verses. Arrajân was the native soil of his family tree, "and Askar Mukram in Khûzestan the dwelling place of his kindred: though a 70 "Persian by birth, he drew his origin from the Arabs; the ancient stock from "which he sprung were the *Ansârs* (1), (*a noble extraction*) the like of which "was never offered by past ages; and he was descended from the tribe of Aus "and the branch of Khazraj; in speech he was a Koss (2) and an Iyâd (3); in "writing, a Persian and (*first*) horseman in its hippodrome; in judgment, he

"was a Solomon, and one of those sons of Persia who reached the highest "point of knowledge (4); he united beauty, in external form, to sweetness in the "perfume (*of good character*)." I learn from his collected poetical works that he was kâdi's deputy in Khuzestân; acting sometimes at Tustar, other times at Askar Mukram, the kadi of which, Nasr ad-dîn Abû Muhammad Abd al-Kâhir Ibn Muhammad, he replaced at one period, and at another later, Imâd ad-dîn Abû 'l-Alâ Rajâ; upon this he composed these lines:

That I should act as deputy in such a profession is one of the turns of Fortune. It is a wonder that I can have patience to endure such wondrous changes.

Being both jurisconsult and poet, he alluded to this in the following verses:

I am without contradiction the most poetic doctor of the age, or (*at least*) the most learned doctor among poets. When I utter verses, people inscribe them (*in their memory*) with natural facility, without the trouble of repetition (5). Like a voice in the shade of mountains, when (*my poetry*) strikes the ear, it awakens the answer of the echo.

By the same:

Though you be a man of good counsel, ask advice from others on the day in which evil fortune befals you. With the eye, you can distinguish far and near, but it you cannot see without a mirror.

By the same:

I never roamed through distant regions without making you (*my generous patron!*) the special object of my search. My efforts to meet you were earnest, but the only favour you procured me was the persecutions of misfortune. I still draw towards you, though I turn my face away, and my motions are as those of the stars (6). I go towards the far East that I may find you, though my apparent direction is towards the West.

The following verses were written by him to a man in authority, reproaching him for not asking for him after a period of separation:

O my friend, I offer my life in ransom for thine! O thou whom it is my duty to love! why hast thou not reproached me for my neglect? To-day I complain of thy neglect and reproach thee. A proof that thou art tired of me is that I have been absent for some days and none came to inquire for me. When thou seest the slave run away unpursued, (*know*) that it is the master who runs away from him.

By the same, containing a singularly original thought:

When none had pity on my sufferings, my fleeting image which visited the slumbers of my mistress (7), and which I in my thinness resembled, had compassion on me. It

71 yielded me secretly its place, and I went that night to visit my beloved, who thought she saw me in a dream (*not in reality*). So we passed a night together unperceived; I being awake under her eyelids, and she, asleep.

In one of his *kasídas* is found the following verse:

Look at that (*charming*) mole (8) below her neck, and learn how treasures are hid in secret corners.

By the same:

Canesco et amicus pubescit; reliqui illum et ille me reliquit; quod in me niger erat (scil. *barba*) album factum est, et quod in illo album (scil. *gena*) erat, nigrum.

By the same:

(*The lover*) asked the groves where was his beloved; he hearkened to obtain an answer from the echo, but it only repeated his words. "Where," said he, "does she "now sojourn?" It answered: "Where does she now sojourn (9)?"

By the same:

If I knew not what I now know, my ignorance would give me as much happiness as my knowledge gives me grief. Thus the sparrow ranges unconfined and feeds in the gardens, whilst the nightingale is imprisoned for its talent of song.

Another poet has thus expressed the same idea:

The woes and evils of the world visit men of talent alone; so the only birds deprived of freedom are those which possess a tuneful voice.

The idea is similar to that which is contained in the following verse, taken from a long poem of Abû Ishak al-Ghazzi, whose life has been already given (*see page* 38):

My talents, no doubt, have done me harm; the aloes-wood is burned for its sweet perfume.

We shall confine ourselves to the foregoing extracts, as the fear of being prolix hinders us from giving one of his long *kasídas*.—By the same (10):

I love the man whose face is fair towards his friend and whose heart is free from guile: despite all dangers, his friendship will endure; and tell me, does every man's friendship endure?

As this second verse, which can be read backwards (*in the original Arabic*), is to be found in the poetical works of al-Ghazzi, we are unable to decide which

of these two poets composed it.—Al-Arrajâni's verses abound in pretty thoughts, and have been collected in a separate volume. He was born A. H. 460 (A. D. 1067-8); died in the month of the first Râbi, A. H. 544 (A. D. 1149), at the city of Tostar, or at Askar Mukram according to another relation.—*Arrajâni* means 72 *belonging to Arrajân*, which is one of the districts of al-Ahwâz in Khuzestan; most persons say that the name of this place is written with a single *r*, and it is thus that al-Mutanabbi gives it in the following verse:

To Arjân, my rapid steeds! Such is my firm resolution, which leaves the hostile spears broken behind it.

Al-Jawhari, however, in his dictionary the *Sahâh*, and al-Hâzimi in his Synonymes, state that this name takes a double *r*.—*Tostar*, called vulgarly Shushter, is a well-known city in Khuzestan.—*Askar Mukram* (*the camp of Mukram*); people differ respecting this Mukram, but most of the well-informed say that he was brother to Mutraf Ibn Sidân Ibn Akîla Ibn Zikwân Ibn Habbân Ibn al-Kharzak Ibn Ghailân Ibn Hâwa Ibn Maan Ibn Malik Ibn Aasar Ibn Saad Ibn Kais Ibn Ghailân Ibn Mudar Ibn Nizâr Ibn Maad Ibn Adnân: such is the genealogy which I have extracted from Ibn al-Kalbi's *Jamharat*; the name of Bâhila is not, however, in this list (11), though the Mukram above-mentioned is said to be descended from Bâhila and from Hâwa; God knows best the truth! Others say that this Mukram was descended from Joûna al-Aâmiri; and some again state that he was freedman to al-Hajjâj Ibn Yûsuf al-Thakafi, who posted him in that place for the purpose of waging war against Khurzâd Ibn Bâris (12), and for this reason it was called after him.—*Khuzestan* is an extensive region between Basra and (*the province of*) Fâris.

(1) Ansârs (*aiders*); name given to the people of Medina, who lent assistance to Muhammad when expelled from Mekka.

(2) Koss was a bishop of Najrân in Arabia Felix; he lived some years before the introduction of Islamism, and was celebrated for his eloquence.—See De Sacy's *Hariri*, page 276.

(3) Iyad was the third in descent from Adnân, whose eloquence was proverbial; his talent was inherited by his descendants, of whom Koss was one.

(4) Literally: *Who attained the knowledge suspended to the Pleiades.*

(5) Such appears to be the meaning of the word القاء in this verse. The expression القى الدروس (*to lecture*) has been already noticed, page 92, note (1).

(6) He alludes to the retrograde motion of the planets.

(7) That the reader may understand this little piece, it is necessary to repeat here one of the observations already made on the whimsical idea held by Arabic poets respecting dreams. (See note (3), page 116). They fancy that the lover sees the image of his mistress in a dream, because he is really visited by a phantom which she herself sends to him. The lover too sends his image to glide under the eyelids of his beloved, who then dreams of him. Here the lover was so extenuated, that he took the place of his own image, which very complacently gave it up to him.

(8) See note (9), page 33.

(9) Literally: *Where is the place in which she has taken the baggage off her camel.*—The echo shows, by its answer, that it was as equally desirous as the lover of knowing where the beloved then resided, and consequently could give him no information.

(10) It is evident that this has been inserted later, and in the wrong place also. Many examples of similar inattention will be pointed out in the course of the work.

(11) In the life of Kutaiba Ibn Muslim, the author states for what reason the name of Bâhila is suppressed in the genealogical list remounting from Maan to Adnân.

(12) Such also is the account given by Abû 'l-Fadâ in his Geography, page 316 of the Arabic text; the adversary with whom Mukram had to contend is there called *Khurdâd*, but Ibn Khallikân writes the name in the same manner as the excellent historian, at-Thabari. This campaign was made A. H. 93, and an account of it is given in Major Price's *Retrospect of Muhammadan History*, vol. I, page 472.

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## IBN MUNIR AT-TARABOLUSI.

Abû 'l-Husain Ahmad Ibn Munîr Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muflih at-Tarâbolusi (*native of Tripoli in Syria*), surnamed Muhaddib ad-dîn (*Embellisher of Religion*), Aîn az-Zamân (*Eye of Time*), was a poet of considerable celebrity, and his collected poetical works are still extant: his father recited poetry and sung in the market-places of Tripoli. The son, as he grew up, learned the Koran by heart, and, after studying philology and literature, commenced reciting verses of his own; he then went to Damascus and settled there; (*in religion*) he was a Râfidi (1). The number of his satires and the causticity of his language were so excessive, that Bûri, son to the atâbek Toghtikîn and prince of Damascus, imprisoned him for some time and intended to have his tongue cut out, but being interceded with, he consented to banish him. Ibn Munîr held a correspondence with Ibn al-Kaisarâni, in which these two poets attacked each other; for they were both residents of Baghdad, and each jealous of the other, as generally happens with persons who follow the same profession. In one of Ibn Munir's *kasidas*, are found these verses:

When a man of noble mind perceives that he is neglected (2), his resolution should be, to depart for another land. Thus the moon, when waned away, strives to attain to its full, and succeeds by changing its place. Shame on your wisdom (3)! if you consent to drink of a troubled source (4) when the bounty of God fills the very deserts. During the course of your life, you sat (*in listless idleness*) and rivalled your camels in indolence; why not take them, and pry into the secrets of the desert (5)? Depart and you shall gain lustre, like the sword which, when drawn, shows on each side of its blade the ornaments which were hidden by the scabbard. When life forsakes the body, count it not death; the only death is to live in humiliation. Devote your life to the deserts, not to poverty! As long as God permits you to live, let it suffice you to deserve his favour. Despise the vileness of fortune's gifts, when they draw near 73 to you; (*remain not in inglorious ease,*) but be as the phantom of a vision which appears and departs. Fly, even during the noontide fires (6), from those on whom you rained honey, and who reaped for you colocynth. Fly the deceitful wretch in whose (*heart*) the plantations of friendship are badly rooted, and who, if you show him sincerity, will misinterpret (*your conduct*). Ah, how well I know the world and its people! with them it is a crime for merit to be perfect. They are formed in Nature's basest mould; the best of them, if I say a word, will repeat it; and if I keep silence, will report to others what I never said. When Fortune thinks to cast me down, my haughty spirit bears me up even to the stars. I impress upon my mind the discourse of grave events, though it be darkly uttered; I tend my camels, but I fatigue them also on the failure of herbage (7). (*The*) declaration (*which I make is plain and clear*) as the light of morning; then follows a firm resolution which executes (*my will*), as the edge of the sword slays the victim which it encounters.

One of his best pieces is the *kasîda* which begins with these verses:

Who has placed the moon on the point of that spear? Who has imbued with subtle magic the edge of that (*sword*) of Yemen (8)? Who has sent down the highest luminary to a sphere circumscribed by the folds of a tunic from Khosrowan (9)? Is that a glancing eye or a scabbard from which a sharp sword comes forth? Is that a young beauty whose waist, as she walks, bends gracefully from side to side? or is it rather the elastic motion of a pliant lance? She has subdued me, I who before was so proud; love makes the lion slave of the covert-seeking gazelle.

From the same poem:

Is it not liquid musk which drops from her locks upon the summit of that pliant reed (*her body*)? What intoxicating draughts of love, what pearl-like teeth are in the covert formed by those lips of coral! Were the moon, when shining in full lustre, asked whom she envied, she would reply: Such a one's daughter (10). She has vanquished me by the variety of her perfections; (*charms*) which consist in the sound of her voice and the aspect of her form, the haughty port of the Persian (11), the voluptuousness of Syria, glances like those of the maids of Irak, and language (*sweet as that*) spoken in Hijâz. Wine is not more dangerous for the reason than is the pure eloquence of the desert, uttered with a Turkish pronunciation.

By the same:

Her eyes denied having shed my (*heart's*) blood; but she held up her head (12), and then they acknowledged their guilt. Do not suppose that the mole upon her cheek is a tear of blood, shed by my eyes; it was a burning coal of the fire which consumed my heart; and on being plunged into (*the yielding substance of*) her cheek, it was extinguished, and then rose to the surface.

In one of his *kasîdas* are found these lines:

Speak not harshly to me, for the marks of your displeasure are already sufficiently manifest. O, my mistress! where are those smiles which are now replaced by frowns?

I found the anecdote which follows in the handwriting of the shaikh Abd 74 al-Azîm al-Mundiri (13): "I was told by Abû 'l-Majd, kâdi of Suwaidâ (14), that "there were in Syria two poets, Ibn Munîr and Ibn al-Kaisarâni, the former of "whom used to taunt the latter (*with being so unlucky*) that he never accom-"panied any one without that person's meeting with ill fortune; it happened, "however, that a musician sung these verses to the atâbek Imâd ad-dîn Zinki, "prince of Syria, who was then besieging the castle of Jabar (*kalat Jabar*) (15):

'What woe I suffer from that coy and froward nymph, when vile informers repeat to 'her tales completely false. I salute her, and she turns away; curving her arched 'eyebrows (*into a frown*), as if I were a wine-cup, and she still suffering from its 'effects.'

"Zinki applauded the verses and asked who was the author; and on learning "that they were composed by Ibn Munîr, who was then at Aleppo, he wrote "to the governor of that place with orders to send him the poet with all speed. "The very night Ibn Munîr arrived (*at the camp*), the atâbek Zinki was mur-"dered"—(we shall give the details of this event in his life). "On his death, "Asad ad-dîn Shirkûh, prince of Emessa, took Nûr ad-dîn Mahmûd, son to "Zinki, and, putting himself at the head of the Syrian troops, returned to "Aleppo, while Zain ad-dîn Ali, father (16) to Muzaffar ad-dîn, prince of Arbela, "took the command of the troops belonging to the provinces east (*of Syria*), "and went back with them to Mosul, where he joined Saif ad-dîn Ghâzi, "(*another*) son to Zinki, and made him master of Mosul. Ibn Munîr went "back to Aleppo along with the army, and was accosted in these terms by Ibn "al-Kaisarâni: 'Take that for all with which you flouted me.'"—This same Ibn al-Kaisarâni composed the following lines on Ibn Munîr, who had reviled him in a satire:

Ibn Munîr! in reviling me, you have insulted a man of learning, who, by the rectitude of his judgment, was beneficial to mankind. But my heart is not oppressed for that; I have before me the model offered to the companions of Muhammad (17).

Ibn Munîr's poetry is eminently refined; he was born at Tripoli, A. H. 473 (A. D. 1080-1); and died in the month of the latter Jumâda, 548 (September, A. D. 1153), and was buried near the chapel at Mount Jaushan (18). I visited his tomb and found these verses inscribed on it:

Let him who visits my tomb be assured that he shall meet with what I have met with. May God have mercy on him who visits me (*here*) and says to me: 'May God have mercy on thee!'

His life is given by the hâfiz Ibn Asâkir in his History of Damascus, who there says: "Al-Khatîb as-Sadîd (*the able preacher*) Abû Muhammad Abd al-Kâhir "Ibn Abd al-Azîz, preacher at Hamâh, relates as follows: "After the death of "Ibn Munîr the poet, I saw him in a dream (19); I was on a lofty hill in a garden, "and I asked him how he was and told him to come up to me,' and he replied: "'I cannot, by reason of my breath;' on which I said: 'Hast thou drunk wine?' "'Something worse than wine, O khatîb!' he replied. 'What is it?' said I. "'Dost thou know?' said he, 'what befel me on account of those poems in which "I reviled people?' 'What befel thee?' 'My tongue,' he replied, 'swelled and "lengthened out as far as sight could reach, and each poem recited with it be- "came a dog which clung to it.' I saw that he was barefooted and that his "clothes were completely worn out, and I heard a voice over him repeat these "words: *Over them shall be coverings of fire, and under them shall be floors "of fire* (20). I then awoke in terror."—I have since found in the *Diwân* of Abû 'l-Hakam Obaid Allah (whose life I intend to give), that Ibn Munîr died at Damascus, A. H. 547 (A. D. 1152); Abû 'l-Hakam having composed some 75 elegiac verses on his death, which show that he died in that city. From among those verses we shall quote the following, which are written in the usual ludicrous style of the author:

They bore him along upon the bier, and washed his corpse on the bank of the river Kallût; they warmed the water in a well-tinned cauldron, under which they lit sticks of oak.

In admitting the exactness of the fact (*mentioned in these verses*), we shall be

obliged to combine it with the statement already given, and suppose that he died at Damascus and was then carried to Aleppo for burial (21).—*Tripoli* is a city of Syria, situated on the sea-coast and lying near Balbek. In the year 503 (A.D. 1109), it was taken by the Franks from its possessor, Abû Ali Ammâr Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ammâr, after a siege of seven years: the history of this event is too long to relate.

(1) The word *Râfidi* (*heretic*) is generally made use of by the Sunnites to designate a follower of Shiite doctrines. The kâtib Imâd ad-dîn says, in his *Kharîda*, (MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 1414, fol. 1), that Ibn Munir professed the most exaggerated Shiite principles, whilst his rival, Ibn al-Kaisarani, was a devout Sunnite.—For the origin of the Râfidis, see De Sacy's *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*, tom. I, p. 48, *introd.*

(2) Literally: *Perceives that obscureness is become the guest of his dwelling.*

(3) Literally: *Folly to your wisdom!*

(4) *To drink of a troubled source;* that is, to live dependent on a mean patron, who *troubles* the pleasure his gifts might create, by saying how ill they are deserved.

(5) These verses contain a number of verbal quibbles, to which the author in some cases has sacrificed good taste; here, for instance, he has adopted a gross and ridiculous metaphor, *pediculos venari* (fala) *in juba deserti* (fala).

(6) Literally: *Join to the ardent noon flight from those, etc.*

(7) The meaning of the poet appears to be, that when his camels can no longer find nourishment, he removes with them to some distant and more fertile spot. This, however, seems to be only a metaphor, by which he wishes to imply that if his talents are neglected in one country, he travels to another.

(8) This verse signifies in plainer language: Who has united that beauteous countenance to a graceful body pliant as a lance? Who has imbued with subtle magic the glances of that native of Yemen?

(9) The poet is so dazzled by the beauty of his mistress, that he takes her for the sun.

(10) *Daughter* ابن; the reason for so translating the Arabic word may be learned from the observations made in the introduction.

(11) The ancient poets sometimes allude to the proud and stately gait of the Persians; see *Diwân d'Amro 'l-Kais*, page 46, line 5 of the Arabic text.

(12) Literally: *Her cheeks.*

(13) See note (7), page 46.

(14) Suwaida is situated at the mouth of the Orontes.

(15) See the life of Imâd ad-dîn Zinki.

(16) In the Arabic text, the word والد is incorrectly printed ولد.

(17) This alludes to the following passage of the Koran: "You have in the Apostle of God an excellent "example, unto him who hopeth in God and the last day, and remembereth God frequently." See surat 33, verse 21.

(18) According to the author of the *Marâsid al-Ittila*, Jaushân is a hill near Aleppo.

(19) See note (7), page 46.

(20) See *Koran*, surat 39, verse 18.

(21) The author has already stated that Ibn Munir was buried at Jaushan, a hill near Aleppo, but he con-

cludes from the verses just cited that he died at Damascus, since the funeral ablutions were performed on the body near the river Kallût: This river must then be close to Damascus, yet none of the Arabic geographers have mentioned it, nor is it noticed by any of the European travellers whose works I have consulted.

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## AL-KADI AR-RASHID ABU 'L-HUSAIN.

Al-Kâdi ar-Rashîd (*the well-guided kâdi*) Abû 'l-Husain Ahmad, son of al-Kâdi ar-Rashîd Abû 'l-Hasan Ali, son of al-Kâdi ar-Rashîd Abû Ishak Ibrahîm Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Husain Ibn az-Zubair al-Ghassâni (*of the tribe of Ghassân*) al-Oswâni (*native of Syène*): this kâdi belonged to an honourable and influential family; he is author of a work called *Kitâb al-Jinân*, etc., containing notices on a number of eminent men of talent (1); his poetical works form a volume, and those of his brother the kâdi al-Muhaddib Abû Muhammad al-Hasan have also been collected into a volume: they were both good writers in prose and verse. The following lines, from a beautiful *kasîda* by al-Muhaddib, contain an elegant and original idea:

> See the milky way among the stars; it resembles a swollen stream watering meadows. Were it not a river, the constellations of the Fish and the Crab had never swum in it.

From another *kasîda* by the same author:

> I have no thirst for any other water but the Nile's,—not even—God pardon me!—for that of Zamzam (2).

The writings of this poet abound in fine thoughts; he commenced making verses A. H. 526, and mention is made of him by the kâtib Imâd ad-dîn in his *Sail wa 'z-Zail*. He possessed a greater talent for poetry than his brother ar-Rashîd, but was his inferior in all other sciences. He died at Cairo in the month of Rajâb, 561 (May, A. D. 1166). As for the kâdi ar-Rashîd, he is spoken of in these terms by Abû 't-Tâhir as-Silafi in one of his *talîkas* (3): "In the year "559 (A. D. 1163-4) he was named, against his will, inspector of the govern-"ment offices at Alexandria; and in the month of Muharram, 563 (October, "1167), he was put to death unjustly through the malice of his enemies."

The kâtib Imâd ad-dîn speaks of him also in the *Sail wa 'z-Zail*, or supplement to his *Kharîda*: "This overflowing ocean," says he, "this swollen sea
76 " has been noticed by me in the *Kharîda*, where I have also made mention of " his brother al-Muhaddib; in the year 563 he was put to death unjustly by " Shâwir for leaning towards the party of Asad ad-dîn Shirkûh. He was black " in skin, and lord of the town (4); he was the pearl of the age for his knowledge " of geometry, of the exact sciences, and of those which are connected with the " study of the law and of poetry. The emir Adad ad-dîn Abû 'l-Fawâris Murhaf Ibn Osâma Ibn Munkid (5) recited to me some poems by this author, and " among others, the following, which he says be heard from his own mouth:

"'The woes which afflict me are great, but my courage also is great; and what harm ' can polishing cause to the cutting steel? (*what harm can the rubs of adversity do me?*) ' The vicissitudes of fortune, the changes it brings about may alter the noble character ' of others, but cannot alter mine. Did fire consume the ruby, the ruby then were as ' a common stone. Let not the worthless rags which cover me deceive you; they are ' the shell which encloses a pearl. Think not, when the stars are hidden, that their ' smallness prevents them from being seen; the fault must be laid upon (*the weakness ' of*) your sight.'

The idea in this last verse is taken from a long and well-known *kasîda*, composed by Abû 'l-Ala 'l-Maarri, in which that poet says:

The eye sees the stars and thinks them small, but that smallness is the fault of the eye, not of the star.

The kâtib Imâd ad-dîn gives as this poet's (6) the following verses, composed on al-Kâmil, son of (*the vizir*) Shâwir:

If a man of honourable feelings does not quit the beloved spot in which he is no longer welcome (7), that man has no resolution. Even did he love it to excess, he should know that death will tear him from it in spite of his reluctance.

Imâd ad-dîn relates also that he learned the following verses at Baghdad, in the year 551, from Muhammad Ibn Isa al-Yamani (8), who said that they had been recited to him by al-Kâdi ar-Rashîd, and that they were composed by him on a person (*who had deceived his expectations*):

Though the hopes which I placed in thee were disappointed, when I thought to have found in thee a just man; thou hast, however, conferred on me a service, which deserves my gratitude wherever I may dwell; for thou hast put me on my guard against all my companions, and taught me that no sincere friend exists on earth.

The lines which follow were written to al-Kâdi ar-Râshid by al-Jalis Ibn al-Habâb (9):

By your absence, our rich store of noble deeds has been impoverished, and the dwelling-place of glory is abandoned. When you sojourned with us, the dark clouds (*of sorrow*) were dispelled, and prosperity followed wherever you passed. In your departure, fortune has committed a crime, which cannot be pardoned but by your return.

Al-Kâdi ar-Rashîd was black in colour, and to this, allusion is made by the poet and kâtib Abû 'l-Fath Mahmûd Ibn Kâdûs in these satirical verses:

O thou who resemblest Lokman, but not in wisdom (10); thou who hast lost thy learning, not preserved it; thou hast stolen every one's verses, and mayest be called the black thief (11).

I am induced to think that the following lines were composed on al-Kâdi ar-Rashîd also: 77

If thou sayest: I was formed out of fire, and therefore surpass all men in intelligence, we answer: Thou speakest truth; but what has wasted thee away to a cinder?

Ar-Rashîd, having travelled to Yemen on an embassy, pronounced verses in honour of some of the princes in that country, and amongst others, Ali Ibn Hâtim al-Hamdâni, of whom he said:

Though Upper Egypt be sterile and its people suffer dearth, I shall not feel dearth in the country of Kahtân. Since the land of Mârib supplies my wants, I have no regret for Syene. If the vile sons of Khindif know not my worth, my merit is appreciated by the princes sprung from Hamdân.

These verses excited the hatred of the missionary residing at Aden, by whom they were transmitted in writing to the prince of Egypt, who was so highly irritated by them, that he caused the author to be arrested and delivered over to them bound and naked, after seizing all his property (12). Ar-Rashîd remained some time in Yemen, and then returned to Egypt, where he was put to death by Shâwir as we have already mentioned.—*Ghassâni* means *belonging to Ghassân*, a great branch of the tribe of al-Azd, whose watering-place was at a fountain in Yemen called Ghassân, and from which they took their name. *Oswâni* means *native of Oswân* (*Syene*), a town in Upper Egypt: as-Samâni pronounces this name *Aswân*, but the former is the correct pronunciation, according to what I have been told by the hâfiz of Egypt Abd al-Azîm al-Mundiri.

(1) The full title of this work is *Jinân al-Janân wa riâd al-Adhân;* that is, *Gardens of the heart and Meadows of the mind:* it contains notices on the poets of Egypt, and is intended as a supplement to the *Yatîma* of at-Thaâlibi.

(2) *Zamzam;* the well in the precincts of the temple of Mekka; its waters are supposed, by the Moslims, to possess extraordinary virtues.

(3) See note (2), page 55.

(4) It is difficult to guess at Imâd ad-dîn's meaning from these words; in his rhythmical prose he has brought in the word *balada* (*town*) to rhyme with *jalada* (*skin*), from which I am induced to think that here, as in many other passages, he has sacrificed sense to sound. Perhaps he wishes to say that the kâdi ar-Rashîd was governor or proprietor of his native town Syene.

(5) This emir was probably son to the Osâma whose life is given in this work: the kâtib Imâd ad-dîn says, in his *Kharîda* (MS. No. 1414, fol. 117, that he met him at Damascus, A. H. 571 (A. D. 1175-6). He is there called Adad ad-Dawlat, not Adad ad-din, as in the MSS. of Ibn Khallikân.

(6) In the Arabic text, a letter has been misplaced; the true reading is واورد لد.

(7) Literally: Which repels him.

(8) The kâtib Imâd ad-dîn states, in his *Kharîda* (MS. No. 1414, fol. 250 verso), that the poet Muhammad Ibn Isa al-Yamani (or al-Yamâni as there written), came to Baghdad, A. H. 550, and lodged at the house of a Christian physician belonging to the family called Banû Tûma (*the sons of Thomas*); he was a man of great talent and an able mathematician, and professed to understand the *Almagest* and the sciences of astronomy and logic. Imâd ad-dîn was at that time studying Euclid, and he profited by the opportunity to have the difficulties of that author explained to him by al-Yamani, but was soon disgusted by the self-sufficiency and arrogance of his master. In the year 580, al-Yamâni returned to Baghdad, after having been absent for some time; Imâd ad-dîn had then some scientific discussions with him, after which he lost sight of him and never saw him more.

(9) The kâdi Abû 'l-Maâli Abd al-Azîz Ibn al-Husain Ibn al-Habâb al-Aghlabi (*descendant of the Aghlabites*) as-Saadi, was surnamed *al-Jalîs* (*the companion*) because he was admitted into the intimate society of the prince of Egypt: he was a man of talent and a poet. Died A. H. 561 (A. D. 1165-6). (As-Soyûti's *Husn al-Muhâdira*, MS. No. 652, *fol.* 150.).

(10) Lokman, so celebrated by the Arabs for his wisdom, was a black.

(11) *The black thief* (in Arabic, *al-Aswad as-Sâlikh*) is the name of a species of venomous serpent.

(12) This adventure is not very intelligibly related, and indeed it cannot be perfectly understood without taking into consideration the following circumstances: 1st, The sultan Ali Ibn Hâtim, prince of Sanaâ (see Iohannsen's *Historia Iemenæ*, p. 145), was descended from Hamdân, one of the posterity of Kahlân, brother to Himyar; he was therefore of the purest Arabic race; 2dly, Khindif was a descendant from Ismail, and consequently not of true Arabic blood; his sons were Tâbikha, Kamâa, and Mudrika, from which last sprung Koraish and Muhammad, from whom were descended (according to their own account) the Fatimite princes of Egypt; they were consequently *sons of Khindif*, and it is against them that the poet here aims his satire. 3dly. The missionary here mentioned was the secret agent of the Fatimite government (see note (9), page 26). The persons to whom ar-Rashîd was given up were probably some enemies he had in Yemen.

## AN-NAFIS AL-LAKMI.

Abû 'l-Abbâs Ahmad Ibn Abi 'l-Kasim Abd al-Ghanî Ibn Ahmad Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Khalf Ibn Muslim al-Lakhmi al-Maliki (*follower of the sect of Mâlik*) al-Kotrusi, surnamed an-Nafîs, was a man of considerable literary attainments. He is author of some good poetical pieces, which have been collected into a separate volume, from which I extract the poem composed by him in praise of the emir Shujâ ad-dîn (*hero of religion*) Jildak at-Takawi (*client of Taki ad-dîn*), and known by the title of Wâli of Damietta; the commencement of this *kasîda* is as follows:

Say to my beloved: Thou hast prolonged thy aversion for me, and in that thou hadst in view my death. If thou desirest that I cease to love, restore me my heart which is in thy possession. Thou hast broken thy promises, and hast not even kept that of sending thy image to visit me in my dreams (1). Yet I still act towards thee according to my compact, though thou hast transgressed that which thou madest to me. O mouth of the beloved! thou didst consume my heart when I tasted of thy cool source: thou didst declare me a transgressor when I wished to obtain from thee thy honey. Dost thou think that I can admire the (*pliant*) branch of the willow after having seen thy (*slender*) waist? or that apples can charm my eyes after the sight of thy cheeks? Dost thou think that thy fragrant locks can protect thee from the kisses of thy lover (2). It 78 shall not be! I swear it by Him who has made love my master, so that I have become thy slave! O, heart of her whose movements are full of (*grace and*) softness, how hard thou art towards me! Dost thou think me insensible to love, or that I possess such inflexible sternness as thou?

It is a beautiful poem from which this is taken, but we shall confine ourselves to the foregoing quotation, lest this article should become too long.—An-Nafîs travelled to many countries, visiting remarkable men and employing his poetic talent as a means of obtaining donations from their liberality. The kâtib Imâd ad-dîn mentions him in the *Kharîda*, and says that he was a doctor of the sect of Mâlik, and had some acquaintance with the sciences of the ancients (3) and general literature: he is author of these verses:

The wealthy may rejoice on a day of festival, but the poor cannot. Can a festival rejoice me whose garments are (*as*) the people of Saba? Can it give pleasure to me while (*the covering*) of my head is that of Ibn Jala's.

He means the people of Saba *whom we tore asunder and totally disunited* (KORAN, *surat* 34, *verse* 18); Ibn Jala had no turban, and it is to this the poet Sohaim (4) alludes in the following verse:

I am Ibn Jala; I am the surmounter of obstacles; when I take off my turban, you may know me (5).

The kâtib Imâd ad-dîn speaks of an-Nâfis in his *Sail* and says: "He was one "of the jurisconsults at Misr, and I heard his eulogium made by al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil, "to whom he wrote a *kasída* from Misr."—I extract also the following verses from the volume containing his poetical works:

O, fair traveller who settest out, bearing away with thee all my fortitude! is there any means of meeting thee again? My eyes, though tinged with tears of blood, have not done justice to thy merits; and my heart, though consumed (*by its passion*), hath not borne thee sufficient love.

His grandfather was (*also*) called Kotrus.—An-Nafis died at Kûs (*in Upper Egypt*) on the 24th of the first Rabi, A. H. 603 (A. D. 1206); he was at that time upwards of seventy years of age.—*Lakhmi* signifies *descended from Lakhm*, son of Adi; the real name of Lakhm was Mâlik, and Amr was that of his brother, who was surnamed *Judâm*: these two having quarrelled, Amr gave Mâlik a box on the ear (*lakham*), and Mâlik struck Amr with a knife and cut off (*jadam*) his hand, whence the origin of their surnames.—I made frequent researches to find the origin of the word *kotrusi*, but could discover nothing certain, except that he was a native of Misr; but I have been since informed by Bahâ 'd-dîn Zuhair the poet (whose life we shall give), that this word was derived from Kotrus, the name of an-Nafis' grandfather: Bahâ ad-dîn had been his pupil and could repeat some of his poetry.—Abû 'l-Muzaffar Jildak was freedman to Taki ad-dîn Omar, prince of Hamâh (whose life shall be given later): he was a man of piety and talent. Died at Cairo the 28th Shabân, 628 (A. D. 1231), aged upwards of eighty. He had composed some poetry, and related traditions on the authority of as-Silafi the hâfiz and others. Among the verses quoted as his by Bahâ ad-dîn Zuhair were the following on a boy who studied geometry and astronomy:



Ille puer mathematicus, facie venustâ præditus, mihi vitam quotidie rapit et reddit. Facies ejus genera varia pulchritudinis comprehendit, et diceres Euclidem de eo disseruisse; nam in maxillâ ejus est equator (6), nævus ejus punctum refert, et gena triangulum.

These lines have also been attributed to Abû Jaafar al-Alawi (7), a native of Egypt.

(1) See note (7), page 138.

(2) Or more literally: Dost thou think that the myrtle of thy fragrant *izâr* can protect thee against the approach of him who comes to quench his thirst. See Introduction.

(3) *The sciences of the ancients*; the sciences of logic, philosophy, mathematics, etc., borrowed from the ancient Greeks.

(4) The poet Sohaim Ibn Wathîl ar-Riâhi was born forty years before the introduction of Islamism; he died A. H. 60 (A. D. 680).—(*Ibn Duraid;* quoted by as-Soyûti in his *Sharh Shawâhid al-Mughni*, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 1238, fol. 105 *verso*.) This is perhaps the poet who was surnamed *the slave of the Banû 'l-Hashâs*; see note (7), page 20.

(5) This verse is quoted by Maidani in his *Proverbs;* see Freytag's edition, t. I. p. 46.

(6) The Arabs call the equinoctial line *the line of equality;* it here means the dark line which the beard, on its first appearance, forms round the face.

(7) This is probably the same person who is called Abû Jaafar Muslim al-Husaini in the life of Ibn Hinzâba.

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## ABU 'L-ABBAS AS-SABTI.

Abû 'l-Abbâs Ahmad Ibn Harûn ar-Rashîd Ibn al-Mahdi Ibn al-Mansûr al-Hâshimi, generally known by the name of as-Sabti, was a devout and holy ascetic. Though he had the means of attaining a high rank in the world, he renounced it while his father was yet alive; he detached his mind from all worldly affairs and made choice of solitude and retirement, though his father was then a powerful khalif. He was surnamed as-Sabti because he gained every Sunday (*Sabt*), by the labour of his hands, a sum sufficient for his weekly expenses, and during the rest of the time he was exclusively occupied with the practice of devotion: he persevered in this mode of life till he expired, A. H. 184 (A. D. 800), some time before the death of his father. His history is so well known, that it is needless to say more on the subject; besides, he is spoken of by Ibn al-Jawzi in the *Shuzûr al-Okûd* and the *Safwat as-Safwat;* his name is mentioned also in the *Kitâb at-Tawwâbin* (*History of those who renounced the world*), and the *Muntazim* (1).

(1) The *Muntazim* is the title of a great historical work by Ibn al-Jawzi; the *Shuzûr al-Okûd* and the *Safwat as-Safwat* are by the same; the *Kitab at-Tawwâbin* was composed by the shaikh Muwaffik ad-dîn Abû Muhammad Abd Allah the Hanbalite, native of Jerusalem. This author died A. H. 620 (A. D. 1223.)—(*Hajji Khalifa.*)

## IBN AL-ARIF.

Abû 'l-Abbâs Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Mûsa Ibn Atâ Allah as-Sunhâji (*belonging to the tribe of Sunhâj*) al-Mari (*native of Almeria*) in Spain, and surnamed Ibn al-Arîf, was a Sûfi eminent for his sanctity and piety, and illustrious by his spiritual gifts. He is author of the work entitled *al-Majâlis* (*conferences*), and other treaties connected with Sûfite doctrines; he composed also some good verses on the same subject, among them the following:

> They saddled their camels after accomplishing their wishes at Mina (1), and they all disclosed the tormenting passion (*of their souls which longed after Muhammad, the object of their love*). Their caravan journeyed forth, shedding a perfume around; for in that band were holy men (*who diffused an odour of sanctity*). The zephyr which fanned the grave of the selected prophet (*Muhammad*) brought joy to their hearts, as often as they drank intoxication from the recital of his virtues.—O, you who arrive at (*the tomb of*) the Chosen from (*the tribe of*) Modar! you visit (*him*) in body, but we visit (*him*) in soul. We remained (*where we were*), but we had an excuse, for force obliged us; and *he who remains from a good excuse is as he who makes the journey* (2).

His correspondence with the kâdi Iyâd Ibn Mûsa is elegantly written. He had a general knowledge of the sciences, and had studied the different systems of reading the Koran (3); he formed also a collection of those traditions which are related differently, and made a particular study of the channels through which each of them was handed down, and of the points in which they agree. The society of Ibn al-Arîf was much liked by men of holy life and persons who had renounced the world; and an eminent shaikh relates that he saw in his handwriting a notice on Ibn Hazm az-Zâhirî, in which he said: "The tongue of Ibn "Hazm and the sword of Hajjâj Ibn Yûsuf were brothers." His reason for making that remark was, that Ibn Hazm frequently attacked the ancient and modern imams, scarcely sparing a single one (4). Ibn al-Arîf was born A. H. 481 (A. D. 1088), on Sunday morning the 2nd of the first Jumâda, some time after daybreak, and he died at Morocco in 536 (A. D. 1141), on the evening of Thursday, 22nd Safar; he was buried the next day. He had been summoned to that city by the reigning prince, in order to answer some accusation, and it was on his arrival there that he died; crowds flocked to his funeral, and some miraculous signs appeared, indicative of his great holiness; this caused the ruler of Morocco to

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repent of having cited so respectable a man before him. The name of this prince was Ali, and he shall be again spoken of in the life of his father Yûsuf Ibn Tâshifin.—*Al-Mariya* (*Almeria*) is a great city in Spain.

(1) It is in the valley of Mina, near Mekka, that the Moslims terminate the rites of their pilgrimage.

(2) By the Muhammadan law, the pilgrimage is of general obligation; but it is dispensed with in some particular cases, of which this is one.

(3) See note (1), page 152.

(4) A great number of Moslim doctors were put to death by al-Hajjâj.

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## IBN AL-HUTAYA AL-LAKHMI.

Abû 'l-Abbâs Ahmad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Ahmad Ibn Hishâm Ibn al-Hutaya al-Lakhmi (*belonging to the tribe of Lakhm*) al-Fâsi (*native of Fez*), a great and famous saint; and not only full of holiness, but gifted with eminent talents and acquainted with general literature. He was a consummate master of the seven different systems followed in reading the Korân (1), and copied with his own hand numerous works on literary and other subjects: his writing was elegant, and his orthography good; and copies written by him are in high request, for the blessings which they draw down on their owner and for their correctness. He was born at Fez on the eighth hour (*after sunrise*) of Friday, 17th of the latter Jumâda, 478 (A. H. 1085). Having made the pilgrimage to Mecca and visited Syria, he went to Egypt, where he obtained great credit among the people by the holiness of his life. He dwelt outside the city of Old Cairo, at the Mosque of Râshida (2), and would neither receive presents, nor take payment for the lessons he gave in the art of reading the Koran. A great famine happening in Egypt, the principal inhabitants of Old Cairo went to him on foot, and asked him to accept some relief, but he refused; they then decided unanimously that one of their number, al-Fadl Ibn Yahya at-Tawîl (*the tall*), who was a notary (3) and draper of Cairo, should ask his daughter in marriage; the marriage having taken place, the husband asked permission for the mother of his wife to come and live with her, which was granted: their object in this was to lighten Ibn al-Hutaya's family expenses. After this, he dwelt alone and gained his livelihood by copying books. He died at Old Cairo towards the end of Muharram, 560 (De-

cember, A. D. 1164), and was buried in the cemetery called *the lesser karâfa* (4), where his tomb is still visited by the pious; on the night I went to it, I found there a great number of persons. He used to say that the good fortune of islamism had been shrouded in the grave-clothes of Omar Ibn al-Khattâb; meaning that during the lifetime of that khalif, islamism had not ceased to flourish and increase, but that it began, on his death, to fall into trouble and confusion. In the *Kitâb ad-Dual al-Munkatia*(5), in the life of (*al-Hâfiz lidîn Allah*) Abû Maimûn Abd al-Majîd, prince of Egypt, it is stated that, in the year 533, the people remained three months without a kâdi; then Ibn al-Hutaya was chosen in the month of Zu 'l-Kaada, but he would only accept on condition of not judging according to the religious law of the Fatimite dynasty (6); and as this could not be granted, another person was appointed.—*Fâsi* means *native of Faz* (*or Fez*), a great city in Maghrib near Ceuta, which has produced a number of learned men.

(1) As the Koran was originally written without points to mark the vowels or distinguish certain consonants one from the other, it happened that a considerable number of words could be pronounced in different manners; the absence of punctuation and the different manners of separating the verses contributed also to render the meaning of the text uncertain. From these causes, combined with the use of peculiar intonations and accents founded on tradition, arose seven distinct systems of reading the text of the Koran, all of which are considered as legitimate. Those *seven readings*, as the Arabs call them, may be looked on in the light of seven different editions. The best commentators, such as al-Baidâwi and az-Zamakhshari are always attentive to point out the words of doubtful pronunciation and mark how they are read in each system.

(2) M. de Sacy gives an account of this mosque in his life of al-Hâkim Biamr Illah; see *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*, t. I, p. 301.

(3) See *Chrestomathie*, t. I, p. 40.

(4) See page 53, note (12).

(5) The work called *ad-Dual al-Munkatia* (*History of Independent Dynasties*) forms four volumes, according to Hajji Khalifa, and possesses great merit. It was written by the vizir Jamâl ad-dîn Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Abi Mansur Tâhir al-Azdi, who died A. H. 623 (A. D. 1126).

(6) The Fatimites were Shiites, and Ibn al-Hutaya appears, from what he says of Omar, to have been a Sunnite.

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## IBN AR-RIFAI.

Abû 'l-Abbâs Ahmad Ibn Abi 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Abi 'l-Abbâs Ahmad, generally known by the name of Ibn ar-Rifâi, was a holy man and a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi. He descended from an Arabian family and inhabited the Batâih, in a village called Omm Abîda: he was there joined by an immense number of fakîrs, who

placed the greatest faith in his words and became his disciples. The order of dervishes called *the Rifâî*, or the *Batâihi*, had him for founder; his followers perform extraordinary actions, such as eating living serpents and going into burning furnaces, of which they extinguish the fire (1). It is said that in their 81 own country (*the Batâih*), they will ride on lions and do other similar feats; they have fixed periods of general meeting, when innumerable fakirs flock to them, and are then all sustained at their expense. Ar-Rifâi died without issue, but his brother left posterity who have continued to inherit, till this day, the presidency of the order and the government of that country: but it is needless to expatiate on their history, as it is universally known. The shaikh Ahmad Ibn ar-Rifâi, though taken up with his devotional exercises, composed some poetry, from which the following verses are said to be taken:

> When my night is dark, my heart is troubled by the recollection of you; I utter a plaintive cry like that of the ring-dove. Over me are clouds which rain down care and grief, and under me are seas which that grief swells to overflowing. Ask Omm Amr how her captive (*lover*) has passed the night; she frees other captives, but him she leaves in bonds! He does not meet with death, yet in death he would find repose; nor does he meet with pardon, and so obtain his freedom.

Ibn ar-Rifâi persevered till the last in his holy mode of life: he died on Thursday, 22nd of the first Jumâda, 578 (September, A. D. 1182), at Omm Abîda, aged upwards of seventy years.—I found in the handwriting of a member of his family that *Rifâî* means *descended from Rifâa*, who was an Arab by nation.—*Al-Batâih* is the name given to a collection of villages situated in the midst of the waters between Wâsit and Basra: this region is well known in Irak (2).

(1) For an account of the extraordinary performances of these dervishes, see Lane's *Modern Egyptians*.

(2) Al-Batâih (*the low grounds* or *marshes*) is the name of an extensive country at the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris.

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## AHMAD IBN TULUN.

The emir Abû 'l-Abbâs Ahmad Ibn Tûlûn, lord of Egypt, Syria, and the frontier provinces of Asia Minor, was appointed governor of Egypt by the khalif

al-Mutazz Billah (*A. H.* 254, *A. D.* 868), and afterwards took possession of Damascus, Antioch, the whole of Syria and the provinces on its northern frontier, during the time that al-Muwaffik Abû Ahmad Talha, son of al-Mutawakkil (and brother of the khalif al-Motamid, for whom he acted as lieutenant), was engaged in war with the (*insurgent*) chief of the Zanj. Ahmad was a generous prince, just, brave, and pious; an able ruler, an unerring physiognomist; he directed in person all public affairs, repeopled the provinces, and inquired diligently into the condition of his subjects; he liked men of learning, and kept every day an open table for his friends and the public; a monthly sum of one thousand dinars (1) was employed by him in alms, and having been consulted one day by his intendant, on the propriety of giving any thing to a woman who had come to solicit his charity, though she was respectably dressed (2) and had a gold ring on her finger, he returned this answer: "Give to every one who holds out his "hand to you." But with all these qualities, he was too hasty in using the sword, and al-Kudâi relates that he counted the number of those whom Ibn Tûlûn put to death or who died in his prisons, and that they amounted to eighteen thousand persons. He knew the Koran by heart and was gifted with a fine voice; no one read that book more assiduously than he. "In the year 259 (A. D. "872-3), he built the mosque which bears his name, and is situated between "Old and New Cairo." (This additional note is taken from a statement made by al-Farghâni (3) in his History; but al-Kudâi says in his *Khitat* that its construction was commenced in the year 264 and finished in 266: God alone knows which is right!) The building of this edifice cost Ibn Tûlûn one hundred and twenty thousand dinars, according to Ahmad Ibn Yûsuf, who wrote the history of his life (4). Tûlûn, the father of Ahmad, was a slave who had been sent with a number of others, by Nûh Ibn Asad as-Sâmâni, governor 82 of Bokhâra, as a present to the khalif al-Mâmûn in the year 200.—Tûlûn died A. H. 240 (A. D. 854-5); his son Ahmad was born at Samarra, the 23rd Ramadân, A. H. 220 (September, A. D. 835). Some say that he was only Tûlûn's adopted son: he entered Misr on the 21st or 23rd Ramadan, 254 (September, A. D. 868); others say on Monday, 25th of the month; he died of diarrhea (5) in that city, on Sunday eve, the 20th, or, according to al-Farghâni, the 10th of Zû 'l-Kâda, A. H. 270 (May, A. D. 884). I have visited his tomb, which is in an ancient mausoleum, situated near the gate by the castle of Cairo, and on

the road leading to the lesser Karâfa, at the foot of Mount Mukattam.—*Tûlûn* is a Turkish name (6).—*Sâmâni* means *descended from Sâmân*, ancestor of the Samanite kings who ruled Transoxiana and Khorasan.—The city of *Samarra* was built by al-Motasim in the year 220 (A. D. 835); it is situated in the province of Irak above Baghdad. In the lexicon called the *Sahâh*, under the word *rai*, al-Jauhari indicates six different manners of pronouncing (*and writing*) the name of this place, and the above is one of them; but this is not the place for giving all these names; and besides, we have already mentioned them in the life of Ibrahîm Ibn al-Mahdi (7).

(1) Abû 'l-Mahâsin says, *ten thousand.*

(2) Literally: Wearing a veil (*izâr*). See Lane's translation of the *Arabian Nights*, vol. I, page 52.

(3) Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad al-Fargâni is author of a supplement to the Chronicle of At-Tabari.—(*Hajji Khalifa.*)

(4) Ahmad Ibn Yûsuf Ibn ad-Dâia الداية, author of the History of Ahmad Ibn Tûlûn, died, according to Hajji Khalifa, in 334 (A. D. 945-6).

(5) Literally: of looseness in the bowels.

(6) This name is sometimes written *Tailûn* طيلون.

(7) See page 19.

## MOIZZ AD-DAWLAT IBN BUWAIH.

Abû 'l-Husain Ahmad Ibn Abi Shujâ Bûwaih Ibn Fannâkhosrû Ibn Tamâm Ibn Kûhi Ibn Shîrzîl al-Asghar (*the less*) Ibn Shîrkûh Ibn Shîrzîl al-Akbar (*the greater*) Ibn Shirân Shâh Ibn Shirfannah Ibn Shistân Shah Ibn Sasan Farû Ibn Sharûzîl Ibn Sisnâd Ibn Bahrâm Gûr al-Malik (*the king*) Ibn Yazdegird Ibn Hormuz Kermân Shâh Ibn Sâpûr al-Malik Ibn Sâpûr Zi 'l-Aktaf (1); the rest of this genealogical series is known, as it ascends through the Sasanite kings; so there is no necessity for farther details.—Abû 'l-Husain, surnamed Moizz ad-Dawlat (*the exalter of the empire*), was lord of Irak and al-Ahwâz; he had two brothers, whose lives shall be given later, and an uncle called Adad ad-Dawlat, sovereign of Dailam. The name of al-Akta (*the maimed*) was also given to him from his having lost his left hand and some of the fingers of his right under the follow-

ing circumstances: While he was in the prime of life, he followed the party of his brother Imâd ad-Dawlat, and had gone to Kerman by his direction and that of Rukn ad-Dawlat, his other brother. The prince who governed that country, on learning the approach of Moizz ad-Dawlat, retired to Sijistan without offering any resistance, and left him master of the province. A tribe of Kurds was then in possession of some districts in Kerman, and paid an annual tribute to the ruler of that country, on condition that they should not be obliged to do homage (2). When Moizz ad-Dawlat arrived, these people sent him their chief, who obtained from him the promise and firm assurance that he would allow them to act according to their accustomed habits; but Moizz ad-Dawlat having been advised by his secretary to surprise them in a nocturnal expedition and seize on their flocks and their treasures, acted according to this counsel, and marched towards them during the night by a rugged mountain-path; but the Kurds, being aware of his approach, lay in wait for him at a defile, and when he came up with his troops, they attacked him on all sides, killing and making prisoners; a few only escaped, and Moizz ad-Dawlat had his left hand and some fingers of the right struck off, and received so many wounds in the head and body, that he fell stunned among the slain: he got off however with his life, but this adventure is too long to be related here. In the year 334 83 of the Hijra, during the khalifat of al-Mustakfi, Moizz ad-Dawlat set out from al-Ahwaz and entered Baghdad on Saturday, 11th of the first Jumâda, (December, A.D. 945), taking possession of that city without resistance.—Abû 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzi states in his *Shudûr al-Okûd*, that Moizz ad-Dawlat began his life by selling firewood, which he carried about upon his head; then he and his brothers became masters of extensive provinces and their prosperity attained its height. Moizz ad-Dawlat was the youngest of the three; he governed Irak twenty-one years and eleven months, and died at Baghdad on Monday, 17th of the latter Rabî, A.H. 356 (April, A.D. 967); he was interred in his palace, but his body was afterwards transported to a mausoleum built for its reception in the cemetery of the Koraish (*near Baghdad*): he was born in the year 303 (A.D. 915-6). When on the point of death, he granted liberty to his mamlûks, gave the greater part of his property in alms, and corrected many abuses. Abû 'l-Husain Ahmad al-Alawi (*a descendant of the khalif Ali*) relates as follows: "I was one "night in my house, situated on the bank of the Tigris, at the passage called

"*Mashraat al-Kasab*, which leads down to the river; the sky was cloudy, and "there was thunder and lightning, and I heard a voice pronounce these words:

'When thou, O Abû Husain! hadst attained the height of thy desires; when thou 'wast in safety from the strokes of fortune and hadst warded off its vicissitudes—then 'the hand of death was stretched forth towards thee, and thou didst take gold from thy 'treasury (*to fill that hand which seemed to thee to solicit thy generosity*.)

"And it was on that very night that Moizz ad-Dawlat died." He was succeeded by his son Izz ad-Dawlat Bakhtyâr, whose life we shall give. The orthography of the names Bûwaih, Fannâkhosrû and Tamâm is that which we have here indicated, and were we not unwilling to lengthen this notice, we should mark the manner in which the names of his other ancestors should be pronounced; but, as they are here written correctly, those who quote me have only to follow my orthography (3).—We shall notice his brothers Imâd ad-Dawlat Ali and Rokn ad-Dawlat al-Hasan.

(1) The autograph MS. of Abû 'l-Fadâ's Annals, the *Târîkh Guzîda*, and the MSS. of Ibn Khallikân have furnished me with seventeen copies of this genealogy; but they all disagree, either omitting some links of the chain or writing the names differently: the list as here drawn up is probably erroneous, and it may not correspond with that really given by Ibn Khallikân; but this is a matter of trifling importance, as the descent of the Bûwaih family from the Sasanides appears very contestable.

(2) Literally: To tread his carpet.

(3) See note (8), page 46.—Ibn Khallikân could never have suspected the strange alterations made in this very genealogy by the copyists of his work.

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## NASR AD-DAWLAT IBN MARWAN AL-KURDI.

Abû Nasr Ahmad Ibn Marwân Ibn Dûstak al-Kurdi (*the Kurd*) al-Humaidi (*of the tribe of Humaid*), surnamed Nasr-ad-Dawlat (*aid of the empire*), became possessor of Maiyâfârikîn and Diâr Bakr on the death of his brother Abû Saîd Mansûr Ibn Marwân, who was assassinated in the fortress of al-Hattâkh (1), on the night of Wednesday, 5th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 401 (December, A. D. 1010). Nasr ad-Dawlat was a man highly favoured by fortune, and gifted with a lofty spirit; his government was just and his character resolute; the prosperity

to which he attained, and the pleasures in which he indulged are beyond the powers of description. Ibn al-Azrak al-Fâriki (*native of Maiyâfârikin*) says, in his History (*of that city*), that there is no instance of Nasr ad-Dawlat's having exacted money from any person excepting one; he then gives an account of the circumstance, but there is no necessity for repeating it here. He relates also that this prince never missed the hour of morning prayer, notwithstanding his addiction to sensual enjoyments; that he had three hundred and sixty concubines, with each of whom he passed a night every year, and that it was only on the same night of the following year it fell to the turn of the same person to meet him again. This writer relates also that Nasr ad-Dawlat allotted a fixed time every day to the examination of state affairs, to pleasure, and to the society of his family and friends: he left a numerous posterity. The poets of that time went to see him and celebrate his praises, and they immortalised his glory in their poems. It may be remarked, as an example of the good fortune which attended him, that he had for vizirs two persons who had served khalifs in the same capacity; the 84 one was Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Husain, surnamed Ibn al-Magribi, author of the *Diwân* containing poetical writings and prose epistles (2), and of other celebrated works; he had acted as vizir to the khalif of Egypt, and, on leaving him, went to the emir Nasr ad-Dawlat, and was vizir to him twice: the other was Abû Nasr Ibn Jahîr, who, on quitting his service, became vizir at Baghdad. (The lives of these two persons shall be given.) Nasr ad-Dawlat continued in the enjoyment of good fortune and every pleasure till his death, which occurred on the 29th Shawwâl, 453 (November, A. D. 1061): he was interred in the Mosque of al-Muhdatha; or, according to another account, in the castle of as-Sidilli, whence his body was afterwards removed to the vault of the Banû Marwân adjoining the Mosque of al-Muhdatha. He had lived 77 years, fifty-two of which (or by another statement, forty-two) he passed as sovereign. *Maiyâfârikîn* is so well known that it is unnecessary to fix the orthography of its name: *al-Muhdatha* is a *ribât* (3) outside the city of Maiyâfârikin; *as-Sidilli* is the name of a dome situated in the castle (*of the same city*), and built upon three pillars; *Sidilli* is a Persian word signifying *three props* (4).—Nasr ad-Dawlat was succeeded by his son Abû 'l-Kasim Nasr, surnamed Nizâm ad-Dîn.

(1) According to Abû 'l-Fadâ, in his Geography, this place is situated in the province of Diâr Bakr.—The rise of the Banû Marwân and the death of Mansûr, surnamed Mumahhid ad-Dawlat (*regulator of the empire*) are related in the Annals of Abû 'l-Fadâ, vol. 2, page 569.

(2) Such is the meaning of the expression الديوان الشعر والنثر.

(3) The *ribâts* were fortified barracks situated along the frontiers of the Moslim empire. At an early period, there were not less than ten thousand in the province of Transoxiana alone. Travellers, on arriving at a *ribât*, found every accommodation gratis. These establishments were supported by government, and their revenues were increased by the gifts of private individuals, and by wakfs (see page 49, note 7) ) established in their favour by pious Moslims. Military service in a *ribât* was considered as an act of religion.—(For further particulars on the subject, see the extracts from Ibn Haukal, in the Geography of Abû 'l-Fadâ, pages 235 and 487 of the Arabic text.)

(4) In Persian سه دله.

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## AL-MUSTALI.

Abû 'l-Kasim Ahmad, surnamed al-Mustali (*the aspiring*), was son of al-Mustansir Ibn az-Zâhir Ibn al-Hâkim Ibn al-Azîz Ibn al-Moizz Ibn al-Mansûr Ibn al-Kâim Ibn al-Mahdi Obaid Allah: we shall give the rest of his genealogy and state the nature of the disagreement respecting it when we relate the life of al-Mahdi, in the letter *ain*. Al-Mustali succeeded his father al-Mustansir in the government of Egypt and Syria: during his reign, the power of that dynasty (1) was impaired and its authority weakened, their political influence (2) having ceased in most of the Syrian cities, and the provinces of that country having fallen into the possession of the Turkomans on one hand, and the Franks on the other; (may God frustrate their projects!) This people entered Syria and encamped before Antioch in the month of Zu 'l-Kaada, A.H. 490 (November, A.D. 1097); they obtained possession of it the 16th Rajab, 491 (20th of June, A. D. 1098); in the following year they took Maarrat an-Nomân, and in the month of Shabân of the same year (July, A. D. 1099), they became masters of Jerusalem, after a siege of more than forty days. This city was taken on a Friday morning; during the ensuing week, a great multitude of Moslims perished, and upwards of seventy thousand were slain in the Masjid al-Aksa (or Mosque of Omar). An immense quantity of gold and silver vases were taken from the Sakhra (3) (*by the invaders*). The fall of this city caused an extreme commotion throughout all the land of Islamism. We shall again touch on this circumstance

in the life of al-Afdal Shâhânshâh (see in the letter *shîn.*) This al-Afdal, surnamed (*like his father* (4) ) Amîr al-Juyûsh (*commander of the troops*) had taken Jerusalem from Sokmân Ibn Ortuk (5) on Friday, 25th Ramadân, A. H. 491, or (as it is stated by some) in the month of Shabân, 489; he then appointed a governor to rule it in his name, but this person, being unable to resist the Franks, yielded the city up to them: had it been in the possession of the Ortuk family, it would have been better for the Moslim people! During the administration of al-Afdal, the Franks became masters of many towns on the Syrian coast; they took Caifa (6) in the month of Shawwâl, A. H. 493, and Kaisâriya (*Cæsaria*) in 494. Al-Mustali did not possess the least authority during the vizirat of al-Afdal. It was in his reign that Nizâr, his elder brother, fled to Alexandria: this Nizâr was the ancestor of the Ismailites, possessors of al-Alamût and other castles: his adventures are well known, but too long to be related 85 here (7). Al-Mustali was born at Cairo on the 20th of Muharram, A. H. 469 (August, A. D. 1076); he was proclaimed khalif in the year 487 (A.D. 1094), on the festival of Ghadîr Khumm (8), which is celebrated on the 18th of Zû 'l-Hijja; and he died at Misr on the 16th Safar, 495 (December, A. D. 1101).

(1) Ibn Khallikân means here the *Fatimite* dynasty; but as he does not admit their descent from Fâtima, daughter of Muhammad, he refuses them that title.

(2) *Their political influence*, or more exactly, *their mission*. See note (9), page 26, and M. de Sacy's *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*, tom. I.

(3) *As-Sakhra (the stone)*; the chapel situated near the mosque founded at Jerusalem by Omar on the site of the ancient temple, is so called from its being built over what the Moslims suppose to be the *identical stone* which served the patriarch Jacob as a pillow, when he had the vision of the Ladder.

(4) "He bore the same titles as his father:" نعت بنعوت أبيه. (*An-Nuwairi*, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 702 A.)

(5) Jerusalem then belonged to Taj ad-Dawlat Tutush as-Saljûki, who had granted it in fee أقطعه to the emir Sokman. Al-Afdal empowered Iftikhâr ad-Dawlat to govern the city, as lieutenant to al-Mustali. —(*An-Nuwairi.*)

(6) *Caifa* is the European pronunciation of the name; in Arabic it is written and pronounced *Haifa*.

(7) An-Nuwairi gives the history of Nizâr in these terms:

"Al-Mustali was proclaimed khalif on Thursday morning, 18th of Zu 'l-Hijja, A.H. 487: it was al-Afdal Amîr al-Juyûsh who brought this about; for, on the death of al-Mustansir Billah, he entered the Castle (*of Cairo*) in all haste and seated him (al-Mustali) on the throne of the empire, and sent to his brothers Nizâr, Abd Allah, and Ismail, to inform them of their father's death and desiring them to come quickly. On arriving, they saw their youngest brother seated on the throne of the khalifat, at which they were filled with indignation, when al-Afdal said to them: "Go forward and kiss the earth in the presence of God and of our lord

al-Mustali Billah! Do him homage, for it is he whom the imâm al-Mustansir Billah hath positively declared as his successor to the khalifat." To this Nizâr answered: "I would rather be cut to pieces than do homage to one younger than myself, and moreover I possess a document in the handwriting of my father, by which he names me his successor, and I shall go and bring it." He then withdrew in haste to get the paper, and went to Alexandria: al-Afdal sent after him to bring him back, but no one knew whither he was gone or how he went. So al-Afdal was in great trouble. Some relate however, that when al-Mustansir Billah died, his son Nizâr, who was the *Wali 'l-Ahd* (or khalif elect), took his seat on the throne and desired homage to be done to himself; but al-Afdal refused (*to permit this*), through dislike to Nizâr, and he had a meeting with a number of emirs and men of rank, to whom he said, that Nizâr was come to the age of manhood, and they could not hope to escape his severity; so the best thing to be done was to do homage to his youngest brother Abû 'l-Kasim Ahmad. This plan was approved of by all except Mahmud (*Muhammad?*) Ibn Massâl مصال al-Maliki, who had received from Nizâr the promise of being named vizir and general-in-chief in place of al-Afdal; in consequence, he informed Nizâr of what was doing; but al-Afdal hastened to proclaim Ahmad khalif under the name of al-Mustali Billah, and having placed him on the throne of the empire, he himself sat down in the vizir's seat, and having introduced the imâm Ali Ibn al-Kahhâl, chief kâdi of Misr, with the *shuhûd* (*legal witnesses*), he caused all the leading men of the empire to take the oath of allegiance to al-Mustali: he then went to Ismail and Abd Allah, who were under arrest in the mosque at the Castle, and informed them that the oath of allegiance had been taken to the lord al-Mustali, and that he had sent his salutations to them, and given them the choice of swearing allegiance to him or not; to which they replied that they acknowledged his authority, since God had preferred him to themselves. They therefore took the oath, and a certificate to that effect having been drawn up, was read in the presence of the emirs by the sharîf Sanâ al-Mulk Muhammad Ibn Muhammad al-Husaini, who was a writer in the Chancery Office (*see note* (4), *page* 33). Nizâr and his brother Abd Allah then fled to Alexandria with Mahmûd Ibn Massâl; the governor of that city was Nâsir ad-Dawlat Iftikîn at-Turki (*the Turk*), one of the the Mamluks of Amîr al-Juyûsh (*whose life will be found in Ibn Khallikân's work*): having been informed by them of the circumstances, and obtaining the promise of the vizirat for himself, he took the oath of allegiance to him (Nizâr), and the people of the city did the same; Nizâr then received the surname of al-Mustafa li-dîn illah (*the chosen for God's religion*). Then, in the month of Muharram, A. H. 488, al-Afdal went forth with troops to attack Nizâr, Iftikîn, and Ibn Massâl, who met him as he approached Alexandria, and after a smart contest, put him and his men to flight. He then returned to Misr, and Nizâr, assisted by a party of (*Bedwin*) Arabs, laid waste most of the country to the north of Misr. Al-Afdal marched again to Alexandria, and continued to besiege it till the month of Zû 'l-Kaada. When this unfavourable state of affairs was at its height, Ibn al-Massâl had a dream, on which he consulted a foreign (*astrologer*) the next morning: "Methought," said he, "I was on horseback, and al-Afdal walking in my train;" on which the foreigner remarked, that he who walked on the earth was to possess it. On hearing this, Ibn Massâl collected his wealth and fled to Lokk لكّ, a village near Barka, and from that time the power of Nizâr and Iftikîn declined, and they were obliged to ask al-Afdal to spare their lives. On his making a promise to that effect, the gates of Alexandria were opened to al-Afdal, who entered it, and having seized on Nizâr and Iftikîn, he sent them to Misr, and Nizâr was never seen after: it is even said that al-Afdal had him shut up between two walls till he died. Nizâr was born on the 10th of the first Rabî, A. H. 437. As for Iftikîn, it was afterwards declared to the public that he had been put to death. Ibn al-Massâl received a letter from al-Afdal, inviting him to return to Misr, which he did, and was honourably received by him." (AN-NUWAIRI, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 702 A.)

Compare this passage with the extract of Mirkhond given by M. de Sacy in his *Mémoire sur les Assassins*. Ibn Khallikân says that Nizâr was the ancestor or *grandfather* of the Ismailites, or *masters of the mission;*

this is also accounted for by Mirkhond (see the same *Mémoire*), who states that a chief of the Ismailite dynasty, called Hasan, son of Muhammad Ibn Buzurk-Umîd pretended to be descended from Nizâr, son of al-Mustansir.

M. de Sacy's *Mémoire sur les Assassins* and *Exposé de l'Histoire des Druzes* furnish every information respecting the Ismailites. These two works cannot be too highly praised.

(8) The only Moslim sect which celebrates the festival of Ghadîr Khumm (*the pond of Khumm*), is that of the Shiites. They relate that Ali and Muhammad being at a place of this name, lying half way between Mekka and Medina, the prophet, by a solemn declaration, appointed Ali his successor. (See De Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, t. I, p. 193.—Abû 'l-Fadâ, in his Geography, Arabic text, p. 84, fixes the pronunciation of the word *Khomm*.)

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## IBN AL-MASHTUB.

Abû 'l-Abbâs Ahmad, son of the emir Saif ad-dîn Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Ahmad Ibn Abi 'l-Haijâ Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Abi 'l-Halîl Ibn Marzubân al-Hakkâri, surnamed Imâd ad-dîn (*support of religion*), was generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Mashtûb (*son of the scarred*); his father being called al-Mashtûb from having a scar on his face. Ibn al-Mashtûb was a powerful emir, greatly respected by (*contemporary*) princes, and considered as their equal (1); he was a high-minded man, extremely generous and noble in his conduct, brave, and possessing a lofty spirit, so that those princes stood in awe of him. His enterprises against them are so well known that it is not necessary to give a relation of them here (2). He was an emir of the empire founded by Salâh ad-dîn, who had conceded to him the revenue of Naplûs, after allotting one third of it to the support of Jerusalem; this happened on the death of Mashtûb, who held Naplûs in fief. Abû 'l-Haijâ, his grandfather, was lord of al-Imâdiya (*Amadia*) and a number of (*other*) castles in the country of the Hakkârs (3). Ibn al-Mashtûb continued in high power and honour till the year in which the Franks arrived at Damietta (4); when he acted in the manner which is publicly known, and which I shall give an account of in the life of al-Malik al-Kâmil (5). He then quitted Egypt, and was reduced to such a strait, that in the month of the second Rabî, he was besieged in the castle of Tall Yafûr (6), situated between Musûl and Sinjâr: the history of this circumstance is well known (7). Then the emir Badr ad-dîn Lûlû, Atabek and lord of Musûl, entered into correspondence with him, and having succeeded in allaying

his apprehensions by deceitful promises, prevailed on him to surrender, and swore to observe the conditions which he had offered. In consequence of this, Ibn al-Mashtûb went to Mosûl, but was not there long when Badr ad-dîn arrested him; this was in the year 617 (A. D. 1220); he then sent him to al-Malik al-Ashraf Muzaffar ad-dîn, hoping to gain his favour by this action, as, in the last case, it was against him that Ibn al-Mashtûb had revolted. Al-Malik al-Ashraf sent his prisoner to the castle of Harrân, where he was put into close confinement in a narrow dungeon, and chained with heavy fetters and handcuffs: it is reported that (*in this wretched state*) his beard and clothes swarmed with vermin; so I was told when a boy, and he yet alive. I have been informed that a person who had been in the service of Ibn Mashtûb, wrote in his behalf the following distich and sent it to al-Malik al-Ashraf:

> O thou, whom the revolving spheres favour with continued happiness! thou art not a king (*malik*), but an angel (*malak*). Thy mamlûk Ibn al-Mashtûb is dying in prison; set him free, for thou alone canst do it, or God.

Ibn al-Mashtûb continued in bondage till his death, which took place in the month of the second Rabî, A. H. 619 (April, A. D. 1222). His daughter built him a mausoleum at the gate of Râs Aîn, to which city his corpse was transported from Harrân, and there buried: this tomb I have myself seen.—During his confinement, the following distich was addressed to him by a literary man:

> O Ahmad! thou hast never ceased to be Imâd ad-dîn (*the support of religion*). O bravest of those who ever wielded lance! Despair not! though thou liest in their prison; (*the patriarch*) Joseph remained in prison for years.

This thought is taken from the following verses, which form part of a poem 86 composed by al-Bohtori:

> Is not the example of God's prophet, Joseph, a sufficient consolation for him who, like thee, is imprisoned on an unjust and false accusation? He long remained in bondage with patient resignation, and patient resignation made him master of an empire.

The emir Imâd ad-dîn was born about the year 575 (A. D. 1179); and I read in a letter written by al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil, that al-Mashtûb wrote to Salâh ad-dîn, informing him of the birth of this son, and that another of his wives was pregnant. The answer to this letter was drawn up by al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil, who wrote as follows: "The Emir's letter, announcing two children, has been received; up to

"the present moment circumstances have been aided by divine favour, and as "for the (*child*) which cometh, may God write that it speed its way in safety! "We are rejoiced by the star which hath risen from behind its veil; and we "hope for joy from the fruit still remaining in the bud (8)." As for Saif ad-dîn al-Mashtûb, father of Imâd ad-dîn, he and Bahâ ad-dîn Karâkûsh (whose life shall be given later) were stationed in Acre by Salâh ad-dîn, when the enterprises of the Franks excited his apprehensions for the safety of that city. Al-Mashtûb remained there till the Franks laid siege to it and took it. Having escaped (9), he joined Salâh ad-dîn at Jerusalem, on Thursday, 1st of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 588. Ibn Shaddâd says (*in his history* (10)): "The sultan "was with his brother al-Malik al-Aadil, when al-Mashtûb entered unexpect- "edly; he rose up and embraced him with extreme joy, and, having caused "the others to withdraw, he continued in conversation with him for a long "period." Al-Mashtûb died at Naplûs on Thursday, 26th Shawwâl, A.H. 588 (November, A. D. 1192); such is the date given by Imâd ad-dîn al-Ispahâni in his work entitled *al-Bark as-Shâmi;* but Ibn Shaddâd says, in his history of Salâh ad-dîn, that his death took place at Jerusalem, on Sunday, 23rd Shawwâl of that year (11). He was interred in (*the court of*) his house, after funeral prayers had been said over him in the Great Mosque (*al-Masjid al-Aksa*). None of Salâh ad-dîn's emirs were on an equality with him, nor even approached him, in rank and influence. They used to call him the grand emir, this being the title by which he was known, and which was borne by no other. I found the following note in the handwriting of al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil: "News has been received of "the death of Saif ad-din al-Mashtûb, emir and prince of the Kurds; he died "on Sunday, 22nd Shawwâl of this year, at Jerusalem. His pay (12), which "was furnished out of the revenues of Naplûs and other places, amounted to "three hundred thousand dinârs (13) at the epoch of his death: less than one "hundred days elapsed between his escape from captivity and the term of his "existence. Glory to Him who liveth and dieth not; who overthroweth the "edifices of man! Time is a judge exempt from blame!" I may observe that the expression, *who overthroweth the edifices of man*, is analogous to one which occurs in a verse given in the *Hamâsa* (14):

> The death of Kais is not the death of a single man; it is the edifice of a people which has been overthrown.

This verse forms part of an elegy composed by Abda Ibn at-Tabîb on the death of Kais Ibn Aâsim at-Tamîmi; the same who came from the desert to the blessed prophet with the embassy of the Banû Tamîm, in the ninth year of the Hijra, when he became a Moslim. The prophet then said of him: "This is the chief of "those who dwell in tents (15)." He was a man of intelligence, and celebrated for his prudence and authority (*among the tribes*). The manner of parsing the 87 preceding verse is a subject of discussion for the learned in the Arabic language, but this is not the proper place for entering into that subject (16). Abû Tammâm gives this verse along with two others in his (*Hamâsa*,) chapter of elegies; they run thus:

> On thee be the blessing of God, O Kais, son of Aâsim! On thee may his mercy alight, as long as he may deign to show mercy! Such is the salutation of one who is the target of adversity; of one who, coming from afar to visit thy country, salutes thee still. The death of Kais is not the death of a single man; it is the edifice of a people which has been overthrown.

Kais Ibn Aâsim was the first person who, anterior to the introduction of islamism, buried alive his female children; (*he was induced to do so*) through jealousy (*for their honour*), and because pride would not allow him to give them in marriage (17). This (*inhuman practice*) was followed by the rest of the nation, till abolished by the Moslim religion. The emir Badr ad-dîn Lûlû died on Friday, 3rd Shâbân, A. H. 657 (July, A. D. 1259), in the citadel of Musul, and was buried there in a chapel; he was then about eighty years of age.

(1) Syria was at that time in the hands of many feudatory and nearly independent princes.

(2) For the indication of the principal events of his life, I shall refer the reader to M. Hamaker's work, entitled: *Expeditionum a Græcis Francisque adversus Dimyatham narratio*, pp. 95 and 99, in the notes.

(3) The Turkoman tribe of Hakkâr possessed the country to the north-east of Mosul.

(4) Literally: *The year of Damietta*, which was the 615th of the Hijra (A. D. 1218).

(5) Ibn al-Mashtûb wished to depose al-Malik al-Kâmil, sultan of Egypt, and place a brother of that prince, al-Malik al-Fâiz, on the throne.—(See the Annals of Abû 'l-Fadâ.)

(6) The name of this castle is also written *Tall Yafar*, يعفر, *Tall Aâfar*, اعفر, and *at-Tall al-Aâfar*. It lies between Mosul and Sinjar; is built on an isolated hill, and possesses a spring of unwholesome water. (*Marâsid at-Ittilâ*.)

(7) See Abû 'l-Fadâ's Annals, year 617.

(8) Literally: *In its spathe*; a metaphor taken from the date-tree.

(9) Al-Mashtûb and the troops which defended Acre had been made prisoners of war; Richard Cœur-de-Lion caused the garrison to be put to death, but spared some of the chiefs in expectation of obtaining from them a rich ransom.

**(10) This is the history of Salâh ad-dîn published by Schultens, in Arabic and Latin, under the title of *Saladini Vita et res Gestæ:* the passage cited here is to be found page 223.**

**(11) See *Saladini Vita et res Gestæ*, page 268.**

**(12) Literally: *His bread.* The meaning of this word is perfectly certain, M. de Sacy has noticed it in the *Mémoires de l'Institut*, tom. 7, pp. 79, 104.**

(13) The Aiyubite dinar would now have an intrinsic value of from 13 to 14 shillings sterling.

(14) See Freytag's Hamâsa, page 367.

(15) Literally: *Of the camels'-hair people.* The Bedwins still cover their tents with a sort of black cloth made of camels' hair.

(16) At-Tabrîzi, in his commentary on the Hamâsa, notices this point of discussion; it is simply this: the word هالكى (*death*), is it in the nominative or accusative case?

(17) "Caïs fils d'Acem issu de Mancar issu de Sa'd fils de Zeidmenat fils de Temim, poète et guerrier illustre, vécut du temps de l'idolatrie et de l'islamisme. Il était un de ceux qui enterraient leurs filles vivantes. Il se fit musulman, et survécut à Mahomet. Son prénom était Abou Ali. Mouchamradj المشمرج, de la tribu de Yechkor, dans une incursion contre les banou Sa'd, enleva une femme nommée Ramim رميم بنت احمد, qui était nièce, par sa mère, de Caïs ben Acem. Celui-ci alla la redemander à Mouchamradj en lui proposant une rançon. Mouchamradj dit à Ramim de choisir si elle voulait rester auprès de lui ou retourner dans sa famille. Elle préféra rester. Caïs, indigné contre les femmes, revint à sa tribu, et en arrivant il enterra vivantes ses filles, et s'imposa la loi de traiter de même toute fille qu'il aurait à l'avenir. Les Arabes imitèrent cet exemple; les principaux et les plus nobles d'entre eux enterraient leurs filles, de peur qu'elles ne fussent faites prisonnières et que leurs familles ne furent deshonorées à cause d'elles."—*Aghani*, t. III, pp. 235-6.—Une autre version de ce fait se trouve dans Meïdâni, au proverbe اصل بن مودة.

"Caïs fils d'Acem a pu propager par son exemple et rendre plus commun parmi les Arabes l'usage d'enterrer les filles vivantes, mais cet usage existait déjà avant lui, ou du moins on *tuait* d'une manière quelconque des filles au moment de leur naissance. Car on lit dans la vie du poète Amrou fils de Colthoum (Aghâni, II. 361), que Mohalhil, frère de Colaïb, ordonna à sa femme Hind, lorsqu'elle accoucha de Leïla, de *tuer* cette fille. Hind, au lieu d'exécuter cet ordre, cacha Léïla, qui depuis fut mère d'Amrou ben Colthoum. Mohalhil est antérieur de 40 ou 50 ans à Caïs ben Acem. Après avoir embrassé l'islamisme, Caïs entrant un jour chez Mahomet le trouva tenant entre ses bras une petite fille qu'il baisait. Il lui dit: Qu'est-ce que cette petite brebis que tu flaires?—C'est ma fille, répondit Mahomet.—Par Dieu! poursuivit Caïs, j'en ai eu beaucoup comme cela, et je les ai toutes enterrées, sans en flairer aucune.—Il faut que Dieu, répliqua Mahomet, ait privé ton cœur de tout sentiment d'humanité." (Aghâni, III. 236.)

"Caïs renia l'islamisme après la mort de Mahomet, et crut à la prophétesse Sedjâh et à Mossaïlama. Khalid fils de Wâlid, dans son expédition du Yemâma, où Mossaïlama fut tué, fit prisonnier Caïs ben Acem, qui n'échappa à la mort qu'en jurant qu'il n'était venu auprès de Mossaïlama que pour lui redemander un de ses fils qu'il lui avait enlevé." (Aghâni, III. 239.)

"Abda, ou Obda fils d'Attabîb, dont le véritable nom était Yezid fils d'Amrou issu d'*Abd Taïm* (désignation qui s'appliquait aux banou Témim parce qu'ils adoraient une idole nommé *Taïm* تيم), poète du temps de l'ignorance et de l'islamisme. Il était dans l'armée de Noman ben Moucrin النعمان بن مقرن, qui combattit les Persans à Medaïn. Asmaï disait que le plus beau vers élégiaque أرثى بيت qu'il connaît, était celui qui faisait partie de l'élégie d'Obda sur la mort de Caïs ben Acem."

For this note, I am indebted to the kindness of M. Caussin de Perceval.

## SALAH AD-DIN AL-IRBILI.

Abû 'l-Abbâs Ahmad Ibn Abd as-Sayid Ibn Shâbân Ibn Muhammad Ibn Jâbir Ibn Kahtân al-Irbili (*native of Arbela*), surnamed Salâh ad-dîn (*welfare of religion*), belonged to a great family of Arbela, and was *hâjib* (1) to Muzaffar ad-dîn Ibn Zain ad-dîn, lord of that city. Having incurred the displeasure of his master, he was imprisoned for some time; and on his liberation, in the year 603 (A. D. 1206-7), he left Arbela and proceeded to Syria in company with al-Malik al-Kâhir Bahâ ad-dîn Aiyûb, son of al-Malik al-Aâdil. He then entered into the service of al-Malik al-Mughith, (*another*) son of al-Malik al-Aâdil, who had known him at Arbela, and now treated him with great kindness. On the death of Mughîth, Salâh ad-dîn passed into Egypt and was attached to the service of al-Malik al-Kâmil; the esteem in which he was held by this prince became so great, that he entered into higher favour with him than any other had hitherto been able to effect; he was specially chosen as the companion of his private moments, and raised to the rank of emir. Salâh ad-dîn was a man of superior merit and possessed considerable information in different sciences; I have been informed that he knew by heart (*Abû Hâmid*) al-Ghazzâli's treatise on jurisprudence, entitled *Al-Kholâsa;* he wrote also some good poetry and composed elegant distichs, by which talent he gained the favour of these princes. In the month of Muharram, 618 (March, A. D. 1221), when al-Malik al-Kâmil was at al-Mansûra to oppose the progress of the Franks, his favourable dispositions towards Salâh ad-dîn were altered, and having caused him to be arrested, he sent him to the castle of Cairo, where he remained in close confinement till the month of the second Rabî, 623; having then composed a distich and taught it to a musician, by whom it was sung in the presence of al-Malik al-Kâmil, the prince found it so beautiful, that he asked who was the author; and on learning that it was written by Salâh ad-dîn, he ordered him to be set at liberty. The distich is as follows:

> Thy wanton cruelty towards him who loves thee cannot remain hidden; thou hast caused my life to pass away in sorrow and in suffering. Thy anger is not proportioned to my fault; thou hast been too severe, and thy sole intention was to cause my death.

Some state however that the distich which was the cause of his liberation ran thus:

> Do as thou wilt; thou, thou art my beloved! I have not committed a fault, but, as thou hast said, many faults. Wilt thou ever grant that we pass our nights together, so shall my heart be freed from its rust; thou shalt pardon and I return (*to my love*).

On coming out of confinement, he got into higher favour than before.—Al-88 Malik al-Kâmil, having been displeased at one of his brothers, whose name was al-Malik al-Fâiz Sâbik ad-dîn Ibrahîm, the latter went to Salâh ad-din and asked him to effect a reconciliation; Salâh in consequence wrote these lines to al-Kâmil:

> It is an essential rule for him who is lord of Egypt, that he imitate Joseph in kindness towards his brethren. They acted wrongly, and he met them with pardon; when they departed, he was bounteous towards them, and restored them his affection.

When the emperor (*Frederic the Second*,) lord of Sicily, landed in Syria, A. H. 626 (A. D. 1229) (2), al-Malik al-Kâmil sent him Salâh ad-dîn as his ambassador; and the articles of a treaty having been adopted and confirmed by the oath of the emperor, Salâh wrote the following lines to al-Kâmil:

> The emperor has taken an engagement and given his word that we shall have a lasting peace. He was obliged to confirm it by oath, and if he attempt to break it, may he devour the flesh of his left hand (3).

The following verses are by the same:

> When you look on your children, know that when they came to you, they were merely forerunners of death (4). Children arrive to the stations of their fathers, and the fathers make preparations for departure.

One of my friends recited me these verses, and attributed them to the same author:

> The day of resurrection shall be full of terrors, as you have been told; be therefore in dread of it. Let it suffice you to know that you cannot conceive its terrors, till you taste of death in your (*earthly*) journey.

The poet Ibn Onain wrote a letter from Damascus to Salâh ad-din in Egypt; (I have been informed by my master Afîf ad-dîn Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Adlan the grammarian and interpreter, native of Mosul, that this letter was in the hand-

writing of Ibn Onain himself and contained his dying injunctions); it began thus:

> I reveal to you the treatment which I received from Fortune, whose vicissitudes have already cut my wings; how can a sick man, who is oppressed by afflictions, recover, as long as he does not see the face of health (or *the face of Salâh ad-dîn*)?

The poetical pieces of Salâh ad-dîn and his distichs have been collected into separate volumes.—He continued in the enjoyment of high dignity and honour under al-Malik al-Kâmil and the other princes (*of the family*); but having accompanied al-Kâmil in an official capacity on his expedition to Asia Minor, he fell sick at the army, near the town of Suwaidâ (5), and was therefore transported to ar-Roha (*Edessa*), but died before his arrival; this took place on Saturday the 20th, or on the 25th of Zû 'l-Hijja, 631 (September, A. D. 1234); he was buried without the walls of Edessa, in the cemetery at the Harrân Gate. His son had his body removed later to Egypt and interred in a mausoleum at the lesser Karâfa; this was towards the end of the month of Shâbân, A. H. 637 (March, A. D. 1240); I was then at Cairo.—Salâh ad-dîn was about sixty years old when he died. Since (*writing the above*), I discovered the date of his birth; it took place in the month of the second Rabî, 572 (October, A. D. 1176), at Arbela.—*Irbil* (*Arbela*) is a large city near Mosul, and lying to the east of it. 89

(1) See *Bibliothèque Orientale*, Hageb.

(2) See Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, chap. LIX, and M. Reinaud's *Extraits des Historiens arabes relatifs aux Croisades*, page 428; a very correct and useful work.

(3) This silly stuff could only be tolerated in the original language, as its quibbles and double meanings are lost in the translation. The first verse may signify: *The vaunting emperor has pretended*, etc., or, *The emperor prince has said*. The second verse signifies literally: *He has* drunk *the oath* (or drunk *his right hand*), *and if he attempt to break it, may he eat the flesh of his left* (through disappointment and rage). The expression *to drink an oath* has its equivalent in English, and might be rendered by *to swallow an oath*, that is, to take it by compulsion. A verse of the Koran, the 87th of the second Surat, has given rise to this expression; it is there said that *they* (the children of Israel) *were made to drink down the calf into their hearts*: an allusion to Exodus, xxxii. 20. See also al-Hariri, page 99.

(4) That is: Children and death come to man, but children arrive first, having outrun, or *cut the way* of death; as the original expresses it.

(5) Suwaida is situated at the mouth of the Orontes.

## AZIZ AD-DIN AL-MASTAWFI.

**Abû Nasr Ahmad Ibn Hâmid Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Ali Ibn** Mahmûd Ibn Hibat Allah Ibn Aluh al-Ispahâni, surnamed Aziz ad-din (*great in religion*), al-Mastawfi (1), was uncle to Imâd ad-din al-Ispahâni, whose life shall be given in this work. Aziz ad-dîn filled several elevated and influential situations at the court of the Seljûk princes, and was always in high favour: the needy flocked to him for assistance, and poets came to praise him and were richly recompensed. The celebrated poet Abû Muhammad al-Hasan Ibn Ahmad Ibn Jakîna of Baghdad, makes the following allusion to him in one of his *kasîdas* (2):

> Let us then rein our camels towards Irak, and a rich meed shall be measured to us from the wealth of al-Azîz.

His praises were celebrated also by the kâdi Abû Bakr al-Arrajâni, whose life has been already given; among other eulogiums on him, he composed the long *kasída* from which are extracted the verses there mentioned, and which rhyme in *B* (3). His nephew Imâd ad-dîn often expressed his pride in possessing such an uncle, and he makes frequent mention of him in his works. Towards the end of his life, Azîz ad-din was treasurer to Mahmûd Ibn Muhammad Ibn Malekshah Ibn Alp Arslân as-Saljûki; this Sultan had married the daughter of his uncle, the sultan Sinjâr Ibn Malakshah; on her death, his uncle required him to deliver up the marriage gift which she had received from her family, consisting of a variety of precious and rare articles, such as were not to be found even in the treasuries of kings: Mahmûd refused acceding to this demand, and being apprehensive that Azîz ad-dîn would give his testimony respecting the property she had brought with her (and which was well known to him in his capacity of treasurer), he caused him to be arrested and sent him to be confined in the castle of Takrit, which was at that time one of his possessions (4). He afterwards put him to death, towards the beginning of the year 525 (A. D. 1130-1). His nephew Imâd ad-dîn states in the *Kharída*, that he was born at Ispahan, A. H. 472 (A. D. 1079-80), and was put to death at Takrît in 526 (A. D. 1131); it was at Bagh-

dad that he was arrested. The same writer says that when his uncle was slain, the emirs Najm ad-dîn Aiyûb, father of the sultan Salâh ad-dîn, and his brother Asad ad-dîn Shîrkûh were both in the castle, of which they were then governors; and that they endeavoured to save Azîz ad-dîn, but without success. —*Alûh* is a Persian word, the Arabic equivalent of which is *Okâb* (*eagle*).—*Ispahâni* has been already explained (5).

(1) At the court of Arbela, under the government of Zain ad-dîn and his son Abû 'l-Muzaffar Kûkubûri the Mastawfi, or secretary of state, took rank immediately after the vizir.

(2) It appears from this, and from a passage in the life of al-Harîri, that Ibn Jakîna was living at the close of the fifth century of the Hijra. Imâd ad-dîn al-Ispahâni gives some specimens of his poetry in the *Kharîda*, and praises the author most highly, but does not furnish the least information respecting him. (See *Kharîda*, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, ancien fonds, No. 1447, fol. 30 verso).

(3) See page 135. The extract commences thus: I never roamed through distant regions, etc.

(4) The principal cities of Syria, Mesopotamia and the neighbouring states, were at that time held as fiefs by a great number of nearly independent emirs, who were almost always embroiled in war with each other; so that many of these cities, and Takrît among the rest, were frequently changing masters.

(5) See page 74.

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## ORTUK IBN AKSAB.

Ortuk Ibn Aksab, ancestor of the Ortukide princes, was a Turkomân who had got possession of Hulwân and al-Jabal (*Persian Irak*); he afterwards went to Syria, having left the service of Fakhr ad-Dawlat Abû Nasr Muhammad Ibn Jahîr, through fear of the sultan Malakshah (1); this was in the year 478 or 479 (2). He then governed Jerusalem in the name of Tutush (3), a prince of the Seljûk family, whose life shall be given. Ortuk having died there in the year which we shall mention further on, his two sons, Sokmân and Il-Ghâzi, became governors of the city, and continued in the exercise of power till the month of Shawwâl, 491 (September, A. D. 1098); when al-Afdal Shâhanshâh Amîr al-Juyûsh marched from Egypt with an army and took Jerusalem from these two princes. They then retired to Mesopotamia and obtained the government of Diâr Bakr, and the present lord of the castle of Mâridîn is one of their descendants. In the year 501, Najm ad-dîn Il Ghâzi became lord of Mari- 90

dîn; the sultan Muhammad had before that appointed him as his resident agent (4) at Baghdad. Ortuk's other son, Sokmân, died of a quinzy in the year 498 (*towards the end of* A. D. 1104), at a place between Tripoli and Jerusalem (5). Ortuk possessed a penetrating mind; he was a man of resolution and activity, and was highly fortunate in all his enterprises: died A. H. 484 (A. D. 1091).—The word Aksab is sometimes written Aksak.

(1) The printed text, in conformity with the MSS., names this sultan Muhammad son of Malakshah. This extraordinary mistake I have suffered to remain, the duty of an editor being to respect even the errors of his author.

(2) Such is the correct date; it is singular that Ibn Khallikân should assign this event to the year 448 or 449, which incredible error I have allowed to subsist in the Arabic text through respect for the unanimity of my manuscripts. Ibn al-Athîr places this event in the year 479. It was in A.H. 477, that Fakhr ad-Dawlat, general of Malakshah, having under his orders Ortuk Ibn Aksab, marched against Sharaf ad-Dawlat Muslim Ibn Koraish, and besieged him in Amid. Sharaf ad-Dawlat escaped however from the city, having bribed Ortuk to let him pass. It was therefore for a good reason that Ortuk apprehended the anger of Malakshah, and fled to Syria.

(3) In the Annals of Abû 'l-Fadâ, Reiske writes this name Tanush, but Ibn Khallikân gives its true pronunciation.

(4) *Resident agent* شحنة, which is a Persian word; the charge itself was called شحنكية. When the Seljûk dynasty flourished, the khalifs of Baghdad exercised only a spiritual authority over the provinces of the Moslim empire; even in that city, which was under their immediate government, they were frequently obliged to submit to the influence of the sultan, who usually resided at Ispahan or Hamadan. Those princes kept a resident agent at the court of Baghdad, and were thus enabled to controul the khalifs in the very seat of their dominion. When the Moguls overrun Persia, Mesopotamia, and Syria, they abstained from placing garrisons in the cities which had surrendered, being averse to enfeebling the active force of their army: they merely left resident agents in the places which had acknowledged their authority, after making all the inhabitants responsible for their safety. (See Abû 'l-Fada's Anuals, year 658; see also M. Reinaud's *Extraits d'Auteurs arabes relatives aux Croisades*, page 126.)

(5) Abû 'l-Fadâ says, after Ibn al-Athîr, that he died at Kariatain on his way to Damascus, to which city he was travelling in all haste, that he might defend it against the Franks. This induces me to think that the word الغراة in the printed Arabic text is a fault, though it is so written in the manuscripts; the true reading is probably الغزاة, and the passage will then signify that he died between Tripoli and Jerusalem *as he was journeying to war against the infidels.*

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## AL-BASASIRI.

Abû 'l-Hârith Arslân Ibn Abd Allah al-Basâsîri at-Turki (*the Turk*), general of the Turkish troops at Baghdad (1), is said to have been a mamluk belonging to

Bahâ ad-Dawlat Ibn Adad ad-Dawlat Ibn Buwaih. It was he who revolted at Baghdad against the khalif al-Kâim biamr illah, who had placed him at the head of all the Turkish troops, invested him with sovereign authority, and ordered his name to be mentioned in the *khotba* (2) from all the pulpits of Irak and Khûzistan. His power had thus become very great, and all the (*neighbouring*) princes stood in awe of him; but he then revolted against the imâm al-Kâim, and having expelled him from Baghdad, caused the *khotba* to be said in the name of the (*Fâtimite khalif*) al-Mustansir al-Obaidi, lord of Egypt. Al-Kâim then fled for refuge to the emir of the Arabs (3), Muhi ad-din (*reviver of religion*) Abû 'l-Hârith Muhârish Ibn al-Mujalli al-Okaili, lord of al-Hadîtha and Aâna (4), from whom he obtained every thing necessary for his maintenance during an entire year, when Togrulbek the Seljûkide came to his assistance, and having attacked and slain al-Basâsîri, reinstated al-Kâim in Baghdad. The khalif made his entry to that city precisely one year after leaving it, and, by a remarkable coincidence, on the anniversary of the day in which he had quitted it: the history of this circumstance is well known (5). Al-Basâsîri was killed at Baghdad by the soldiers of the sultan Togrulbek, on Thursday, 15th of Zû 'l-Hijja, or, according to Ibn al-Azîmi (6) in his history, on Tuesday, 11th Zû 'l-Hijja, 451 (January, A. D. 1060). His head was borne in parade through the city, and his body attached to a gibbet opposite to the gate of Nûba.—*Basâsîri* means native of Basa, a town in the province of Fars; this name is pronounced in Arabic *Fasa*, and, in that case, the relative adjective derived from it is *Fasawi*. The grammarian Abû Ali 'l-Fârisi, author of the *Idâh*, was a native of this place; he was also surnamed al-Fasawi; but the Persians employ *Basâsîri*, a word of irregular formation. Arslân's master was a native of Basa, for which reason it was that he himself was named al-Basâsiri. The preceding observation is made by as-Samâni, on the authority of the learned Abû 'l-Abbâs Ahmad Ibn Ali Ibn Bâba al-Kâbisi. This word contains additional letters to those which form the root from which it is derived.—The emir Muhârish died in the month of Safar, A.D. 499 (October, A. D. 1105), aged upwards of eighty. His genealogy is as follows: Muhârish Ibn al-Mujalli Ibn Akîth Ibn Kabbân Ibn Shaab Ibn al-Mukallad Ibn Jaafar Ibn Amr Ibn al-Muhanna; the rest of the series will be found in the life of al-Mukallad Ibn al-Musaiyab.

(1) It appears from al-Masûdi's *Murûj ad-Dahab*, that al-Motasim was the first khalif who had a body of Turks in his service; their number was at first four thousand, and they were distinguished from the other troops by their rich dress and accoutrements, which were of silk and gold.

(2) *Khotba* is the name given to the sermon pronounced on Fridays from the pulpits of the great mosques in all Moslim countries; it begins by a declaration of God's attributes and unity, and an invocation of his benedictions upon the prophet, his family, and successors; then follows a prayer for the reigning khalif and for the prince who exercises civil power in the state. The right of being named in the Khotba and that of coining money are two of the principal privileges possessed by the temporal sovereign, and the special marks of his legitimacy. (See D'Ohsson's *Empire Othoman*, tom. II, pag. 204 *et seq.*; and d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque orientale*).

(3) The emir of the Arabs under the khalifs appears to have filled the same functions as the Ghassanide princes did under the Greeks of the Lower Empire, and the princes of Hîra under the Persians; they were phylarchs, or controllers of the nomadic tribes.

(4) These are the names of two cities in Mesopotamia.

(5) See Abû 'l-Fadâ's Annals, year 450.

(6) Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ali al-Azîmi is author of a chronicle and a history of Aleppo, his native place. (*Hajji Khalifa*, Nos. 2238, 2205.)

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## NUR AD-DIN ARSLAN SHAH.

Abû 'l-Hârith Arslân Shâh Ibn Izz ad-dîn Masûd Ibn Kutb ad-dîn Maudûd 91 Ibn Imâd ad-dîn Zinki Ibn Ak Sunkur, lord of Mosul, and generally known by the appellation of Atâbek (1), bore the title of al-Malik al-Aâdil Nûr ad-dîn (*the just prince, light of religion*): (the lives of a number of persons belonging to the same family shall be given under their respective letters.) Nûr ad-dîn obtained the government of Mosul on the death of his father, in whose life is mentioned the date of that event (2). This prince was a man of acute mind and skilled in the management of state affairs: he passed over to the sect of as-Shâfi, and was the first of his family who professed the doctrines of that imam (3): a college of extraordinary beauty was founded by him at Mosul for the Shafites. He died on Saturday evening, 28th Rajab, 607 (January, A. D. 1211), (*as he was making an excursion*) on the Tigris (4) in a *shabbâra* or barge (5) outside of Mosul. (The species of boat which the people of that country call *shabbâra* bears in Egypt the name of *harrâka* (6).) His death was kept secret till he was borne to the palace at Mosul; he was buried in a mausoleum erected in the college just mentioned. He left two sons, al-Malik al-Kâhir Izz ad-dîn Masûd and

al-Malik al-Mansûr Imâd ad-din Zinki; for information respecting these princes, the reader is referred to the life of their grandfather Masûd. As we have there stated, it was his son al-Malik al-Kâhir by whom he was succeeded. Al-Malik al-Kâhir was master of (*the mamlûk*) Badr ad-dîn Abû 'l-Fadâil Lûlû, who gained possession of Mosul towards the end of Ramadân, A. H. 630 (July, A. D. 1233). He had been lieutenant-governor of that city and then declared himself independent. Mention has been already made of him in the life of Ibn al-Mashtûb (7).

(1) See d'Herbelot's *Bib. Orient.* ATABEK.

(2) Izz ad-dîn Masûd died A. H. 589 (A. D. 1193.)

(3) I believe that his family were Hanefites. It is certain that the celebrated Nûr ad-dîn Mahmûd, his grandfather's brother, was of that sect. See M. Reinaud's *Extraits, etc.*, page 156.

(4) In the neighbourhood of Mosul, the Tigris bears the name of *as-Shatt* (*the river*); it is a word of frequent occurrence with this signification.

(5) M. de Sacy, in his translation of Abdallatîf, page 309, hesitates respecting the right orthography of this word; but al-Yâfi, in his Annals, year 607, fixes it as it is here given.

(6) The word *harrâka* signifies *a boat* or *barge*. See M. Reinaud's *Extraits, etc.*, page 415, note.

(7) See page 162.

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## AZHAR IBN AS-SAMMAN.

Abû Bakr Azhar Ibn Saad as-Sammân was a native of Basra (*al-Basri*) and adopted member of the tribe of Bâhila; he taught the Traditions on the authority of Hamîd at-Tawîl (1), and the people of Irak, who had received them from him, transmitted them on his authority. He was a companion of Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr before that prince obtained the khalifat, but having gone afterwards to congratulate him on his accession, was refused admittance by al-Mansûr's orders; he therefore waited for a day of public audience, and then made him his salutation, on which the khalif said to him, "What has brought "you here?" He replied: "I come to congratulate you on your acces- "sion to the supreme authority." On this, al-Mansûr said: "Give him one "thousand dinars and say to him: 'You have now fulfilled the duty of congra- "tulation, so come not to me any more.'" Azhar then retired, but returned

the ensuing year, and admittance having been denied to him, he entered on a day of public audience as before, and saluted the khalif, who said: "What brings "you here?" The other answered: "I was told that you were sick, and there- "fore came to visit you." "Give him a thousand dinars," said al-Mansûr, "and tell him that he has fulfilled the duty of visiting the sick, so he must not "return here again, for I am seldom sick." On this Azhar went away, but returned the following year at a similar audience. "What brings you?" said the khalif. "I heard you utter an invocation," replied Azhar, "and am "come to know what you desire." "Know, fellow!" retorted al-Mansûr, "that "my invocation has not been heard; every year I pray God to keep you away "from me, and yet you still come." The adventures of Azhar and the stories told of him are well known (2): he was born A. H. 111 (A. D. 729), and died in 203 (A. D. 818-9), or, some say, 207.—*Azhar* is (*here*) a proper name (*not a surname.*)—*Sammân* means one who sells or carries *butter* (*Samn*).—*Al-Basri* or *al-Bisri* signifies *native of Basra*, which is one of the most famous cities of Irak; it was founded after the promulgation of Islamism; (*the khalif*) Omar Ibn al-Khattâb having caused it to be built in the fourteenth year of the Hijra by Otba Ibn Ghazwân (3). Ibn Kutaiba says, in that chapter of the *Secretary's Guide*, where he treats of the alterations which have taken place in the names of countries, that *basrat* (*as the name of this city is written in Arabic*) means *one soft stone*, and on suppressing the final letter, it must be pronounced *bisra*, and for this sole reason it is that the word *bisri* is allowed to be employed (*with the signification of* native of Basra). The word *bisr* also means *a soft stone* according to (*al-Jauhari*) in his lexicon, the *Sahâh*.

(1) Abû Obaida Hamîd Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân al-Basri, a *Tâbi* of the highest authority, was a client of the celebrated Talhat at-Talhât al-Khuzâi. He was surnamed *at-Tawîl* (*the long* or *the tall*), because one of his neighbours, who also bore the name of Hamîd, was of a low stature and was called Hamîd the short (*al-Kasîr*). Some say that he received the appellation of *the long*, on account of the length of his arms; as with one hand he could reach to the edge of the pulpit, whilst he touched the ground with the other. He expired suddenly as he was saying his prayers. His death took place towards A. H. 143 (A. D. 760). (*Al-Yâfi. Tab. al-Fukahâ.*)

(2) None of the historians whom I have consulted relate any anecdotes respecting Azhar except the one just given. Al-Yâfi, who places his death in the year 203, says that al-Mâmûn's liberality in this case was very singular and his patience the more extraordinary, as he was of a violent character; and that if the same thing had happened to al-Hajjâj, he would have put the author of it to death or inflicted on him a severe punishment.

(3) See Ibn Kutaiba's account of the founding of Basra in Abû 'l-Fadâ's Annals, vol. I, note 91.

## OSAMA IBN MURSHID.

Abû 'l-Muzaffar Osama Ibn Murshid Ibn Ali Ibn al-Mukallad Ibn Nasr Ibn 92 Munkid (1) al-Kinâni al-Kalbi as-Shaizari (*member of the tribe of Kinâna which descends from that of Kalb, native of Shaizar*), and surnamed Muwaiyad ad-Dawlat Majd ad-dîn (*strengthened in empire, glory of religion*), was one of the most powerful, learned, and intrepid members of the Munkid family, lords of the castle of Shaizar. He composed a number of works on different branches of general literature, and is highly spoken of by Ibn al-Mastawfi in his history of Arbela, who mentions his name in the list of the remarkable men who visited that city; he gives also some extracts from his poetry. The kâtib Imâd ad-dîn mentions him in the *Kharîda*, and, after making his eulogium, says: "He dwelt at " Baghdad, but that city became repulsive to him, as the house (*in which merit is " not acknowledged*) becomes repulsive to a man of a generous mind; he there- " fore passed into Egypt and remained there with the rank of emir and honoured " with public respect, till the period of Ibn Ruzzik's administration, when he " returned to Syria and sojourned at Damascus. Then fortune cast him into " Hisn Kaifa, where he remained till Salâh ad-dîn, on gaining possession of " Damascus (in A. H. 570), called him (*to his court*): he was then upwards of " eighty years of age." Another writer says that Osâma went to Egypt in the reign of az-Zâfir, who had then for vizir al-Aâdil Ibn as-Sallâr: this visir treated him generously, but he was assassinated through his machinations, as shall be related in the history of his life. Since (*transcribing the foregoing passages*) I found a note in the handwriting of Osâma addressed to ar-Rashîd Ibn az-Zubair, that he might insert it in his *Kitâb al-Jinân*; that note is dated, *Misr, in the year* 541. This is a proof that he came to Egypt during the administration of Ibn as-Sallâr (2); and he remained there till the assassination of that vizir, for no one contests that he was in Egypt when the murder was committed. His collected poetical works form two volumes and are in every person's hands; I have seen a copy of them in his own handwriting and extracted from it the following passages:

> Assume not a borrowed insensibility when abandoned by those you love; for your force will fail under their protracted aversion. Know that thy heart will return to them either of its own accord or despite its reluctance.

**On Ibn Talib of Misr, whose house was burnt down:**

See how the progress of time constrains us to acknowledge that there is a destiny; Ibn Talib never lit a fire in his house (*through avarice*), yet by fire it was destroyed.

A similar circumstance to this befel al-Wajih Ibn Surâ, a bookseller (3) at Cairo: he had in that city a house noted for its elegance, and which was burned down; this gave rise to the following lines, composed by Nashw al-Mulk (*rise of the empire*) Abû 'l Hasan Ali Ibn Mufrij, surnamed Ibn al-Munajjim (*son of the astrologer*), who was a native of Maarrat an-Nomân, but lived and died in Egypt:

On looking at Ibn Sûra's house, in which the fire burned with a clear and ardent flame, I said: "Thus it is with wealth gained by iniquity; in a little time it is hurled "to ruin. This man was in fact a long-lived infidel; but Gehenna came upon him "whilst he imagined that it would yet be tardy in its progress towards him."

The second of these verses is taken from an expression of the blessed prophet's, who said: "If a man gain wealth by iniquity (*mahâwish*), God will send "it to ruin (*nahâbir*)." The word *mahâwish* means whatever is forbidden, and *nahabir* signifies precipices. As for al-Wajih (*Wajih ad-din*, respectable for religion), generally known by the name of Ibn Surâ, the following was his real name: Abû 'l-Futûh Nâsir Ibn Abi 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Khalf al-Ansâri; he was a book-agent of extensive business in Misr, and used to sit in the vestibule of his house for the purpose of exercising his profession, and offering books for sale to 95 men of rank and learning; as they were accustomed to assemble there every Sunday and Wednesday, and remain till the hours of sale were over. On the death of as-Silafi, he travelled down to Alexandria for the purpose of buying his books. He died at Misr on the 16th of the latter Rabi, 607 (October, A. D. 1210), and was buried in the Karâfa (4) near that city. A piece of Ibn Munkid's contains the following verse, in which he describes his enfeebled state:

Strange, that my hand should be too weak to hold a pen! that hand which used to break lances in the breasts of lions.

I extract also from his collected poetical works the following lines, which he wrote in answer to some verses addressed to him by his father:

I complain not of the faithlessness of those whom I loved; yet, had complaints availed, I should have given them utterance. I was fatigued with reproaching them, and, in

despair, I left them; never shall they be of those in whom I will place my hopes. When their sarcasms cut me to the heart, I stifled my anguish and concealed the pain they caused; and I went to meet them with smiles, as if I had nothing heard nor seen. They accused me of crimes which my hands did not commit; which I had neither commanded nor forbidden. No, by Allah! I have never harboured nor meant such perfidy as they openly manifest. On the day of judgment we shall meet again; and the volume (*in which are inscribed the actions of mankind*) shall then reveal what crimes are theirs; what, mine.

The two verses which follow are in the same rhyme and measure as the preceding, and were inserted by him in a letter to one of his relations; they are the height of tenderness:

Men before me have complained of the pains of separation; the living and the dead (*when in this world*) have felt the affliction caused by the absence of friends; but (*grief*) such as fills my bosom, I never heard of nor witnessed.

One thing brings on another (5): Abû 'l-Hasan Yahya Ibn Abd al-Azîm al-Misri, surnamed al-Jazzâr (6), recited to me the following verses, which he had composed on another literary man at Cairo, far advanced in age, who being attacked by a cutaneous eruption, anointed himself with sulphur:

O, learned master, (*hearken to*) the demand of a friend devoid of sarcasm: Thou art old, and of course art near to the fire (*of hell*); why then anoint yourself with sulphur?

I found the following verses in the handwriting of Osâma Ibn Munkid; they were composed by himself on having a tooth drawn, being then, as he relates, under the walls of Khalât (7); the idea of the verses is original, and they might pass as a riddle on the word *tooth*:

I had a companion of whom I was never tired, who suffered in my service and laboured with assiduity; whilst we were together I never saw him; and when he appeared before my eyes, we had parted for ever.

The kâtib Imâd ad-dîn said: "I was always longing to meet him, and I watched "from afar the lightning which foreboded the rain (*of his liberality*); at last I saw "him in the month of Safar, A. H. 571, when I asked him the date of his birth; "to which he replied: 'Sunday, 27th of the latter Jumâda, 488 (July, A. D. "1095)." He was born at the castle of Shaizar, and died at Damascus on Monday night, the 23rd of Ramadân, 584 (November, A. D. 1188), and was interred the next day at the east side of Mount Kasiûn; I entered his mausoleum, which 94

lies on the northern bank of the river Yazîd, and read a portion of the Koran over his grave, and prayed God to have mercy on him.—His father, Abû Osâma Murshid, died A. H. 531 (A. D. 1136).—*Shaizar* is the name of a castle near Hamâh (*Epiphamia*); it is also called *the castle of the Munkid family*: mention shall be again made of it in the life of his grandfather Ali Ibn al-Mukallad.

(1) This name is generally written in the MSS. thus, منقد, but the correct orthography is منقذ with a point on the letter *dal*.

(2) It is rather a proof that he came before the appointment of that vizir, whose nomination only took place A. H. 543 or 544. The Arabic text says: *In the days* of Ibn as-Sallâr.

(3) Or rather a *book-broker*; his employment being to find purchasers for other people's books.

(4) See page 53, note (12).

(5) This anecdote is not in its place; it should follow that which relates to the burning of Ibn Sûra's house, page 178; the author must have written it in the margin of his own copy, and the transcriber of that copy inserted it in the text, but in a wrong place.

(6) Al-Jazzâr was in great reputation at that time as a poet and a man of society. Ibn Khallikân was one of his protectors. Born A. H. 601 (A. D. 1204-5); died A. H. 679 (A. D. 1280).—(From the *Supplement to Ibn Khallikân's Biographical Dictionary* by as-Sakâi الصقاعي MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 732.)

(7) This was probably during Salâh ad-din's expedition there, A. H. 581. (See Schulten's *Vita et res gestæ Saladini*, p. 61.)

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## IBN RAHWAIH.

Abû Yakûb Ishak, native of Marw as-Shâhjân, and surnamed Ibn Râhwaih, was descended from Hanzala by the following line: his father Abû 'l-Hasan Ibrahîm was son of Makhlad Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Matar Ibn Obaid Allah Ibn Ghâlib Ibn al-Wârith Ibn Obaid Allah Ibn Atiya Ibn Murra Ibn Kaab Ibn Hammâm Ibn Asad Ibn Murra Ibn Amr Ibn Hanzala Ibn Mâlik Ibn Zaid Manât Ibn Tamîm Ibn Morra.—Ibn Râhwaih was one of the great doctors of Islamism; he was equally as learned in the Traditions and the law as distinguished for his piety: ad-Dârakutni mentions him among those who related traditions on the authority of as-Shâfi, and al-Baihaki counts him among as-Shâfi's disciples. He had once an argument with as-Shâfi concerning the legality of the sale of such houses as are situated in Mekka (1), and this discussion has been fully stated by Fakhr ad-

dîn ar-Râzi, in his work entitled *Merits of the imam as-Shâfi*. When the superior talent of Ibn Râhwaih became generally known in Egypt, his works were (*frequently*) transcribed and his treatises collected (*with care*): the imam Ibn Hanbal said of him: "We consider Ishak as an imam among the Moslims; an "abler jurisconsult than Ishak never passed the bridge (2)." "I know by "heart," said Ishak, "seventy thousand traditions; I have read one hundred "thousand, and can recollect in what work each is to be found (3). I never "heard any thing once without learning it by heart, nor learned anything by "heart which I afterwards forgot." He composed a well-known *Musnad* (4) after travelling to Hijâz, Irâk, Yemen, and Syria, and learning Traditions from Sufyân Ibn Oyaina and others of the same period; Al-Bokhâri, Muslim, and at-Tirmidi were among his disciples. Ibn Râhwaih was born A. H. 161 (A. D. 777-8); some say 163 or 166: in his latter days he inhabited Naisâpûr, where he died on the eve of the 15th of Shabân (which was a Thursday, or, according to others, a Sunday or a Saturday), A. H. 238 (January, A. D. 853), or 237.— —*Râhwaih* was a surname given to his father Abû 'l-Hasan Ibrahîm because he was born on the *road* to Mekka (*râh* in Persian means *road*, and *waih, found;* as it might be said that he was found on the road). This word is also pronounced Râhûya. Ishak himself relates that Abd Allah Ibn Tâhir, emir of Khorasan, asked him why he was called Ibn Râhwaih, what was the meaning of the word, and if he did not dislike such an appellation? To which he answered: "Know, O emir! that my father was born on the road, and the people of Marw "named him Râhwaih for that reason; my father disliked being so called, but "I do not."—*Hanzala*, son of Mâlik, gave his name to a great branch of the tribe of Tamîm.

(1) Ibrahim al-Halebi's *Multaka 'l-Abhur*, a celebrated treatise on Moslim law, contains the following article in the chapter on sale: "The sale or lease of ground situated in the Sacred Territory of Mekka is blamable." On which the commentator makes the following observations: "Unless in a case of absolute necessity. As for the buildings, they may be alienated without scruple, as is done with buildings on lands conceded in perpetuity to pious uses (*wakf*)." (See D'Ohsson's *Tab. gén. de l'Empire Othoman*, t. VI. p. 82). A precisely similar doctrine is held by Kuth ad-dîn in his history of Mekka.

(2) Probably the bridge which united the suburb of Karkh to Baghdad.

(3) Such is the signification of the verb ذاكر joined to the preposition ب. Ad-Dahabi, in his *Tabakât al-Huffâz*, life of Ibn Râhwaih, relates the same saying in clearer terms, as in place of اذاكر بماية الق حديث he has اعرف مكان ماية الق حديث كانى انظر اليها.

(4) *Musnad* means a collection of authenticated Traditions, each of them preceded by the names of those Traditionists who had transmitted it successively one to another, and the last of whom taught it to the author of the work.

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## ABU AMR AS-SHAIBANI.

95 Abû Amr Ishak Ibn Mirâr as-Shaibâni, the grammarian and philologer, was a native of Ramâdat al-Kûfa (1), but inhabited Baghdad. He was a *mawla* (2), and had lived under the protection of the tribe of Shaibân, for the purpose of acquiring a correct knowledge of the Arabic language, and it was for this reason that he was surnamed as-Shaibâni. Philology and (*Arabic*) poetry were the special objects of his studies, and in these two branches of science, his authority is of the highest order. He learned and transmitted a great number of traditions; the utmost confidence was placed in his veracity; and his merit is extolled by the higher class of learned men and narrators of traditional information, though it is depreciated by the generality of them because he used to drink wine (*nabîd*) openly. A number of eminent men got from him (*a portion of their knowledge*); among them were the imam Ibn Hanbal, al-Kasim Ibn Sallâm, and Ibn as-Sikkît, the author of the *Islâh al-Mantik*, who states that Abû Amr lived one hundred and eighteen years, and wrote with his own hand up to his death. "Sometimes," says this author, "he would borrow my "book from me when I was a boy studying under him and copying his works." Ibn Kâmil (3) relates that Ishak Ibn Mirâr died at Baghdad, A. H. 213 (A.D. 828), and on the same day as Abû 'l-Atâhiya and Ibrahim ad-Nadim al-Mausili; but he is contradicted by another writer, who says that he died A. H. 206 (A. D. 821-2), aged one hundred and ten years; and the latter is certainly correct. Abû Amr composed a number of works, amongst others, a treatise on the Horse; one on the Dialects, generally known by the title of *Kitâb al-Jîm* or *Kitâb al-Hurûf*; the Great Collection of Anecdotes, a work of which he made three editions; Explanation of obscure words occurring in the Traditions; a treatise on Bees; another on Camels; and a work on the Nature of Man. He read the *diwâns*, or collected works of the (*ancient*) poets, under the direction of al-Mufaddal; but the principal object of his studies were the anecdotes, rare expres-

sions, and extemporary poetry of the nomadic Arabs. His son Amr relates of him, that he collected and classed the poems of more than eighty Arabic tribes, and on finishing with each tribe, he published the result, and made a copy of it, which he deposited in the mosque of Kûfa: he thus wrote with his own hand upwards of eighty volumes.—The meaning of the word Shaibâni has been already explained.—Some say that he died on Palm-Sunday (4), A. H. 210 (*the beginning of which year corresponds to the 24th April, A. D.* 825).

(1) In the *Marâsid al-Ittilâ* and the *Mushtarik*, a number of places are noticed which bear the name of *Ramâda*, but the *Ramâda of Kûfa* is not mentioned by them; it is manifest, however, that this place was near the city of Kûfa.

(2) The word Mawla has different significations; among others, those of *enfranchised slave* and *client;* the latter is probably the meaning it bears here.

(3) Abû Bakr Ahmad Ibn Kâmil learned Traditions from at-Tabari, the celebrated historian (Hamaker's *Specimen catal. etc.* page 26, line 3); he wrote a history of those kâdis who were also poets, and died A. H. 350 (A. D. 961). (Flügel's *Hajji Khalifa*, No. 216.)

(4) Palm Sunday, الشعانين (*as-Shaânin*). See M. Reinaud's *Extraits*, etc. p. 402.

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## ISHAK IBN IBRAHIM AL-MAUSILI.

Abû Muhammad Ishak Ibn Ibrahîm Ibn Mâhân Ibn Bahmân Ibn Nusk, a member, by adoption, of the tribe of Tamîm, and born at Arrajân, is generally known by the name of *Ibn an-Nadîm al-Mausili* (*son of the social companion from Mosul*). As his father's life has been already given (*see page* 20), with an account of his family and the origin of his surname *Tamîmi*, it is unnecessary to repeat what has been there said. Ibrahîm was a constant companion of the khalifs in their parties of pleasure, and bore a high reputation for refined taste; his festive humour and talent as a singer were peculiarly his own. He was well acquainted with pure Arabic, (*ancient*) poetry, the history of the poets, and the adventures of the desert tribes. As a traditionist, his authority is cited by Musab Ibn Abd Allah az-Zubairi (1), Ibn Bakkâr, and others; he was (*indeed*) deeply learned in the Traditions, the law, and dogmatical theology. (*Relative to*

*this*,) the following anecdote is narrated by the poet Muhammad Ibn Atiya al-Atwi (2): "I was present at one of the kâdi Yahya Ibn Aktham's assemblies (3), when Ishak Ibn Ibrahîm al-Mausili entered and commenced, with the theologians who were present, a discussion in which he was completely successful; he then treated with ability a point of jurisprudence, maintaining it by direct proofs and analogical cases; after which, he discoursed on poetry and the Arabic language and excelled all the company; he then turned to the kâdi Yahya and said: "May God exalt the kâdi! have I committed any faults in the discussion which I have maintained and the passages which I have quoted, or can any objection be made to them?" "No," replied Yahya. "How then," said he, "does it happen that I, who treat all those sciences with as much ability as the persons who profess them, should be only known as a master of one single art?" meaning music. On this the kâdi turned towards me and said: "It is for you to answer that."—(Al-Atwi was an able dialectician.)—"Yes, kâdi," I replied, "may God exalt you! it is for me to answer." I then addressed Ishak and said: "O, Abû 96 Muhammad, as a grammarian are you equal to al-Farrâ and al-Akhfash?"—"No."—"In philology and acquaintance with poetry are you equal to al-Asmâi and Abû Obaida?"—"No."—"In dogmatical theology are you equal to Abû 'l-Hudail al-Allâf and an-Nazzâm al-Balkhi (4)?"—"No."—"In jurisprudence are you equal to this kâdi?" (pointing to Yahya.)—"No."—"In poetry are you equal to Abû 'l-Atâhiya and Abû Nuwâs?"—"No."—"It is for these reasons, therefore, that you are known as a master of an art in which you stand without a rival, for in the other sciences you are inferior to those who hold the first rank in them." Ishak laughed on hearing this, and rising from his place, withdrew. The kâdi then said to al-Atwi: "You have proved your point perfectly well, and yet done little wrong to Ishak, who is a man almost without a rival."—My master, Ibn Bâtish (5), says, in his work entitled *at-Tamyîz wa 'l-Fasl* (6), that Ishak al-Mausili's conversation was elegant and full of originality, his taste refined, and his talents of a superior order. He wrote the Traditions under the dictation of Sufyan Ibn Oyaina, Mâlik Ibn Ans, Hushaim Ibn Bushair (7), and Abû Moawia ad-Darîr (8); he studied philology under al-Asmâi and Abû Obaida, and attained the highest eminence as a musician. It was to this art that he devoted his principal attention, and by it he acquired his reputation. The khalifs treated him with honour and admitted him into their

intimacy, and al-Mâmûn used to say: "Were Ishak not so publicly known "and spoken of as a singer, I should have appointed him to the place of kâdi; "he is more deserving of it than the kâdis we now have, and he surpasses "them all in virtuous conduct, veracity, piety, and honesty; but people know "him only as a singer, and that talent, though the least of those which he pos- "sesses, has eclipsed the rest." As a singer he was without a rival, and as a poet he possessed considerable abilities; his poems have been collected, and form a *diwân*, from which we extract the following verses addressed to Hârûn ar-Rashîd:

> When she told me to be thrifty, I replied: Cease your counsels, thy command is impossible; I see that all are friends to the generous man, but the miser has not a friend in the world; I see that avarice is discreditable, and I respect myself too much to deserve the name of miser. Know, that the greatest pleasure a noble mind can feel, is to give with liberality. From honourable pride, the presents which I make are such as the rich bestow, though my means, as thou knowest, are but small. Yet why should I apprehend poverty or remain deprived of wealth, when the Commander of the Faithful looks on me with favour?

Ishak wrote a great deal; Thalab relates that he saw upwards of one thousand quires in his handwriting, and containing expressions, all of which he had heard from the Arabs of the desert. "I never saw," said he, "in the house of any "person more philological works than in the house of Ishak and, after his, in "Ibn al-Aarâbi's." From among the anecdotes which Ishak used to relate, I shall select the following: "We had a neighbour called Abû Hafs and nick- "named al-Lûti; one of his neighbours having fallen sick, he went to see him "and said: 'How are you? do you not know me?' To which the sick man "answered with a feeble voice: 'Yes, I do; you are Abû Hafs al-Lûti!' 'O,' "said the other, 'you pass the bounds of civility; may God never raise you "from your bed!'" (9)—(*The khalif*) al-Motasim said of him: "Ishak never "yet sung to me without my feeling as if my possessions were increased."—The anecdotes related of him are numerous; he lost his sight two years before his death. Born A. H. 150 (A. D. 767), the same year as the imâm as-Shâfi; died of diarrhea in the month of Ramadàn, 235 (beginning of April, A. D. 850); but some say in the month of Shawwâl, 236; the first is, however, the more general opinion. According to another statement, his death took place on the afternoon 97

of Thursday, 5th Zu 'l-Hijja, 236. One of his friends composed the following elegy on that event:

> It is now covered with the dust of the earth, that pleasure which had taken its residence in the dwelling of our (*departed*) friends!—(*it is in mourning*) since al-Mausili is gone; since social joy is ruined and the meetings of gaiety suppressed. The instruments of music weep in sorrow for his loss; love also weeps and the clear liquor (*of the wine-cup*). All the apparatus (10) of our pleasant parties is in grief, and the lute sympathises with the dulcimer.

It has been stated, but erroneously, that this elegy was composed on the death of his father Ibrahîm.

(1) Abû Abd Allah Musab Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Musab Ibn Thâbit Ibn Abd Allah Ibn az-Zubair Ibn al-Awwâm al-Asadi az-Zubairi (*descended from the celebrated Abd Allah Ibn az-Zubair*) and uncle to az-Zubair Ibn Bakkâr, was the genealogist of the tribe of Koreish; he was also a hâfiz, a jurisconsult, and a historian; these talents, with his noble birth and manly character, obtained for him the highest esteem and respect; his only fault was hatred to the memory of the khalif Ali. Born at Medina, A. H. 156 (A. D. 773); died A. H. 236 (A. D. 850-1).—(See *Ibn al-Athîr* and *al-Yâfi*, in the year last mentioned.)

(2) Abû Abd ar-Rahmân Muhammad Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Atiya, an enfranchised slave of the tribe of Laith Ibn Bakr Ibn Abd Manât, grew into eminence as a kâtib and poet under the Abbasides. He was born and brought up at Basra, and had for protector the kâdi Ibn Abi Duwâd (see his life, page 61), whose death he lamented in a number of elegies.-(Aghâni, tom. IV. fol. 319-321.)—(Communicated by M. Caussin de Perceval.)

(3) See page 73, note (14).

(4) Abû Ishak Ibrahîm Ibn Saiyâr سيار (not *Baschar*, as D'Herbelot has it in the *Bib. Orient.*, article Naddham, nor yet *Yesar*, as M. de Sacy writes it in the *Histoire des Druzes*, introduction, page 42;) Ibn Hâni, native of Basra and sister's son to Abû 'l-Hudail, was a celebrated scholastic theologian, and author of a number of works and pieces of poetry on that subject. He received the surname of *an-Nazzâm* (*the stringer of pearls*) because he strung and sold pearls in the bazar at Basra, or, as some say, because he strung brilliant ideas on the thread of his discourse. In his youth, he was suspected of partiality towards the doctrine of dualism, and at a later period he was known to have adopted the principles of the Greek philosophy. His speculations on religious subjects were pushed so far, that pious Moslims looked on him as an infidel. An offset of the Motazelite sect, was named *Nazzâmiya* after its founder an-Nazzâm. Many learned men of that time asserted that this doctor denied the divine mission of the prophets, and that dread of the sword was the only motive which prevented him from openly professing his subversive opinions. The great majority of the Motazelites accused him of infidelity, and as a proof of his corrupt morals, they mention his passion for wine. He died A. H. 231 (A. D. 845-6). (Ibn Shâkir's *Oiyûn at-Tawârikh*. As-Shahrastâni. Al-Makrîzi's *Khitat*. The khâtib's History of Baghdad, fol. 648.)–It may be observed that Ibn Khallikân has mentioned the name an-Nazzâm al-Balkhi (*native of Balkh*), who might therefore be thought a different person from him who is here spoken of; but in another part of his work (see page 540 of the Arabic text) may be found the following passage, which decides the question:—"Abû Ishâk Ibrahîm Ibn Saiyâr al-Balkhi, surnamed an-Nazzâm, the celebrated theologian." His family was probably from Balkh, and he himself born at Basra, which may

account for the two patronymics.—The life of Abû 'l-Hudail is given by Ibn Khallikân. As-Shahrastâni states the principal points of an-Nazzâm's doctrine.

(5) Abû 'l-Majd Ismail Ibn Hibat Allah Ibn Saîd Ibn Bâtish, surnamed Imâd ad-dîn (*column of religion*), was a native of Mosul, and one of the most learned Shafites of that city. He was born in the month of Muharram, A. H. 575 (A. D. 1179); and in his youth travelled to Syria, that he might acquire information in the Traditions and jurisprudence from the celebrated professors who taught at Baghdad, Damascus, and Aleppo. He then became professor and mufti in his turn, and composed a number of works, the most important of which are said to be the following: *Tabakât, etc.* or *list of Shafite doctors*, *Mushtabih an-Nisba*, (*doubtful Patronymics*), *al-Moghni, etc.*, or Explanation of the difficulties found in the *Muhaddab* (*of Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi*). It is stated that in this last work he is frequently mistaken in his explanations. He died at Aleppo, A. H. 655 (A. D. 1257), aged eighty.—(*Tab. as-Shaf.—Tab. al-Fukahâ.—Bughiat at-Talab.*)—This was one of Ibn Khallikân's professors.

(6) The *Tamyîz wa 'l-Fasl*, or *al-Faisal* (*Distinction and Discrimination*), is cited as a geographical work by Abû 'l Fadâ in his Geography, page 2 of the Arabic text. The same author mentions another work of Abû 'l-Majd, entitled *Muzîl al-Irtiyâb an Mushtabih al-Intisâb* (*The dispeller of the incertitudes concerning doubtful patronymics*). This is probably the same as the *Mushtabih an-Nisba* (see note (5)). Those two works treated probably of Traditionists, their patronymics, and the countries to which they belonged.

(7) Abû Moawia Hushaim Ibn Abi Khâzim Bushair, native of Wâsit, but descended from a family of Balkh, was a member, by adoption, of the tribe of Sulma. He had studied the Traditions under many eminent masters, and acquired a high reputation at Baghdâd by his knowledge of that subject. He knew by heart twenty thousand of them. Died A. H. 183 (A. D. 799), aged 79 years. (*Tab. al-Muhaddithîn*, MS. No. 736. Al-Yâfi.)

(8) Abû Moawia Muhammad Ibn Khâzim (حازم) ad-Darîr (*the blind*), adopted member of the tribe of Minkar (المنقرى بالولا), which descends from that of Tammîm through the tribe of Saad, was born at Kufa, A. H. 113 (A. D. 731); he studied the Traditions under Hishâm Ibn Orwa and al-Aamash. Died A. H. 195 (A. D. 811). (*Tab. al-Muhaddithîn.*)—He was probably nephew to the Hûshaim mentioned in the preceding note.

(9) Literally: *Thou hast passed the limit of acquaintance, may God never raise your side.* The point in this anecdote depends on a certain double meaning contained in the last word, but which it is impossible to explain. It can be only observed that the expression Abû Hafs made use of, proved sufficiently that he deserved the nickname of *al-Lûti* (*pathicus*).

(10) The apparatus of social parties: cushions, perfumes, flowers, musical instruments, and wine.

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## ISHAK IBN HUNAIN.

Abû Yakûb Ishak Ibn Hunain Ibn Ishak al-Ibâdi, a celebrated physician, was the most eminent man of his time in the science of medicine. As a translator, he attained the same superiority as his father, and equalled him in the knowledge of different languages, and the faculty of expressing his thoughts in them with

precision. He translated into Arabic (*a number of*) the philosophical works written in the language of the Greeks; his father also had done the same, but there exist more translations by him (1) of philosophical writings (such as the treatises of Aristotle and others (2) ), than of medical works. He was patronised by the same khalifs and great men who had his father in their service, but he afterwards attached himself exclusively to al-Kasim Ibn Obaid Allah (3), vizir to the khalif al-Motadid Billah, and became so intimate with him that this vizir made him his confident and communicated to him the secrets which he concealed from all others. Ibn Butlân (4) relates in his *Dawat al-Atibbá* (*requisite qualities for a physician* (?) ), that the vizir al-Kasim, having heard that Ishak had taken a laxative medicine, wrote him the following verses to rally him on the subject:

> Tell me how you passed the night, and in what state you were, and how often your camel bore you towards the solitary mansion (5).

On which Ishak wrote him in answer:

> I passed a good and pleasant night, my body and my mind at ease; but as for journeys, camels, and solitary mansions, my respect for you, who are the object of my hopes, has caused me to forget them all.

I met with the same anecdote in the *Kitáb al-Kináyát* (6), but according to that work, Ishak's answer was as follows:

> I write you this to avoid wearing out my shoes by a fatiguing walk. If you intend to answer me, direct your letter to the closet.

Ishak and his father Hunain (whose life shall be given later) composed a number of useful treatises on medicine (7); towards the end of his life he lost the use of his side from palsy: he died in the month of the second Rabi, A. H. 298 (December, A. D. 910) or 299.—*Ibádi* means, related to the *Ibád* (8) of Hirâ, who were a number of Christian families from different (*Arabic*) tribes which had settled there; the surname of Ibâdi was borne by many persons, amongst others Adi Ibn Zaid al-Ibâdi, the celebrated poet (9). At-Thalabi (10) says in his commentary on the Koran, when explaining the following passage in the *Súrat al-Múminín* (11): *Shall we believe in two men like to ourselves, and whose people are servants* (aâbidûn) *to us?* "The word *aábídún* signifies *obedient, sub-*

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"*jected;* and the Arabs of the desert call him who serves a king *aâbid* (*sub-*"*ject*); for this reason it was that the people of Hîra were called *Ibâd*, because "they were *obedient* to the king of Persia."—*Hira* is the name of an ancient city which belonged to the Mundir family, and the other Arab princes, their predecessors; Amr Ibn Adi al-Lakhmi for instance, the ancestor of the Mundirs, who was succeeded by his sons (12); before him, Hîra was possessed by his maternal uncle Jadimat al-Abrash al-Azdi, him who had the adventure with az-Zabbâ (13). Hîra having gone to ruin, the city of Kufa was founded outside of it after the promulgation of Islamism; it was Saad Ibn Abi Wakkâs who built it in the seventeenth year of the Hijra (A. D. 638), by order of Omar Ibn al-Khattâb.

(1) *By him;* that is, I believe, *by the son*. The same equivocalness exists in the original.

(2) Consult on this subject Casiri's *Bibliotheca Arabica*, tom. I. pag. 304 et seq.

(3) Ibn Khallikân mentions a number of particulars respecting this vizir in the life of Ibn ar-Rûmi.

(4) Al-Mukhtâr Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Abdûn, surnamed Ibn Butlân, was a celebrated Christian physician of Baghdâd. He died in a convent at Antioch in A. H. 444 (A. D. 1052.) Some information will be found respecting him in the *Historia Dynastarum*. His life is given also in the *Tarîkh al-Hukamâ*.

(5) The vizir's meaning is sufficiently obvious, but it may be observed that in the last line he has given a burlesque application to a very common poetical idea.—In the beginning of most *kasîdas*, the poet is represented as arriving, after a long journey, at the mansion of his mistress, which he finds desolate and solitary.

(6) This is apparently a treatise on metonymical expressions.

(7) Among the works composed by Ishak may be reckoned a treatise on Simples, a *Kunnâsh*, or Pandects, and a History of Physicians. (*Tarîkh al-Hukamâ*, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, Supplement, No. 105.)

(8) The primitive signification of the word *Ibâd* is *servants;* but in some cases this word is employed to denote the Nestorian Christians.

(9) Adi Ibn Zaid lived before the promulgation of Islamism. His life, translated from the Arabic of the *kitâb al-Aghâni*, has been given in the *Journal Asiatique* for November, 1838.

(10) See his life, page 60.

(11) *Koran*, surat 23, verse 49.

(12) See Pocock's *Specimen Hist. Ar.* 2nd edn. page 68.

(13) The details of this adventure are to be found in Schulten's *Meidanii Proverb. Arab. Pars.* page 83; and Freytag's edition of the same work, t. 1, p. 424.

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## ASAAD AL-MIHANI.

Abû 'l-Fath Asaad Ibn Abi Nasr Ibn Abi 'l-Fadl al-Mîhani, surnamed Majd ad-dîn (*glory of religion*), was a follower of the sect of as-Shâfi, and a doctor of high eminence in the sciences of jurisprudence and controversy, on which sub-

ject he composed a well-known *Talîka* (1). After studying the law in the city of Marw, he went to Ghazna, where he acquired an extensive reputation by his superior talents, and obtained the praises of al-Ghazzi (*see his life, page* 38). From that he travelled to Baghdad, and was twice appointed professor at the Nizâmiya College in that city: he was nominated, the first time, in the year 507 (A. D. 1113-4), and was removed from his place on the 18th Shâbân, 513; he was afterwards reinstated in Shâbân, 517, and in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada in the same year he set out to join the army (2), leaving his place to another. A great number of pupils studied under him and profited by his lessons and the knowledge which they acquired of his system of controversial reasoning. The hâfiz Abû Saad as-Samâni speaks of him in the *Zail* and says: "When we were "at Marw, he came there as ambassador from the Seljûk Sultan, Mahmûd; he "afterwards went in the same capacity from Baghdad to Hamadân (3), and died "there A. H. 527 (A. D. 1132-3).—I was told by Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn "Ali Ibn Omar al-Khatîb that a jurisconsult of Cazwîn (who took care of Asaad "at Hamadân, when he was drawing towards the end of his life) related to him "the following circumstance: 'We were together in a room about the time in "which his ecstatic fit (4) usually took him, and he ordered us to retire, on "which we withdrew; but I stopped at the door to listen, and I heard him "strike his face with his hand and say: *O, what grief is mine for my negli-"gence in the service of God!* (5)—He then wept and struck his face again, "and continued repeating these words till he expired.'—Abû Bakr told me the "above, or the substance of it, as I have written it down from memory (*and not "from his dictation*)."—*Mihani* means *belonging to Mihana*, a village in the dependencies of Khâbarân, which place is near the towns of Sarakhs and Abiward in Khorasan.

(1) See note (2), page 55.

(2) This was probably the army sent by the khalif al-Mustarshid against Dubais Ibn Sadaka.

(3) The first embassy was probably in A. H. 513 (A. D. 1119-20), when the Sultan Sinjar was on ill terms with his nephew, the Sultan Mahmûd. At the epoch of the second, Masûd was Sultan at Baghdad, and his brother Togrul at Hamadân.

(4) In Arabic حال *state;* which word is employed by the Sûfis, in their technical language, to signify a periodical fit of excitation or of mental abstraction, to which their devotees are subject, and which is produced by a long continuance of their religious exercises. During its continuance, their souls are supposed to be absorbed in the Divinity.—(See M. de Sacy's Memoir on Sûfism in the *Notices et Extraits, etc.*, tom. 12.)

(5) Koran; surat 39, verse 57.

## ABU 'L-FUTUH AL-IJLI.

Abû 'l-Futûh Asaad Ibn Abi 'l-Fadâil Mahmûd Ibn Khalf Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad al-Ijli, surnamed Muntakhib ad-dîn (*selected for religion*), was a native of Ispahan and a follower of the sect of as-Shâfi. This preacher and eminent jurisconsult was in high reputation for his learning, self-denial, piety, 99 devotion, and frugality; eating of nothing but what he had gained by the labour of his hands, and supporting himself by copying and selling (*books*). He learned the Traditions in his native city from Umm Ibrahim Fâtima al-Jûzdâniya (1), daughter of Abd Allah, the hâfiz Abû 'l-Kasim Ismaîl Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Fadl (2), Abû 'l-Wafâ Ghânim Ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Hasan al-Jalûdi, Abû 'l-Fadl Abd ar-Rahîm Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad al-Baghdadi, Abû 'l-Mutahhir al-Kasim Ibn al-Fadl Ibn Abd al-Wâhid as-Saidalâni, and others. He then went to Baghdad in the year 557 (A. D. 1162), and learned also Traditions from Abû 'l-Fath Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Bâki, surnamed Ibn al-Batti, and others; he received also certificates from Zâhir as-Shahâmi (3), Abû 'l-Fath Ismaîl Ibn al-Fadl al-Ikhshîdi (4), Abû 'l-Mubârak Abd al-Azîz Ibn Muhammad al-Azdi, and others, authorising him to teach in their name the Traditions which he had learned from them. He then returned to his native city, and, after studying deeply, he acquired surpassing information and attained celebrity. A number of works were composed by him, among others, an explanation of the obscurities met with in the *Wasît* and *Wajîz* of (*Abû Hâmid*) al-Ghazzâli, containing, besides, extracts from the books in which the doctrines stated in these two works are more fully stated. He wrote also a supplement to the Supplement (5) composed by Abû Saad al-Mutawalli. His legal decisions as a mufti were considered of the first authority at Ispahan. He was born in that city in one of the months of Rabî, A. H. 514 or 515 (A. D. 1121); he died in the same city on Wednesday night, 22nd Safar, A. H. 600 (October, A. D. 1203).—*Ijli* means *belonging to Ijl Ibn Lujaim*, a famous branch of the tribe of Rabîat al-Faras. Ijl was son of Lujaim Ibn Saab Ibn Ali Ibn Bakr Ibn Wâil. Abû Obaida (6) says that this Ijl was counted by the Arabs among their celebrated idiots; he had an excellent horse, and some one said to him: "Every "courser has a name; what is the name of yours?" "I have not named him

"yet," replied Ijl. "You should give him a name," observed the other; on which Ijl put out one of his horse's eyes, and said: "I name him al-Aâwar (7)." On this a poet of the Desert composed the following verses:

> The sons of Ijl reproached me with a defect which is, however, the very defect of their father. Does there exist among men a person more foolish than Ijl? Did not their father put out the eye of his courser, and become thus proverbial for his stupidity?

(1) *Jûzdân*, according to the author of the *Marâsid*, is a large village near Ispahan; the people of that city call it Lûzdân.

(2) Abû 'l-Kasim Ismail Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Fadl, one of the first traditionists of his time, was born at Ispahan, A. H. 457 (A. D. 1065); died A. H. 535 (A. D. 1141). He composed, among other works, a commentary on the Koran, and an explanation of the Traditions of Bokhâri and those of Moslim. The people of Baghdad said of him that since the time of Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, he was the most talented man and the most learned traditionist that ever entered their city.—His life (in Arabic) is given in Meursinge's *Soyûti Liber de Interpretibus Korani*, Lugd. Bat. 1839.

(3) According to Ibn al-Athîr, in his *Kâmil*, Zâhir as-Shahâmi was born A. H. 446 (A. D. 1054), and died 533 (A. D. 1138-9).

(4) *Ikhshîdi* I believe to be the true reading, not *Ikshîd*, as is printed in the Arabic text. It is singular that not one of the above-named traditionists should be noticed in the *Tabakât al-Muhaddithîn*; but Ibn Khallikân here supplies the most requisite information respecting them, namely, the time and the place in which they lived.

(5) *Tatimmat al-Tatimmat* (*Completion of the Completion*): see Flügel's Hajji Khalifa, ABANAT, No. 3.

(6) The life of the celebrated grammarian and philologer, Abû Obaida Mamar Ibn al-Muthanna, is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(7) *Al-Aâwar* (*blind of an eye*); among the Arabs, surnames such as this, derived from a corporeal defect, are still common.

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## AL-ASAAD IBN MAMMATI.

Al-Kâdi 'l-Asaad (*the most fortunate kâdi*) Abû 'l-Makârim Asaad Ibn al-Khatîr Abi Said Muhaddib Ibn Mîna Ibn Zakariya Ibn Abi Kudâma Ibn Abi Malih Mammâti al-Misri (*native of Egypt*): this poet, who was also a *kâtib* (1) and inspector of the government offices in Egypt, was a man of merit and author of a number of works. He versified the History of the sultan Salah ad-dîn and the book called Kalila and Dimna. His poetical compositions have been collected and form a *diwân*, a copy of which I have seen in the handwriting

of his son, and from which I extracted a number of pieces; the following, among others:

> You reproach me, (*my friendly monitor!*) and you tell me to avoid the very objects which people caution you to fly; do you know that these objects are as (*dear to me as*) my eyes? Nay, I assure you, my eyes have been more fatal to me than they (2).

He composed the following verses on a heavy fellow whom he saw at Damascus:

> He is like two rivers which none on earth ever resembled; in body he is like Thaura, and in mind like Barada (3).

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Ibn Mammâti has taken the idea expressed in the foregoing verses from these lines composed by another poet:

> Ibn Bishrân resembles the city of Jillik (4); when their qualities are set forth, both are without a rival. His words are (*foul like*) Barada, his body (*slow like*) Thaura, and his feeble intelligence (*languid like*) Yazîd (5).

In one of Ibn Mammâti's long *kasîdas* are found the following verses:

> How brightly his fires burn at night to attract the tardy guest (6)! He who draweth near to the light of his fire will not have reason to complain, provided he never received hospitality from the family of Muhallab (7).

By the same, on a young grammarian:

> The gait of that slender youth raises my admiration and announces the elegance of his mind. His pronunciation is soft as a female's, and his eyes are full of languor (8).

Three other verses of his will be found in the life of Yahya Ibn Nizâr al-Manbiji: there are some good thoughts in his poetry. The *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn makes mention of him in the *Kharîda*, and quotes a number of passages composed by him; he then gives the life of al-Khatir, Ibn Mammâti's father, with abundant extracts from his poems; the following excellent lines, among others, on keeping a secret:

> I conceal the secret with which I am entrusted, and do not repeat it even to him who confided it to me; but yet I forget it not. For my ear never teaches my tongue the secret of him who has conversed with me in private.

"I met him at Cairo," says the kâtib; "he was chief of al-Malik an-Nasir's "army-office; he and his people (9) had been Christians, but they embraced

"Islamism towards the beginning of Salâh ad-dîn's reign." Muhaddib ad-dîn Ibn al-Lakhmi composed the following satirical verses on Ibn al-Mammâti:

> The new converted Moslim is but a weak proselyte; his smiles betray his fell intent. Had (*the grammarian*) Sibawaih seen some of his verses, he would have counted him among the signs of the feminine gender (10).

When the hâfiz Ibn Dihya Zu 'l-Nisbain (11) arrived at Arbela, and saw how sedulously the sultan of that city, Muzaffar ad-dîn, was occupied in celebrating, with great pomp, the anniversary of the Prophet's birth (as shall be related in his life under the letter *K* (12)); he composed a work entitled *at-Tanwîr, etc.* (*Illumination, in praise of the bright Flambeau*), and finishing with a long *kasîda* in praise of Muzaffar ad-dîn, which commenced thus:

> Were it not for our enemies, those base informers, (*our friends*) would never have suspected us (*of ill*).

This book and poem were read to the prince, and I myself (*afterwards*) heard the work read in his presence in the month of Shâbân, A. H. 626 (A. D. 1229), 101 and (*I remarked that*) the *kasîda* was in it; some time after, however, I found this very poem in a collection of pieces, and there attributed to Ibn Mammâti, on which I said to myself that the editor was probably mistaken. Then, still later, I saw the entire poem in the *Diwân* of Ibn Mammâti's poetical works, and found there stated that it had been composed by him in honour of the sultan al-Malik al-Kâmil. This confirmed my suspicions, and I then met with the following passage in Ibn al-Mastawfi's History of Arbela, where he speaks of Ibn Dihya: "I asked him the meaning which he wished to convey by the fol-
"lowing verse (*of his poem*):

> "We should give our lives for a present offered by one whose hand is Jumâda
> "and Muharram."

"As he gave me no reply (13), I said: 'It is perhaps like the idea which a poet
"has thus expressed:

> "He is called by the names of the months; thus his hand is Jumâda and its con-
> "tents Muharram (14)."

"On this, Ibn Dihya smiled and said: 'That is what I meant.'" On reading this passage, I became strongly inclined to think that al-Asaad was the author of

the poem; for if Ibn Dihya had composed it, he would not have hesitated in returning an answer (*to Ibn al-Mastawfi's question*); it must, however, be observed that this *kasîda* was recited (*for the first time*) to the prince of Arbela, A. H. 606, and that al-Asaad died in that year; and moreover, he was then dwelling at Aleppo, and had no connexion whatever with the Aâdilite dynasty (15). So, on the whole, God alone knows with certainty which of the two is the real author. Al-Asaad had fled from Egypt secretly through fear of the vizir Ibn Shukr (16), and retired to Aleppo, where he took refuge under the protection of the sultan al-Malik az-Zâhir; he remained in that city till he died, on Sunday the 30th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 606 (November, A. D. 1209), aged 62 years. He was interred in the cemetery named al-Makam (17), by the road-side, near the mausoleum of the shaikh Ali al-Harawi (18). His father al-Khatîr died on Wednesday, 6th Ramadân, 577 (A. D. 1182).—His ancestor, Abû Malîh, who was a Christian, received the surname of *Mammâti* from the following circumstance: during a great dearth which happened in Egypt, he distributed alms and provisions in abundance, and especially to the Moslim children; and they, on seeing him, used to cry out *Mammâti* (19), so that he came to be known by this appellation. Such is the explanation which I received from Abd al-Azîm al-Mundari (20), (may God preserve him for our advantage!) who then recited to me the following elegiac verses on Abû Malîh's death, with the remark that they were composed, as he believed, by Ibn Miknasa al-Maghribi (21):

> The sky of generous actions and the sun of praise have both disappeared. Where shall my hopes and expectations be placed, after the death of Abû 'l-Malîh?

I then looked out for these verses, and found that they were really his, and that other elegies by the same poet on Ibn Malîh were still extant (22).

(1) See note (7), page 26.

(2) Such I suppose to be the meaning of these very obscure verses; the objects which he is cautioned to avoid are the cruel beauties who inflame his heart with love; and yet, says he, my eyes, in contemplating their charms, have been more fatal to me than their cruelty.

(3) See note (5).

(4) The *Marâsid* says: "*Jillik*, with a double *l* and two *i*'s, is a name given to the Ghûta (*or valley of Damascus*), or else to a village therein; some say it is Damascus itself, and others that it is a statue of a female "spouting water from its mouth in one of the villages near Damascus."

(5) Or else: The feebleness of his intellect is on the increase.—In translating these verses, I have supposed

that Barada, Thaura, and Yazîd (three of the streams by which Damascus is watered), possessed certain qualities to which allusion is made. It may be, however, that the poet only meant to pun upon the words, as *Bard* signifies cold; *Thaur*, a bull; and *Yazîd*, increases.

(6) See page 100, note (4).

(7) All the members of the Muhallab family were celebrated for their generosity ahd hospitality.

(8) Such is the real meaning of these verses; but persons conversant with Arabic grammar will perceive that the author has expressed his thoughts in words which the grammarians employ as technical terms. They are all to be found in M. de Sacy's *Grammaire Arabe*.

(9) Or: *His band*.

(10) This is perhaps intended as an attack on Ibn Mammâti's moral character: but the verses themselves are so full of quibbling, that it is not easy to guess the author's real meaning. The first hemistich signifies literally: *a new* (or *a tradition*) *of Islâm is a new* (or *a tradition*) *weak* (in authority).

(11) His life will be found among the *Omars*.

(12) The real name of Muzaffar ad-dîn was Kûkobûri.

(13) It is some consolation to a European student, to find Arabic poets unable to understand verses in their own language.

(14) *Muharram*, that is, *sacred*, none being allowed to touch them. *Jumâda* means *dry month*, which name was given to it when the Arabs used the solar year. It is well known that in the metaphorical language of the Arabs, a *moist hand* means *generosity*, and of course a *dry* one must denote avarice.

(15) Al-Malik al-Kâmil was son to al-Malik *al-Aâdil*, the Aiyûbite, brother of Salah ad-dîn.

(16) Safî ad-dîn Ibn Shukr ad-Damîri الدميرى acted as vizir to al-Malik al-Aâdil till A. H. 609; he was again appointed vizir by al-Malik al-Kâmil. (As-Soyûti's *Husn al-Muhâdira*, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 652, *folio* 225, *verso*.)

(17) This cemetery lies probably outside the Damascus gate, called by the natives Bâb al-Makâm.

(18) Ibn Khallikân gives an account of this mausoleum in the life of Abû 'l-Hasan Ali al-Harawi.

(19) *Mammâti* was probably the children's word for *mother*.

(20) Abd al-Azîm was one of Ibn Khallikân's professors. See his life, page 89, note (4).

(21) Al-Kâid Abû Tâhir Ismaîl Ibn Muhammad, surnamed Ibn Miknasa, bore in Egypt the reputation of an eminent poet. Imâd ad-dîn has inserted in his *Kharîda* (MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 1374, *fol.* 186 *et seq.*) a number of pieces composed by Ibn Miknasa, but does not furnish much information respecting the author. It only appears that his attachment to Abû Malîh, and the elegies which he composed on his death, subjected him to the displeasure of the vizir of Egypt, Badr al-Jamâli.—Now this vizir was nominated A. H. 467; consequently Ibn Maknasa must have lived till some time later.

(22) They are to be found in the *Kharîda* (see the preceding note); and this was probably the work which Ibn Khallikân consulted.

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## BAHA AD-DIN AS-SINJARI.

Abû 's-Saâdât Asaad Ibn Yahya Ibn Mûsa Ibn Mansûr Ibn Abd al-Azîz Ibn
102 Wahb Ibn Habbân Ibn Sawâr Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Rafî Ibn Rabia Ibn Habbân

as-Sulami as-Sinjâri (*of the tribe of Sulaim and native of Sinjâr*), surnamed Bahâ ad-dîn (*splendour of religion*), was a poet and a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi. As a jurisconsult, he had treated controverted points; but poetry was his ruling passion, and he was indebted for his celebrity to the ability which he displayed in that art. He devoted his poetical talent to the service of princes and obtained recompenses from them; he (*therefore*) travelled over many countries for the purpose of celebrating the praises of the great. His poetical productions, both *kasîdas* and short pieces, are in the hands of the public; but I have never met with a complete collection of his works, nor do I know if his poems have been gathered into a *diwân* or not. Since (*writing the above*), I have found a large volume containing his complete works in the library at the mausoleum of al-Malik al-Ashraf (1) in Damascus, and I extracted from it the following verses of a long *kasîda* in praise of the kâdi Kamâl ad-dîn Ibn as-Shahruzûri (2):

I swear by the love I bear thee that indifference has never entered the heart of thy lover, and well thou knowest the state of love in which he is. If a delator tell thee that thy lover has forgot thee, know that this delator is the very person who blamed him for loving thee. The state of thy afflicted lover, does it not bear witness for itself? Does it not suffice to dispense with thy asking how he feels? Thou hast renewed the garment of his malady; thou hast rent the veil which concealed his passion, and thou hast broken the tie which bound thee to him. Has a fault escaped him by inadvertence? or (*hast thou rejected him for*) the levity and presumption (3) to which thou hadst accustomed him? It is strange that a prisoner should lay down life and fortune for one who is free (*from love*). I should give my parents in ransom for that archer who shoots with his eyes, and the point of whose arrows no armour can withstand! He is filled with the sap of youth; his cheeks are saturated from the same pure source. (*Admiring*) eyes embark in (*the contemplation of*) his charms, and risk being drowned in the ocean of his beauty. Nothing is wanting to his perfection, and that extreme perfection screens Kamâl ad-dîn from the evil eye (4). The *izâr* traces the letter *nûn* (ن) upon his face, and the mole on his cheek forms the diacritical point. The darkness of his tresses is like the (*gloomy*) night of his aversion; and the brightness of his forehead resembles the (*clear*) day of his friendship.

Were it not my desire to avoid prolixity, I should give the entire poem, but what is here inserted is the portion more generally remarked. Two verses more are sometimes joined to the preceding, but I have omitted them from my inability to establish their authenticity. The following extract is taken from one of his *kasîdas*:

And that nymph with the slender waist, so sweet in character and whose glances are so tempting; who sometimes consents, sometimes refuses! Wine mantles on her lips (5),

and is transuded by her (*rosy*) cheeks. Her charms have closed on lovers the path of consolation; for them to consolation there is no approach.

From another *kasida* by the same:

The zephyrs awoke at dawn and perfumes (6) spread around them; and I said, when they passed through the valley of Ghada: "Whose sweet breath is that?"

When I was at my native place in the year 623 (A. D. 1226), we were visited by Jamâl ad-dîn Abû 'l-Muzaffar Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Muhammad, a native of Wâsit, and generally known by the name of Ibn as-Sunainira; he took up his 103 abode at the *Muzaffariya* college (7) with us. This shaikh, who was one of the first poets of the age, had travelled over many countries, reciting to princes his eulogistic poems, and receiving from them gifts of great value. When he received company (8), he was visited by all those who were occupied in literary pursuits, and an agreeable conversation and discussion took place. He was then advanced in years, and he related one day the following anecdote: "I once had Bahâ ad-dîn as-Sinjâri for companion in a journey which I made "from Sinjâr to Râs Aîn," (or else "from Râs Aîn to Sinjâr,") and we halted at "a spot on the way; Bahâ ad-dîn had with him a boy named Ibrahîm, whom "he treated with affection, and who then happened to be at a distance from "us; so his master rose up to look for him, and called out repeatedly, 'Ibra- "hîm! Ibrahîm!' but the boy was too far off to hear him. Now there was an "echo in that place, and as often as he shouted out 'Ibrahim,' it answered by "repeating the word; on which he sat down for a moment, and then recited to "me these verses:

'My life for a friend who is cruel, although attached to me! who is far from my sight, 'though near (*to my heart*)! The very rock which forms the echo of the valley answers 'when I call him, but he answers not (*although my friend*).'

Bahâ ad-dîn as-Sinjâri had an acquaintance to whom he was greatly attached, and whom he met frequently; but a dispute having one day occurred between them, his friend discontinued seeing him. On this Bahâ ad-dîn sent to complain of his absence, and the other wrote him in reply the two following lines of al-Harîri's, which he has inserted in his fifteenth *Makâma* (9):

Visit him whom you love but once each month, not oftener. It is only for one day in the month that the moon is looked at (10), and then eyes are no more turned towards her.

To this Bahâ ad-dîn answered by these verses in the same measure as the foregoing:

When thou art sure of thy friend's affection, visit him and fear not to be tiresome. Act as the sun which appears daily; not as the new moon which visits us only once each month.

The following verses of his are frequently quoted:

How happy the days I spent at Rama! how sweet the hours I passed at Hâjir (11). They fled so quickly, that the first moments seemed to touch the last.

In one of his *kasîdas*, containing the description of wine, is found the following pretty thought:

We nearly flew with gaiety, and the wine also had flown, were it not detained by the net which the bubbles formed on its surface.

The *kâtib* Imad ad-dîn makes mention of him in the *kitâb as-Sail wa 'z-Zail*, and says, "He recited me these verses of his own:

"'Tis wonderful that I should sail on the ocean of wealth, and yet die of thirst; but 'the ways of the ocean are wonderful.'"

He composed many fine pieces. His birth was in the year 533 (A. D. 1138-9); his death occurred at Sinjâr about the beginning of the year 622 (A. D. 1225).

(1) Al-Malik al-Ashraf died at Damascus, A. H. 635. His life will be found in this work.

(2) It was at first my intention to modify the ideas contained in the singular extract which follows, but on further consideration, I preferred giving the real sense of the verses, and referring the reader to what I have said on the subject in my Introduction.

(3) *Presumption* دلال: This, although the ordinary signification of the word, is not given in the lexicons. —See the *Diwân d'Amro 'l-kais*, p. 11, note.

(4) عين الكمال; Oculus cujusdam Arabis *Kemal* dicti, qui homines aspectu necabat. (Meninski's Lex.) This expression is generally employed to denote the influence of the evil eye, which affects more particularly those favoured by fortune or beauty.—The verse itself is a specimen of the taste for quibbling which has pervaded Arabic poetry from the third century of the Hijra.

(5) See note (2), page 14.

(6) *Perfumes;* literally, *grey ambergris.*

(7) This college was founded by the prince of Arbela, Muzaffar ad-dîn Kûkobûri. His life is given in this work.

(8) In Arabic قعد means *to sit, to hold a sitting,* and *to receive company.*

(9) See M. de Sacy's edition of al-Hariri, page 154.

(10) This happens at the beginning of Ramadân, as the Moslim fast commences when the new moon of that month make its appearance.

(11) *Râma* is situated, according to the *Marâsid*, on the road from Mekka to Basra, and *Hâjir* is a village in Hijâz (see Ibn Khallikân, Arabic text, page 587); these two spots have been celebrated by some of the Arabian poets. Bahâ ad-dîn, in choosing these names, wished to show that he had made good *classical* studies.

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## AL-MUZANI.

104 Abû Ibrahîm Ismaîl Ibn Yahya Ibn Ismaîl Ibn Amr Ibn Ishak al-Muzani, disciple of the imam as-Shâfi and a native of Egypt, was a man of austere life and great learning, a *mujtahid* (1), an able reasoner, and a profound thinker (2). He was the imam of the Shafites, and the first among them by his acquaintance with the legal system and juridical decisions of their founder, and by his knowledge of the Traditions, which he transmitted on the authority of his master. He composed a great number of works, among others, a great and a small collection (*al-Jâmi*) of Traditions, the Abridgment abridged (3), *al-Manthûr*, or loose Notes, *ar-Rasaîl al-Motabira* (*the esteemed Treatises*), the Incitation to Learning, and the *Kitâb al-Wathâik* (4). As-Shâfi said, in speaking of al-Muzani, "He is the champion of my doctrine." As often as al-Muzani decided a question and inserted the result in his Abridgment (5), he would rise, and, turning towards the *Mihrâb* (6), say a prayer composed of two *rakas* (7) in thanksgiving to the Divinity. It was said by Ibn Suraij that the Abridgment would go out of the world unblemished (8). This work is the basis of all the treatises composed on as-Shâfi's system of legal doctrine, the authors either imitating its arrangement, or explaining and developing its text. When Bakkâr Ibn Kutaiba, the Hanefite doctor (whose life shall be given later) went from Baghdad to Egypt, where he had been appointed kâdi, he hoped to meet al-Muzani and continued for some time in fruitless expectation; one day, however, they were both present at a funeral service, and Bakkâr said to one of his disciples: "Ask al-Muzani some question, that I may hear him speak." This person said in consequence to al-Muzani: "O, Abû Ibrahîm! some of the Traditions contain a prohibition of the liquor *nabîd* (9), and others permit its use; why therefore have you (*doctors*) preferred the prohibition to the permission?" To this al-Muzani replied: "None of the learned have ever maintained that

" *nabîd* was forbidden before the promulgation of Islamism, and authorised " after; and the unanimous opinion is, that it was lawful (*in the former time*); " this therefore confirms the authenticity of the Tradition which forbids its " use (10)." Ibn Bakkâr approved his reasoning, and it is, certainly, a decisive argument. Al-Muzani was extremely careful in avoiding the least infringement of the law, and his precaution went so far that, in every season of the year, he drank out of a brass vessel (11), and he replied when spoken to on the subject: "I am told that they make use of dung in the fabrication of pitchers, and fire does not purify it (12)." It is related that when he missed being present at public service in the mosque, he repeated his prayers alone twenty-five times, in order to regain the merits attached to those which are said with the congregation: in this, he founded his opinion on the authority of the following declaration made by Muhammad: "Prayers made with the congregation are " five and twenty times better than prayers said by one of you when alone (13)." He lived in the practice of severe and rigid self-mortification, (*his sanctity was so great, that*) he obtained the fulfilment of his prayers, and not one of as-Shâfi's disciples ever hoped to surpass him in any point. It was he who washed the corpse of as-Shâfi (*previous to its interment*); some say, however, that he was aided in that office by ar-Râbi (*al-Murâdi*). Ibn Yûnus makes mention of him in his History (*of Egypt*), and gives his names in full, but his ancestor Ishak is there called Muslim; he then says, "the disciple of as-Shâfi," and mentions the date of his death, which accords with what is stated above (14); he says also: "He had the talent of explaining the Traditions; " and he was eminently trustworthy in their transmission, as the most acute " doctors unanimously allow; he led an austere life, and was one of the best of " God's creation: his merits were abundant." He died at Misr on the 24th Ramadân, 264 (May, A. D. 878), and was buried near the mausoleum of the imam as-Shâfi, in the lesser Karafa (15), at the foot of Mount Mukattam, where I visited his tomb. Ibn Zûlâk says, in his Lesser History, that he was aged 89 years, and that funeral prayers were said over him by ar-Râbi al-Murâdi.—*Muzani* means *belonging to Muzaina*, a great and well known tribe, which was so named after Muzaina, daughter of Kalb.

(1) The term *mujtahid* is employed in Moslim divinity to denote a doctor who exerts all his capacity for the purpose of forming a right opinion upon a legal question. This title was very frequent in the first ages of

Islamism; but the principal points of law having been fixed by the doctors, and more particularly by the founders of the four orthodox sects, the exercise of private judgment in legal questions ceased soon after to be recognized. Some later doctors, as-Soyûti for instance, claimed the title and the right, but both were refused to them by public opinion.—For further information, see M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, tom. I, p. 169, and the works there mentioned.

(2) Literally: A diver for subtle ideas.

(3) This is one of the most celebrated treatises on the legal doctrines of the Shafite sect; Hajji Khalifa says that al-Muzani was the first who wrote on the subject, in which case it is difficult to explain the title of his work.

(4) This is perhaps a treatise on bonds.

(5) In the Arabic text, for مختصرة read مختصره.

(6) See note (3), page 37.

(7) The word *raka*, written incorrectly *rika* by European authors, designates a certain number of prosternations and prayers; the *salât*, or legal prayer, is composed of two, four, six, or more *rakas*. See D'Ohsson's *Empire Othom.*, t. II, p. 82. Hamilton's *Hedaya*, preliminary discourse, p. 53.

(8) Literally: An unblemished virgin.

(9) *Nabîd*, a sweet and slightly fermented liquor made with dates or raisins.—See the authorities cited by M. de Sacy in his *Chrestomathie*, tom. I, p. 403; and *Mishkât al-Masâbih*, vol. 2, p. 339.

(10) The point of al-Muzani's argument is this: it is unanimously allowed that *Nabîd* was lawful before Islamism, so an order of Muhammad to authorise its use would have been unnecessary and unmotived; the tradition which contains such an order is therefore to be rejected, more especially as it is in contradiction with another to which a similar objection cannot be made.

(11) Water contained in a brass vessel does not cool in summer, for which reason they prefer putting it into a porous earthen decanter, in which it speedily acquires a lower temperature by evaporation.

(12) In the Moslim law, there is a section which treats specially of purification.—See D'Ohsson's *Emp. Othom.*, tom. I, and Hamilton's *Hedaya*, preliminary discourse, p. 53.

(13) See Matthew's *Mishkât al-Masâbih*, vol. I. p. 224, where the meaning of this tradition is, however, totally misunderstood.

(14) It may easily be perceived that this passage has been added in the margin later, and afterwards inserted in the wrong place; it should have been placed lower down.

(15) See page 53, note (12).

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## ABU 'L-ATAHIYA.

Abû Ishak Ismail Ibn al-Kasim Ibn Suwaid Ibn Kaisân al-Aini, member by adoption of the tribe of Anaza, and surnamed Abû 'l-Atâhiya, a celebrated poet, was born at Aîn at-Tamr, a village situated in the province of Hijâz, near Medîna, or, according to some, in the regions which are irrigated by the Euphrates; Yâkût al-Hamawi says, however, in his *Mushtarik*, that it lies near Anbâr; but God knows best. He was brought up at Kûfa, and then settled at

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Baghdad; the surname of *al-Jarrâr* was given to him because he sold earthen jars (1). His passion for Otba, a slave belonging to the khalif al-Mahdi, is well known, and it was to celebrate her charms that he composed the greater part of his amatory pieces, such as the following:

> I informed Otba that for her sake I was on the brink of perdition: bathed in tears, I complained of the woes I underwent (*from my affection*) towards her. Fatigued at length by my lamentations, doleful as those of a wretch reduced to penury, she said: "Is "any one aware of what you tell me?" And I answered: "Every person knows it (2)."

He wrote also to al-Mahdi these lines, in which he intimated his wish to obtain her from him:

> There is one thing on earth to which my soul is attached, and the fulfilment of my wishes depends upon God, and al-Mahdi the maintainer (*of his orders*). I despair of success, and then your contempt for the world and worldly goods revives my hopes.

It is related by al-Mubarrad, in his *Kâmil,* that Abû 'l-Atâhiya, having obtained permission to offer a present to the khalif on the festivals of the new year and the autumnal equinox, brought him, on one of these anniversaries, an ample porcelain vase, containing a perfumed garment of delicate texture, on the border of which he had inscribed the verses just given. On this, the khalif had some intention of bestowing Otba upon him, but she recoiled with dislike, and exclaimed: "Commander of the Faithful! treat me as becomes a "female and a member of your household (3). Will you give me up to a nasty "man who sells jars and gains his livelihood by verses?" By this appeal, the khalif was induced to spare her such an affliction, and he ordered the vase to be filled with money and given to the poet. Abû 'l-Atâhiya then said to the accountants charged to pay him: "It was gold pieces which he ordered me;" but they replied: "So much we shall not give you; but if you choose, you may have "it filled with silver pieces." They then waited till he declared his choice, and he balanced (*between the two conditions*) during a year (*before coming to a decision*). Otba, on learning this, said: "Were he in love, as he pre-"tends, he would not have spent his time in balancing the difference between "pieces of gold and pieces of silver; he has totally ceased to think of me."— The following is one of his eulogistic passages:

> O, emir! I am sheltered from the vicissitudes of Fortune, when moored under thy protection (4). Were it possible for men to pay thee fitting honour, they had given the

tender skin of their cheeks to make thee sandals. Our camels complain of thy cruelty: they cross desert wastes and sands to reach thee; and when they bear us to thee, they are lightly laden;—but when they depart with us, their burden is heavy (5).

These verses were addressed by him to Omar Ibn al-Alâ (6), who rewarded him with 70,000 (*dirhims*), and clothed him with so many robes of honour, that he was unable to rise. This liberality having excited the jealousy of the other poets, Omar assembled them and said: "It is strange that you poets should be " so jealous of each other. When one of you comes to us with a *kasída* com- " posed in our praise, he employs fifty verses to celebrate the charms of his " mistress, and he does not begin to mention us till the sweetness of his praises " is exhausted, and the brilliancy of his verses faded: but Abû 'l-Atâhiya cele- " brates his beloved in a few verses and then says: *O, emir! I am sheltered* "*from the vicissitudes of Fortune.*"—(Omar here repeated the lines which have been just given.)—"Why, then, are you jealous?"—This emir having waited for a short time before giving to Abû 'l-Atâhiya a mark of his generosity in recompense for this eulogium, the poet wrote to him these lines complaining of the delay:

106 An evil eye has disappointed our hopes, O Omar! by shedding its influence on thy generosity; and we require amulets and charms to annul its effects. We shall exorcise thee with verses till they weary out (*and expel*) thy illness; and if thou dost not recover, we shall exorcise thee with surats (*of the Koran*) (7).

The celebrated poet Ashjâ as-Sulami (8) relates the following anecdote: "The " khalif al-Mahdi having given permission to the public to enter into his pre- " sence, we went in, and he told us to sit down, and it happened that Bashshâr " Ibn Burd sat down beside me. The khalif then kept silence, and the public " also kept silence. Then Bashshâr heard the sound of a voice, and he said to " me: 'Who is that?' I replied: 'Abû 'l-Atâhiya.' 'Do you think,' said he, " 'he will dare to recite in this assembly?' 'I think he will,' said I. Then " al-Mahdi ordered him to recite, and he commenced thus:

'What is the matter with my mistress? what is the matter? she is haughty, and I ' support her disdain.'

" Here Bashshâr pushed me with his elbow and said: 'Did you ever see a " more audacious fellow, to dare to pronounce such a verse in such a place?' " The poet then came to these lines:

'The khalifat advanced to him in pomp (9) and submitted to his will. It alone was
'fitted for him, and he alone for it. If any other aspired after it, the earth had shook
'(*with horror*). If our inmost thoughts disobey him, our good deeds will not be ac-
'cepted by God (10).'

"Here Bashshâr said: 'Look, Ashjâ! and see if the khalif do not spring (*with*
"*delight*) from his cushion?' The fact was that Abû 'l-Atâhiya was the only
"man who retired from the assembly with a recompense."—Abû 'l-Atâhiya composed many verses on ascetic subjects; he was one of the principal among those poets who flourished in the first ages of islamism (11), and he ranked in the same class with Bashshâr, Abû Nuwâs, and that party. He composed a great deal of poetry; he was born A. H. 130 (A. D. 747-8), and died at Baghdad on Monday, 3rd or 8th of the latter Jumâda, 211 (September, A. D. 826), or 213 according to some. His tomb is on the bank of the river Isa (12), opposite the bridge of the Oilmen (*Kantarat az-Zaiyâtîn*). When on the point of death, he expressed the desire that Mukhârik (13) the singer should come and sing, close by him, the following verses, which belong to a poem composed by himself:

When the term of my existence expires, the grief of the females who mourn me will be short. My friend will cease to think of me; he will forget my love, and find a new friend after losing me.

By his last will, he ordered this verse to be inscribed on his tomb:

Life which ends in death is a life soon embittered.

It is related that he once met Abû Nuwâs, and asked him how many verses he composed in a day, to which the other answered, One or two. "But I," said Abû 'l-Atâhiya, "can make one or two hundred in a day." "Yes," replied Abû Nuwâs, "because you make verses such as this:

'O, Otba! what is the matter with thee and me? O, that I had never seen thee!'

"Now if I chose, I could make one or two thousand such. But I compose 107
"verses like this:

'A manu mulieris in vestimento hominis, cui duo sunt amatores, pædico et scorta-
'tor (14).'

"If you tried to make a verse such as that, time would fail you."—The following verses of his are elegantly expressed:

I loved thee, and my passion was so excessive, that my companions, when they approached, smelled off my clothes the fire which consumed me.

Among the verses which he composed on Otba, the slave of al-Mahdi, are the following:

Brothers! love is causing my death: announce to the tomb (15) the approach of a hastening traveller. Blame me not for submitting to love; know that my occupation is most serious (16).

This piece also was written by him on Otba:

For Otba my eyes shed floods of tears; who has ever seen, before, a victim weep like me from excessive love for his assassin. I have held forth my hand to implore your favour; what give you then to him who solicits? If you refuse him, grant him a kind word instead. If you this year withhold from him (*your love*), encourage him to expect it the next.

The philologer Sâid relates, in his *Kitâb al-Fusûs*, that Abû 'l-Atâhiya visited one day Bashshâr Ibn Burd, and said to him: "I admire these verses of yours, in "which you give an excuse for shedding tears:

'How often has shame induced me to conceal my tears from a friend, who would 'perceive them, however, and blame my weakness, and then my answer was: "I am 'not weeping, but I struck my eye with my cloak as I was going to put it on."'

To which Bashshâr replied: "It was from your sea, O shaikh! that I drew "that idea, and from your quarry (17) that I shaped it out; did you not antici- "pate me when you composed these lines:

'They said, "Thou weepest," and I answered, "No; the man of firm mind never 'weeps under affliction; but a sharp splinter of wood has struck the pupil of my eye!" '"Why then do both eyes shed tears? did a splinter wound them both?"'

On this, Sâid observes that they had been anticipated in this idea by al-Hutaiya (18), who says:

'When a tear flows from my eye, I say: "It is a mote which makes it weep."'

Abû 'l-Atâhiya once renounced poetry (19), and he related the following circumstance (*resulting from that determination*): "As I persisted in my refusal "to compose verses, the khalif al-Mahdi ordered me to be put into prison (20).

108 "On entering, I shuddered at the sight of an object which appalled me, and I "looked about for a place of refuge, when I found the cause of my terror to be

"an elderly man of respectable appearance, with goodness marked on his coun-
"tenance. I therefore went over to him and sat down without saluting, for I
"was troubled in mind, and confused and absorbed in thought. I remained
"thus for some time, when the man pronounced these verses:

'I accustomed myself to the touch of misfortune till it became familiar to me, and my
'resignation under grief conducted me to patience. My despair in mankind has made
'me confident that the bounty of God will come from some quarter which I know not.'

"I admired these verses, and was consoled by them; my reason also returned
"to me, and I said: 'May God exalt you! have the kindness to repeat them.'
"To this he answered: 'Unfortunate Ismaîl! how little politeness you possess!
"how weak your mind! how faint your courage! On entering, you did not
"salute me as one Moslim should do to another, neither did you ask me the
"question which one just arrived addresses to him who has sojourned for some
"time; but when you heard two verses of poetry, (which is the sole good, and
"accomplishment, and means of livelihood granted thee by God,) you begin by
"asking me to recite, as if we were acquaintances, and united by friendship
"sufficiently old to render reserve unnecessary; neither did you mention what
"has happened to yourself, nor make an excuse for your unpoliteness at first.'
"To this I replied: 'Have the kindness to excuse me, for less than what I un-
"dergo would suffice to disorder the senses.' 'And for what reason,' said he,
"'have you renounced poetry, which was the cause of the high honour in which
"those people (21) held you, and the means by which you acquired their favour?
"You must continue to make verses, if you wish to obtain your liberty. As
"for me, I shall be soon called forth and questioned respecting Isa Ibn Zaid, son
"of the blessed Prophet (22); and if I discover to them where he is, I shall have
"to answer for his blood before God, and the Prophet will be my accuser; and
"if I refuse, I shall be put to death; so it is I, rather than you, who should be
"dejected, and yet you see my firmness, resignation, and self-command.' These
"reproaches put me to shame, and I said to him: 'May God deliver you!' He
"replied: 'I shall not join a refusal to my reprimand; listen to the verses.'
"He then recited them to me several times, till I got them by heart, and he
"and I having been then called forth, I said to him: 'May God exalt you! who
"are you?' He answered: 'I am Hâdir, the friend of Isa Ibn Zaid.' We were
"then conducted into the presence of al-Mahdi, and as we stood before him,

"he said to the man: 'Where is Isa Ibn Zaid?' The other answered: 'How
"should I know where is Isa Ibn Zaid? You pursued him, and he fled from
"you into some country, and you put me in prison; how then could I hear
"of him?' 'Where,' said al-Mahdi, 'was he concealed? where did you last
"see him? in whose house did you meet him?' 'I did not meet him,' an-
"swered Hâdir, 'since his concealment, and I know nothing of him.' 'I swear
"by Allah,' said al-Mahdi, 'if you do not direct us where to find him, I shall
"strike off your head on the spot.' 'Do as you please,' replied the prisoner;
"'I shall not direct you where to discover the son of the Apostle of God; as I
"should then have to answer for his blood in the presence of God and his apos-
"tle: were he even between my clothes and my skin, I should not discover him
"to you.' 'Strike off his head!' said al-Mahdi; and it was done (23). He
"then called me forward and said: 'Choose either to make verses or to be sent
"after him.' 'I shall make verses,' I replied. 'Let him go,' said he; and I
"went forth free."—The kâdi Abû Ali at-Tanûkhi mentions a third verse, besides the two given in the preceding narration; it is as follows:

> Were I not resigned to bear with the afflictions which Fortune forces me to undergo, my complaints against Fortune had long continued.

The anecdotes related of Abû 'l-Atâhiya are very numerous. — *Anazi* means *descended from Anaza*, who was son of Asad Ibn Rabia.—*Aíni* means belonging to *Aín at-Tamr*, the village before mentioned.

(1) *Earthen jars*, in Arabic *jirar*, sing. *jarra;* the French *jarre* is manifestly derived from the same source.

(2) The poet thus confesses his indiscretion in divulging the name of his mistress.

(3) Or more literally: Respect my rights as a member of your harem and a person in your service. In this phrase, the word ارع, imperative of the verb رعى, *to have consideration for, to respect*, is understood.

(4) Literally: When I have attached cords to the emir.

(5) By the presents you have made us.

(6) Omar Ibn al-Alâ was governor of Taberistan in A. H. 167 (A. D. 783-4).—(Ibn al-Athîr.)

(7) See Lane's *Modern Egyptians.*

(8) Abû 'l-Walîd Ashjâ Ibn Amr as-Sulami was born at Rakka الرقة in Mesopotamia. Having terminated his studies in belles-lettres, he went to Baghdad and gained admittance into the society of the Barmakides, one of whom, Jaafar Ibn Yahya, favoured him with his peculiar patronage and introduced him to Harûn ar-Raschîd. The year of his death is not given in the Khatîb's abridged History of Baghdad, from which the above particulars are taken. (See MS. No. 634, *fol.* 74.) Some verses of Ashjâ's are to be found in the Hamâsa, and his life, with copious extracts from his poetry, is given in the *Bughiat at-Talab;* MS. No. 726, fol. 143.

(9) Or more literally: Sweeping the ground with its train.

(10) Allusion to the maxim, that the act is to be judged after the intention.

(11) Arabian critics divide poets into several classes: the *Jâhili* was one who lived before the promulgation of Islamism; the *Mukhadram* مخضرم lived both before and after that epoch, and the *Muwallad* مولد came next in order, his birth having taken place after Muhammad had announced his mission.

(12) The river or canal of Isa branched off the Euphrates, and flowed into the Tigris at Baghdad.

(13) This Mukhârik, whose name has been already given, but incorrectly, in the life of Ibrahîm Ibn al-Mahdi (see page 18), was one of the first singers of his time. He once sung in the presence of the khalif ar-Rashîd, who was so delighted, that he caused the curtains usually placed between himself and the musicians to be removed, and ordered him to draw near and sit on the throne by his side. Mukhârik was afterwards attached to the service of al-Mâmûn and accompanied him to Damascus. He died A. H. 230 (A. D. 844-5), at Sarra-man-raa. He was surnamed Abû 'l-Hinâ ابا الحنا.—(Abû 'l-Mahâsin's *Nujûm az-Zâhira*, MS. No. 659, *fol.* 191.)

(14) He probably cites this abominable verse on account of its extreme energy, which is here purposely softened, even in the *Latin* translation. Its import I judge to be satirical.

(15) Literally: To the shrouds.

(16) That is: I am preparing for death, which is rendered inevitable by the cruelty of my mistress.

(17) Literally: Your undressed, or unfinished arrow.

(18) Le nom de Hotaya, sous lequel ce poète est devenu célèbre, est un sobriquet qui lui fut donné à cause de l'exiguité de sa taille. Son véritable nom était Djarwal جرول, et son prénom Abou Moulaica ابو مليكة. Sa naissance était illégitime et sa généalogie incertaine. Il passait pour être le fils d'un certain Aus, de la tribu d'Abs. Au reste, quand il était fâché contre les banou Abs, il se disait issu des banou Dhol ben Chaibân, et quand il se brouillait avec les banou Dhol, il rapportait son origine aux banou Abs.

Hotaya a vécu dans le paganisme et l'islamisme. Il se fit musulman, ensuite il abjura, puis il embrassa de nouveau la foi mahométane. C'est un poète du premier mérite; mais il était avare, laid, méchant, impie, très-hardi à demander, et très-ardent à satiriser ceux qui ne lui donnaient rien; ce qui le faisait beaucoup redouter. Plusieurs connaisseurs disaient: De tous les poètes, Hotaya est celui dont les vers offrent le moins de prise à la critique. On cite avec estime, comme renfermant une pensée vraie et bien exprimée, ce vers de Hotaya:

من يفعل الخير لم يعدم جوايزه      لا يذهب العرف بين الله والناس

"Celui qui fait le bien est sûr d'en trouver la récompense; entre Dieu et les hommes le bienfait n'est jamais perdu."

Hotaya étant devenu ennemi de Zibricân fils de Badr, par suite d'une aventure qu'il serait trop long de raconter, fit une satire contre ce personnage. Zibricân alla se plaindre au calife Omar, qui, pour punir Hotaya, le fit jeter dans une basse-fosse. Hotaya y resta plusieurs jours; ensuite il adressa au calife une pièce de vers touchante qui fléchit sa colère. Omar le fit tirer de la fosse et amener en sa présence; puis il lui dit: "Garde-toi désormais de satiriser qui que ce soit.—C'est pourtant la satire qui m'a fait vivre jus-" qu'à ce jour, dit Hotaya.—Garde-toi, ajouta Omar, de dire : Un tel vaut mieux qu'un tel, cette famille est " meilleure que cette autre.—Cette défense, répliqua le poète, est une satire des hommes en général plus " piquante que je n'en pourrais faire (car la conséquence qui en résulte est que tous les hommes sont égale-" ment mauvais).—Si je ne craignais d'établir un usage funeste, dit Omar, irrité de ces réponses, je te cou-" perais la langue. Va, tu appartiens maintenant à celui que tu as insulté. Zibricân! prends-le, et fais-en " ce que tu voudras." Zibricân passa son turban autour du col de Hotaya et l'emmena. Des personnages de la tribu de Bakr-wail le rencontrèrent traînant son captif et lui demandèrent sa grâce. Zibricân la leur accorda, et remit Hotaya entre leurs mains.

Hotaya vivait encore sous le calife Moawia; il a composé des vers à la louange de Saïd ben Nassi, gouverneur de Médine du tems de Moawia. Dans la suite, Ayâr fils de Hotaya rencontrant un jour Khalid fils de Saïd, lui dit: "Mon père est mort après avoir reçu du tien 20 mille pièces d'argent, en récompense de cinq "poèmes qu'il avait faits en l'honneur de Saïd. Ce que vous nous avez donné est dissipé aujourd'hui, et ce "que mon père vous a donné reste entier. – C'est vrai, répondit Khalid, c'est nous qui vous devons de la "reconnaissance."—(Aghani, I. f. 94 99. IV. f. 13.)

For this curious note, I am indebted to the friendship of M. Caussin de Perceval.—Reiske, in his edition of Abû 'l-Fadâ's Annals (tom. I, pag. 78 *adnot.*), gives some other anecdotes respecting the poet al-Hutaiya.

(19) In the Arabic text, for الشاعر read الشعر. It would seem, from the Khatîb's History of Baghdad, that he renounced poetry from religious motives.

(20) In the Arabic: To be put into the *prison for crimes* سجن الجرايم. This place of confinement was probably so called to distinguish it from the *Matbak*, or state prison of Baghdad.

(21) *Those people*, a disrespectful manner of alluding to the Abbâside family: the speaker was a partisan of the descendants of Ali

(22) This is certainly a mistake, no such person as Isa, son of Zaid son of Muhammad, is noticed by historians, as having lived under the reign of al-Mahdi; and Zaid Ibn Hâritha, the adopted son of Muhammad, could not have had a son living at the time of al-Mahdi's accession (A. H. 158), since he was slain at the battle of Muta, in A. H. 8. It is true that among the descendants of Ali and Fâtima, daughter of Muhammad, there was a Zaid son of al-Hasan son of Ali, who had two sons, Yahya and al-Hasan, the latter of whom was governor of Medina for al-Mansûr, and died A. H. 168. It is not, however, possible to suppose that the author was mistaken in the name, and meant to say *al-Hasan Ibn Zaid;* for Abû 'l-Mahâsin states, in his History of Egypt, that al-Hasan Ibn Zaid, who was noted for his piety, had been deprived of his place by al-Mansûr, and was then imprisoned by his orders and deprived of his property; but that al-Mahdi, on his accession to the khalifat, set him at liberty, restored him his wealth, reinstated him in his place, and continued invariably to treat him with the greatest favour. Al-Hasan Ibn Zaid died A. H. 168 (A D. 784-5). The author of the Genealogy of the descendants of Ali, MS of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 853, says that the death of al-Hasan took place at Hâjir حاجر, a place situated between Mekka and Medina.

(23) The Arabic text runs thus: "He said: Strike off his head! and he gave orders concerning him, and "his head was struck off." This tautology must be attributed to the inattention of the author.

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## ABU ALI 'L-KALI.

109 The philologer Abû Ali Ismaîl al-Kâli was son of al-Kasim Ibn Aidûn Ibn Harûn Ibn Isa Ibn Muhammad Ibn Salmân; his ancestor Salmân was an enfranchised slave of the Omaiyide khalif Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân. Abû Ali surpassed all his contemporaries by his extensive acquaintance with philology, poetry, and the grammatical doctrines established by the learned of Basra. He received his philological information from Abû Bakr Ibn Duraid, Abû Bakr Ibn

al-Anbâri, Niftawaih, Ibn Durustûya and other masters, and he had for pupil in that science Abû Bakr az-Zubaidi al-Andalusi, author of the Abridgment of (*al-Khalîl Ibn Ahmad's Arabic dictionary, entitled*) the *Aîn*. Al-Kàli is author of a number of fine works, such as the *kitâb al-Amâli* (*book of dictations*) (1); the *kitâb al-Bâri*, which is a treatise on philology, arranged in alphabetical order, and filling five thousand leaves; a treatise on the short and the long *Alif;* another on camels and their propagation; a treatise on the external characteristics of man; one on the horse and his different colours; a comparative essay on the first and fourth forms of the Arabic verb; a history of the combats in which the (*most celebrated ancient Arab*) cavaliers met their death; and an explanation of the *Moallakas*. In his travels through various countries, he visited Baghdad in the year 303 (A. D. 915-6), and stopped at Mosul, to learn the Traditions delivered by Abû Yala al Mausili (2); in 305 he returned to Baghdad, and remained there till 328; when in that city he wrote down the Traditions. On leaving Baghdad, he went to Spain, and entered Cordova on the 26th Shâbân, 330. He continued to dwell in that capital till his death, and it was there that he taught by dictation his *kitâb al-Amâli*, and most of his other works. Yûsuf Ibn Harûn ar-Ramâdi, whose life shall be given in the letter *Y*, composed an elegant *kasîda* in praise of Abû Ali 'l-Kàli, a portion of which the reader will there find inserted. Al-Kâli died at Cordova on Friday evening, 6th of the second Râbi (some say the first Jumâda), A. H. 356 (March, A. D. 967); he was buried in the cemetery of Mata, outside Cordova, and funeral prayers were said over him by Abû Abd Allah al-Jubairi. He was born in the second Jumâda, A. H. 288 (June, A. D. 901), at Manâzjird in Diâr Bakr, of which place mention has already been made in the life of al-Manâzi (3). The reason of his being surnamed *Kâli* was, that in going to Baghdad, he travelled with people from Kâli Kala, in consequence of which he was called Kâli (or *native of Kâli Kâla*) ever after. As-Samâni says that this place is in the territory of Diâr Bakr, but I read in the kâtib Imâd ad-dîn's History of the Seljûks that Kâli Kala is the same town as Erzerûm. Al-Balâdori (4) says, in his *kitâb al-Buldân*, or history of the Victories of Islamism, in treating of the conquest of Armenia: "At one time the "Greek empire was broken up, and several princes governed the provinces with "nearly absolute authority; one of them was called Arminiacos, and was suc-"ceeded on his death by his wife Kali; it was she who built this city, and gave it

" the name of Kâli Kâlah, which means *the goodness of Kâli;* this word has " been altered by the Arabs to suit the genius of their language, and they say " Kâli Kala. The image of this princess is engraved on one of the gates of the " city (5)."

(1) A copy of the Amâli is in the *Bib. du Roi, fonds Asselin, No.* 493. It contains a number of Traditions relative to Muhammad; an immense quantity of notes respecting the ancient Arabs, their proverbs, language, and poetry; anecdotes of the poets who lived under the early khalifs; pieces in prose and verse preserved by tradition, and which the author learned from the lips of his masters, etc. He says in his preface, that he had long treasured up this precious information and concealed it from the profane; that he had sought a person worthy of receiving it and capable of appreciating its value; and having heard of the glorious reign of the Commander of the Faithful, Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Muhammad, he faced the dangers of land and sea, and went to Spain, where he received the greatest encouragement from that khalif, and was induced to publish his work by dictating it from memory at Cordova, and in the great mosque of az-Zahrâ. — It is a curious book, and furnishes much information on *Arabism* (عربية), or the philology of the ancient Arabic language; it fills 338 folio pages very closely written.

(2) The hâfiz Abû Yala Ahmad Ibn Ali Ibn al-Muthanna at-Tamîmi is the author of a well known *Musnad*, or collection of authenticated Traditions, which he received from a great number of persons of the highest credibility: he composed also some works on ascetic devotion and other subjects. He was remarkable for his humility, mildness of temper, amenity of manners, and veracity. Born at Mosul, A. H. 210 (A. D. 826); died A. H. 307 (A. D. 919-10).—(Ad-Dahabi's *Târîkh al-Islâm*, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 646.)

(3) See page 128.

(4) The life of Ahmad Ibn Yahya al-Balâdori has been given by M. Hamaker in his *Specimen Catalogi Cod.*, page 11.

(5) Or: "Is over one of its gates."

## THE SAHIB IBN ABBAD.

The Sâhib Abû 'l-Kasim Ismaîl Ibn Abi 'l-Hasan Abbâd Ibn al-Abbâs Ibn Abbâd Ibn Ahmad Ibn Idris at-Tâlakâni, was the pearl of his time, and the wonder of his age for his talents, his virtues, and his generosity. He acquired his knowledge of pure Arabic from Ibn Fâris, author of the *Mujmil*, Abû 'l-Fadl Ibn 110 al-Omaid and others. At-Thaâlibi, in his *Yatîma*, speaks of him in these terms: "I am unable to find expressions sufficiently strong to satisfy my wishes, " so that I may declare to what a height he attained in learning and philological " knowledge; how exalted a rank he held by his liberality and generosity; how

"far he was placed apart by the excellence of his qualities, and how completely "he united in himself all the various endowments which are a source of just "pride to their possessor (1); for my words aspire in vain to attain a height "which may accord with even the lowest degree of his merit and his glory, and "my powers of description are unequal to the task of portraying the least of his "noble deeds, the lowest of his exalted purposes." He then cites examples characteristic of his noble mind, and gives some account of his life. —Abû Bakr al-Khowârezmi (2) makes mention of the Sâhib Ibn Abbâd in the following terms: "He was brought up in the bosom of the vizirat; that was the nest in which he "crept and from which he sprung, – the nurse with whose milk he was suckled "even to the last drop; he received the vizirat as an inheritance from his "fathers." Such also has Abû Saîd ar-Rustami (3) said of him in these verses:

The vizirat passed as an inheritance from one ancestor to another, and was successively sustained by able pillars of the state (4). Abbâd received the vizirat from Abbâs, (as a tradition is received), and Ismaîl then received it from Abbâd.

This was the first vizir who bore the title of *Sâhib* (*companion*); he was so denominated because he had been the companion of Ibn al-Omaid, and was then known by that designation, which got into such general use, that on his accession to the vizirat, it continued to be employed as his real name. As-Sâbi says, in his *kitâb at-Tâji* (5), that Ibn Abbâd was intitled *as-Sâhib* because he had been the companion of Muwaiyad ad-Dawlat Ibn Bûwaih from his early youth, and as this prince gave him that epithet, it continued to be the name by which he was known, and became the title of succeeding vizirs. Ibn Abbâd was at first vizir to Muwaiyad ad-Dawlat Ibn Rukn ad-Dawlat Ibn Buwaih, having replaced Abû 'l-Fath Ali Ibn Abi 'l-Fadl Ibn al-Omaid, of whom mention shall be made in the life of his father Muhammad (6). On the death of Muwaiyad ad-Dawlat at Jurjân, in the month of Shâbân, A.H. 373 (January, A. D. 984), his brother Fakhr ad-Dawlat Abû 'l-Hasan Ali got possession of the empire, and confirmed Ibn Abbâd as vizir. Under this prince, he enjoyed high favour, honour, and authority. — Abû 'l-Kasim az-Zâfarâni (7) recited to him one day a piece of verse rhyming in *n*, and containing the following passage:

O, thou whose gifts enrich the hands of him who is far away and him who is near! You have clothed those who dwell by you and those who come to visit you, with raiment which we thought unequalled; and all the slaves of thy palace go about in silks except myself.

On this, the Sâhib said: "I have read in the life of Maan Ibn Zâida as-"Shaibâni, that a man came to him and said: 'Give me whereon to ride, O "Emir!' on which he ordered him a camel, a horse, a mule, and an ass (8), and "then said: 'If I knew that God had created any other animal fit for riding, I "had given it to you.' Now I order you silk enough for a coat, a shirt, a tur-"ban, a waistcoat, trowsers, a handkerchief, a vest, a cloak, a robe, leggings, "and a purse; and if I knew of any other garment which could be made of "silk, I should give it you."—The number of poets who flocked to him and celebrated his praises in splendid *kasîdas*, surpassed that which assembled at the court of any other. His repartees were very good: the coiners of the mint presented to him a memorial in which they complained of some injustice done them, and which was headed by the words *ad-Darrâbûn;* he wrote underneath in form of decision, *On cold iron* (9). A person once addressed him a memorial in which he inserted some passages and expressions stolen from epistles composed by himself, on which he wrote underneath in answer to the demand: *This our property hath been returned unto us* (10). He caused one of his revenue collectors to be imprisoned in a narrow yard near his dwelling, and having one day gone up to the (*flat*) roof of the house, his prisoner saw him and called upon him with a loud voice, on which he looked down and perceiving him 111 suffering tortures like those of hell, he said: *Back to hell! speak not unto me!* (11). Numerous anecdotes of the kind are related of him. —He wrote a philological work in seven volumes, entitled the *Muhît* (*comprehensive*), which he arranged in alphabetical order, giving (*the explanation of*) a great number of words, but citing very few examples; it contains a considerable portion of the (*words composing the*) language; he is also author of the *Kâfi* (*sufficient*), treating of epistolatory writing, the *kitâb al-Aiyâd* (*Book of Festivals*), a treatise on the excellence of new-year's day; another on the rank of imâm, in which he states the merits of Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib, and maintains that the (*three khalifs*) who preceded him were legitimate imams (12); the Book of Vizirs; a work entitled: Exposure of the faults in al-Mutanabbi's poetry, and a treatise on the names and attributes of God. He composed also some elegant epistles and good poetry, of which we shall give the following extracts:

My description cannot paint that nymph who is a very gazelle in beauty. She wished to kiss my hand, and I said: "Kiss my lips."

On clear-coloured wine:

> The glass is clear, and the wine is clear; one is so like the other, that they can hardly be distinguished. One you would think wine, not glass,—the other glass, not wine.

He composed these elegiac verses on the death of the vizir Abû Ali Kathîr Ibn Ahmad (13):

> They told me of Kathîr's death; it was a heavy loss for me, and I said: "Let "me and Glory weep together, for the like of Kathîr (*abundant*) is *rare* among man-"kind."

It is related by the grammarian Abû 'l-Husain al-Fârisi (14) that Nûh Ibn Mansûr, one of the Samanide princes, wrote privately to the Sâhib, inviting him to become his vizir and direct the administration of his kingdom; but he refused the offer, and one of the reasons which he gave in excuse was, that it would require four hundred camels to transport his books only; think then of the furniture which he must have possessed in the same proportion! We shall limit the account of his life to the foregoing particulars, which may suffice. He was born on the 16th of Zu 'l-Kâda, 326 (September, A. D. 938), at Istakhar, or, according to another account, at Tâlakân, and died on Thursday evening, 24th of Safar, 385 (March, A. D. 995), at Râi, from which city his body was transported to Ispahan, and interred in a vault situated in the quarter of Bâb Dazîh: his tomb is still kept in good order, and his daughter's descendants have it whitewashed regularly. The poet Ibn Abi 'l-Alâ (15) narrates as follows: "I "had a dream in which I heard a voice say: 'Why did not you, who possess such "a talent for poetry, compose an elegy on his death?' To which I replied: "'The number of his good qualities forced me to refrain, for I did not know "with which to begin; and I was apprehensive of my inability to treat the sub-"ject suitably, although people supposed me capable of doing it full justice!' "The voice here said: 'Add a second hemistich to those I pronounce.' "'Speak!' said I; and the voice said:

> 'Generosity and the best of patrons repose together in the same grave.'

"And I rejoined:

> 'So that each of these brothers may keep the other company!'

"The voice:

'They were inseparable when alive, and now they embrace—'

"I:

'On a funeral couch near Bâb Dazih!'

"The voice:

'Whilst other inhabitants shall quit their dwellings—'

"I:

'They shall remain in theirs till the day of resurrection.'

This piece is given by al-Baiyâsi (16) in his *Hamâsa.*—I have read the following observation in the History of the Sâhib Ibn Abbâd: "None ever enjoyed "the same popular favour after their death as during their life (17), the Sâhib "excepted; for on his decease, the gates of the city of Râi were closed (*in sign of* "*mourning*), and the people assembled at the door of his palace, where they 112 "waited till his bier was brought out; and Fakhr ad-Dawlat, the prince whom "he served," (and whose name has been mentioned in the beginning of this notice,) "was present with all the officers of high rank in mourning dresses (18): "when the bier appeared, the people raised one simultaneous cry and pros- "trated themselves on the ground; Fakhr ad-Dawlat, and the rest marched in "procession before the corpse, and for some days after, he held public sit- "tings to receive visits of condolence (19)." His death was lamented in these terms by Abû Saîd ar-Rustami:

Now, that Ibn Abbâd is departed, shall ever the expectant traveller hasten to undertake the nightly journey? shall ever liberality be solicited? God hath willed that the hopes of the needy and the gifts of the generous should perish by the death of Ibn Abbâd, and that they should never meet again till the day of resurrection.

His father, Abû 'l-Hasan Abbâd died A. H. 334 or 335 (A. D. 946); he had been vizir to Rukn ad-Dawlat, father of Fakhr ad-Dawlat and Adad ad-Dawlat Fannakhosrû, whom al-Mutanabbi has celebrated in his poems.—Fakhr ad-Dawlat died in the month of Shâbân, A. H. 387 (August, 997); he was born in 341 (A. D. 952).—*Tâlakâni* means *native of Tâlakân:* there are two cities of

this name, one in Khorasan, and the other in the dependencies of Kazwîn; the latter was the native place of the Sâhib.

(1) I have been here obliged to paraphrase the original, in order to render its full sense.

(2) The life of Abû Bakr Muhammad al-Khowârezmi is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(3) Abû Saîd Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Rustam ar-Rustami, a native of Ispahan, was originally a mason من بناء اصبهان, but he displayed such talent in the composition of verses, that he came to be ranked among the first poets of the time, and gained the favour of the Sâhib Ibn Abbâd, who acted towards him as a generous benefactor, and used to say, "ar-Rustami is the ablest poet of the day." At the approach of old age, ar-Rustami renounced poetry from conscientious motives. The date of his death is not given in the *Yatîma*, but some of his poems are preserved in that work, with a notice on their author, the summary of which is here given.—(See the *Yatîma*, fol. 312.)

(4) In this verse the author had a double meaning in view: it signifies also that the vizirat was successively transmitted (*like a tradition*) from one good authority to another. The same idea is continued in the next verse.

(5) See page 31.

(6) Muhammad was Ibn al-Omaid's real name.

(7) Abû 'l-Kasim Omar Ibn Ibrahîm az-Zâfarâni was a native of Irak, and one of those literary men who were admitted into the society of the Sâhib; he was also a favourite of Adad ad-Dawlat.—(*Yatîma*, fol. 327.) Some of his poems are to be found in that work.

(8) One article in the list I have omitted; decency requiring its suppression.

(9) The word *ad-Darrâbûn* signifies literally *the beaters*, and is used to designate the *money-beaters* or coiners: by the addition which the vizir made, he gave them to understand that it was useless for them to complain; that they, *the beaters*, struck *on cold iron*, which is labour in vain. This is a common Arabic proverb, somewhat analogous to the English one: Strike when the iron is hot.

(10) This is a passage of the Koran, taken from surat 12, verse 65.

(11) This is also a passage of the Koran: see surat 23, verse 110.—At-Thaâlibi did not probably know this trait, when he made his pompous eulogium of the Sâhib.

(12) Here the word *imam* means, the possessor of spiritual and temporal authority.

(13) It would appear from Khaundemir's *Târîkh al-Wuzarâ*, that Kathîr was vizir to one of the Dailamite princes.—(De Hammer's *Handschriften*, No. 238.)

(14) Abû 'l-Husain Muhammad Ibn al-Husain al-Fârisi, a grammarian of considerable reputation and sister's son to the celebrated Abû Ali 'l-Fârisi, under whom he studied, was one of those literary men whom the Sâhib admitted into his intimacy. He possessed a talent for poetry, and some of his pieces are preserved in the *Yatîma;* the author of which work, at-Thaâlibi, says that at the time he was writing, Abû 'l-Husain was still alive and dwelling at Jurjân.—(*Yatîma*, No. 1370, fol. 488.)

(15) Abû 'l-Kasim Ghânim Ibn Abi 'l-Alâ, a native of Ispahan, was another of the Sâhib's favourite poets. Some of his pieces are to be found in the *Yatîma*, *fol.* 319.

(16) Abû 'l-Hajjâj Yûsuf Ibn Muhammad was a native of Baeza in Spain, whence his surname of *Baiyâsi*. His life is given by Ibn Khallikân.—There are seven works in Arabic which bear the title of *Hamâsa*.

(17) Literally: No one was ever favoured after his death as he had been during life.

(18) Literally: Having changed their dress.

(19) The Arabic says simply, that he sat for consolation.

## IBN KHALF AS-SARAKUSTI.

Abû 't-Tàhir Ismail Ibn Khalf Ibn Saîd Ibn Imrân al-Ansâri (1) al-Andalusi as-Sarakusti (*native of Saragossa in Spain*) was a grammarian and teacher of the reading of the Koran. He was master of the branches of general literature, and versed in the sciences connected with the Koran (2). He is author of the *Onwân fi 'l-Karaât* (3) (*Outlines of the different readings of the Korân*), which work is considered of the very first authority by those who cultivate that branch of knowledge; he composed also an Abridgment of the *Kitâb al-Hujja* (4) by Abû Ali 'l-Fârisi. Ibn Bashkawâl praises him highly in the *Silat*, and makes an enumeration of his merits. He continued to pursue his studies and communicate his information to the public up to the day of his death; he expired on Sunday, the first of Muharram, A. H. 455 (January, A. D. 1063.)—*Sarakusti* means *native of Sarakusta* (5), a very fine city in the eastern part of Spain, which has produced a number of learned men. It was taken from the Moslims by the Franks (*under the orders of Alphonso, king of Arragon*), in the year 512 (A. H. 1118).

(1) Al-Ansâri is the title given to descendants from the *Ansârs*. See page 137, note (1).

(2) Hajji Kalifa gives a list of these sciences in the introduction to his bibliographical dictionary.—See page 37 of Flügel's edition.

(3) In the Arabic text, this word is incorrectly printed القران.

(4) This work treats of the different readings or editions of the Koran.

(5) *Sarakusta* is an alteration of Cæsar Augusta, the ancient name of the city of Saragossa.

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## AL-MANSUR IBN AL-KAIM IBN AL-MAHDI.

Abû 't-Tâhir Ismaîl, surnamed *al-Mansûr* (*the victorious*), was son of al-Kâim Ibn al-Mahdi, prince of Ifrîkiya (*Africa Propria*): the remainder of his genealogy will be found in the life of his grandfather al-Mahdi Obaid Allah: the life of al-Mustali, one of his descendants, has been already given (1). Al-Mansûr received the oath of fidelity from his subjects on the day wherein his

father al-Kâim died; (we shall speak of this event under the letter *M.*) He possessed the talent of expressing his ideas with precision and elegance, and he pronounced his *khotbas* without previous preparation. Abû Jaafar al-Marwarrûdi narrates the following anecdote (*of his ready genius*): "I went forth with "al-Mansûr on the day he defeated Abû Yazîd (2), and, as I accompanied him, "he dropped from time to time one of the two lances which he bore in his hand; "so I (*picked it up and*) wiped it, and gave it to him, pronouncing it to be a "good omen, and quoting to him the following verse:

> 'She threw away her staff, and a distant land became the place of her abode; (*yet,* '*she felt*) as the traveller on his return, when his eyes are delighted (*by the sight of* '*home*) (3).

"On which he replied: 'Why did you not quote what is better and truer 113 "than that: *And we spake by revelation to Moses, saying, Throw down thy* "*rod. And behold, it swallowed up that which they had caused falsely to* "*appear. Wherefore the truth was confirmed, and that which they had* "*wrought vanished. And they were overcome there, and were rendered con-* "*temptible* (4). To this I said: 'O, my lord! you, who are the son of God's "Apostle, utter that knowledge of which you are the (*sole*) possessor.' "—One of the best anecdotes of this kind is that which at-Taimi (5) thus relates in his Life of al-Hajjâj: "Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân ordered the construction of a gate "at Jerusalem, on which his name was to be inscribed, and al-Hajjâj obtained "from him permission to erect another; and it so happened that Abd al-Malik's "was struck by lightning and burned, while that of al-Hajjâj remained uninjured. "Abd al-Malik was much troubled in consequence, but al-Hajjâj wrote him this "letter: 'I am informed that fire has come down from heaven and burned the "gate of the Commander of the Faithful, without burning that of al-Hajjâj; in "this we resemble perfectly the two sons of Adam, *when they each made an* "*offering, and it was accepted from one and not from the other* (6).' Abd "al-Malik's uneasiness was dispelled by the perusal of this letter."—Al-Mansûr was charged by his father (*al-Kâim*) to wage war against Abû Yazîd, who had revolted against his authority. Abû Yazîd Makhlad Ibn Kaidâd belonged to the sect of Ibâdites (7); he made an outward show of rigid devotion, but was in reality an enemy to God; he never rode but on an ass, nor wore any dress but woollen. He had already fought al-Mansûr's father in many engagements, and got

into his possession all the towns in the dependencies of Kairawân; al-Mahdiya was the only city which remained in the hands of al-Kâim. Abû Yazîd then took up his position against al-Mahdiya and blockaded it; and al-Kâim died during the siege. Al-Mansûr then assumed the direction of affairs, and continued to maintain the contest, but concealed the death of his father; he persevered in his resistance till Abû Yazîd retired, and went to blockade Sûsa. Then al-Mansûr left al-Mahdiya, and having given Abû Yazîd battle at Sûsa, put him to flight; he then defeated him in a number of successive combats, and at length took him prisoner on Sunday, 25th Muharram, 336 (August, A. D. 947). Abû Yazîd died of his wounds after a captivity of forty days: his body was skinned by al-Mansûr's orders; the skin was then stuffed with cotton, and exposed on a cross. It was on the spot in which this battle was fought, that al-Mansûr built the city which he named al-Mansûriya after himself, and in which he fixed his residence. He was courageous, firm-hearted, and eloquent, pronouncing the *khotba* without previous preparation. In the month of Ramadan, 341 (A. D. 953), he went from al-Mansûriya to Jalûla on a party of pleasure, accompanied by his concubine Kadîb, of whom he was passionately fond; when God poured down on them heavy showers of hail and gave a storm power over them. Al-Mansûr turned back, therefore, to al-Mansûriya, but he suffered so much from cold, that he lost his strength, and most of those who accompanied him perished. On his arrival, he fell sick, and died on Friday, 29th Shawwâl, A. H. 341 (March, A. D. 953). His illness originated in the following manner: when he arrived at al-Mansûriya, he took a bath against the orders of his physician, Ishak Ibn Sulaimân al-Israîli (8), the consequence of which was, loss of natural heat, and inability to sleep; on which Ishak came and treated him, but the sleeplessness continued. Al-Mansûr at last grew impatient, "and said to one of his slaves: "Is there no physician in Kairawân who can "deliver me from this." The answer was: "There is here a young man just "grown up, called Ibrahîm." He ordered him to be called and acquainted with his state, and complained to him of what he was suffering; on which Ibrahîm took some soporiferous drugs and put them in a glass phial on the fire, prescribing to his patient to smell them. Al-Mansûr, after smelling them for a considerable time, fell asleep; and Ibrahîm retired, rejoicing in what he had done. When Ishak returned, he went to enter the patient's chamber, but was

told that he slept, on which he said: "If any thing has been done to him to "make him sleep, he is now a dead man." They then entered the room, and having found that he was dead, they wanted to kill Ibrahîm, but Ishak said: "He is not to be blamed, as he treated him in the manner which physicians "teach; but he was unacquainted with the cause of the disorder, and you did "not inform him. As for me, I treated him with the view of fortifying the "natural heat, so as to cause sleep, and on learning that he was treated in a "way to extinguish that heat, I knew he was dead." He was interred at al- 114 Mahdiya; born at Kairawân, 302 (A. D. 914), or 301; his reign lasted seven years and six days.—*Ifrîkîya* is the name of an extensive country in Maghreb; it was conquered in the khalifat of Othmân; Kairawân was then the capital, as Tunis is now.

(1) See page 159.

(2) The author relates this event farther on.

(3) The expression قر عينا signifies *to refresh* or *delight the eye, to rejoice.*—This verse is frequently met with in Arabic writers, and Abû 'l-Fadâ says, in his *Historia Anteislamica*, page 187, that mention is made of its author, Mokirr Ibn Himâr al-Bâriki, in the *Kitâb al-Aghâni;* this name is not, however, to be found in the manuscript of that work preserved at the *Bib. du Roi.*—The expression to *throw away one's staff* is quite proverbial in Arabic; it means to *give up travelling.*

(4) This is a passage from the Koran, surat 7, verses 114, 115, and 116.

(5) The historian at-Taimi is better known as Abû Obaida Ibn al-Muthanna.

(6) Koran, sur 5, v. 30.

(7) Abû 'l-Fadâ, in his Annals, year 333, gives some account of Abû Yazîd's revolt, defeat, and death. The MS. of that work in the *Bib. du Roi*, which has been corrected by the author himself, writes كنداذ *kandâd*, with the vowel points, as the name of that rebel's father. Abû Yazîd was surnamed the master of the ass *Sâhib al-Himâr*, because he never rode anything else.—(Ibn al-Abbâr.) The sect of the Ibadites (*Ibâdiya*) had for author Abd Allah Ibn Ibâd at-Tamîmi, who revolted at Tabala in Yemen during the reign of Marwân Ibn Muhammad, the last of the Omaiyides who reigned in the East. It appears from an-Nuwairi, that this sect existed in Ifrikiya at an early period, and gave some trouble to the Aghlabite princes.—Al-Jurjâni, in his *Taarifât* (*Notices et extraits des man. de la Bib. du Roi*, tom. 10, pag. 19), says: These sectarians considered as infidels all those who did not believe as they; they taught that the Moslim who commits a grievous sin is a *unitarian*, but not one of the faithful, because works are a part of faith; and they declared Ali and a great number of Muhammad's companions to be infidels. A fuller account of their doctrines is given by as-Shahrastâni.

(8) The life of Ishak Ibn Sulaimân will be found in M. de Sacy's Abd-Allatif, p. 43.

## AZ-ZAFIR AL-OBAIDI.

Abû 'l-Mansûr Ismail, surnamed az-Zâfir (*the conqueror*), son of al-Hâfiz Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Mustansir Ibn az-Zâhir Ibn al-Hâkim Ibn al-Azîz Ibn al-Moizz Ibn al-Mansûr Ibn al-Kâim Ibn al-Mahdi. In the article which precedes, we have given the life of his ancestor al-Mansûr. On the death of al-Hâfiz, his youngest son az-Zâfir was immediately proclaimed as his successor, in conformity to his father's last orders, and on the same day he received the oath of fealty from his subjects. This prince was addicted to pleasure and frivolous amusements, passing his time with his concubines, or listening to vocal music. He was assassinated by his favourite, Nasr, son of his vizir Abbâs (of whom we shall again speak in the life of al-Aâdil Ibn as-Sallâr), who having invited him one night to come secretly to his father's palace (which is now the Hanefite College, and is called the *Suyûfiya*) (1), murdered him there and concealed his death. This well-known event took place on the 15th, or, according to some, on Wednesday night, 30th of Muharram, A. H. 549 (April, A. D. 1154). He was born at Cairo, on Sunday, 15th of the second Rabî (some say the first), A. H. 527 (A. D. 1133); he was a very handsome man. On perpetrating this murder, Nasr went, the same night, to his father Abbâs, and informed him of what he had done. It was by his father's orders that he had acted; for his extreme beauty had induced the public to suspect that his intercourse with az-Zâfir was of an improper nature, and in consequence (*of these rumours*), his father had said to him: "You are ruining your reputation by keeping company with az-"Zâfir; your familiarity with him is the subject of public talk; kill him then, "for it is thus that you will vindicate your honour from these foul suspicions." The next morning, Abbâs went to the door of the castle, and asked admission to az-Zâfir, saying that he had business of importance to transact with him. The slaves having sought their master in the places where he usually passed the night, and not finding him, told Abbâs that they did not know where he was. On this the vizir dismounted, and entered the castle with some trusty attendants; he then ordered the slaves to bring forth Jibrîl and Yûsuf, the two brothers of his master; them he questioned respecting him; but they told him to ask his own son, for he knew better than they. On this, he caused their heads

to be struck off, and said: "These two are his murderers."—Such are the main circumstances of the event, which is related more fully in the life of al-Fâiz Isa, son of az-Zâfir.—The mosque az-Zâfiri, which is inside the gate of Zawila at Cairo, was so called after him, as he was its founder, and had settled upon it *wakfs* (2) to a great amount.

(1) The Suyûfiya College at Cairo was so called, because it was close to the Sword-cutler's Bazar (*Sûk as-Suyûfiin*).—(Al-Makrizi).
(2) See page 49, note (7).

## ASHHAB AL-KAISI.

Abû Amr Ashhab Ibn Abd al-Azîz Ibn Dâwûd Ibn Ibrahîm al-Kaisi al-Jaadi (*member of the tribe of Kais and of the family of Jaad*), a doctor of the sect of Malik and native of Egypt, studied jurisprudence under the imam Malik, and afterwards under the doctors of Medina and Misr. The imam as-Shâfi said of him: "I never saw an abler jurisconsult than Ashhab, were he not so precipi-" tate." A rivalry subsisted between him and Ibn al-Kâsim (1), whom he afterwards replaced as chief of the Malikites in Egypt. Ashhab was born in 115 Egypt, A. H. 150 (A. D. 767), or in A. H. 140, according to Abû Jaafar al-Jazzâr in his history; he died in 204 (A.D. 820), a month (or, as some say, 18 days) after as-Shâfi, whose death occurred on the 30th Rajab of that year. Ashhab died at Old Cairo, and was interred in the lesser Karâfa (2); I have visited his tomb, which is near that of Ibn al-Kâsim. Some state that his real name was Maskîn and Ashhab only a surname, but that is not exact. His veracity is unquestionable in the Traditions, which he gives on the authority of the imam Mâlik. Al-Kodâi says, in his *Khitat*, that Ashhab was head of the Malikites in the city (*of old Cairo*); that he possessed great wealth; and that he was the ablest divine among the Malikites in resolving doubtful questions. As-Shâfi said that he never saw his equal among the natives of Egypt, but that he was rather rash; and (*we know*) that the only doctors of the sect of Mâlik whom as-Shâfi saw in that country were Ashhab and Ibn Abd al-Hukm. It is related by the latter that he heard Ashhab pray for the death of as-Shâfi, who, on

learning from him the circumstance, quoted the following verses, which he applied to himself:

> Some men desire my death, and if I die, I shall not be the sole who travelled in that path. Tell him who strives to obtain constant happiness (3), that he should lay in a store for another, and a future life; then he shall have nearly (*gained his wish*) (4).

Ibn Abd al-Hukm relates also that as-Shâfi, on his death, left, among other property, a slave who was purchased by Ashhab, and that he himself purchased that same slave when Ashhab died. Ibn Yûnus speaks of Ashhab in his History, and says: "Ashhab was descended from Kais through the tribe of Aâmir, and "sprang from the family of Jaada; his surname was Abû Amr; he was one of "the first jurisconsults of Egypt, and a man of great judgment: born A. H. 140 "(A. D. 757); died on Saturday, 21st of Shâbân, A. H. 204 (A. D. 820.) He "wore his beard dyed (*in imitation of the primitive Moslims*)." Muhammad Ibn Aasim al-Maâfiri relates that he had a dream (5) in which he seemed to hear a voice say: "O, Muhammad!" to which he gave answer, and the voice then pronounced this verse:

> They are gone, those friends on whose departure we exclaim: O, that the earth and those which inhabit it were dissolved!

"At that time," says he, "Ashhab was sick, and I said: 'O, how greatly I "fear that he may die!' and he died of that illness."

(1) The life of Ibn al-Kâsim is given in this work: his full name is Abû Abd Allah Abd ar-Rahmân al-Otaki.

(2) See page 53, note (12).

(3) Literally: The contrary of that which is transitory.

(4) The signification of the words كان قد is explained in M. de Sacy's commentary on the Makâmas of al-Harîri; see page 311 of that work.

(5) See page 46, note (7).

## ASBAGH AL-MALIKI.

Abû Abd Allah Asbagh Ibn al-Faraj Ibn Saîd Ibn Nâfi, a doctor of the sect of Mâlik and a native of Egypt, studied jurisprudence under Ibn al-Kâsim,

Ibn Wahb, and Ashhab (1). It was said by Abd al-Malik Ibn al-Mâjishûn that Egypt never produced the like of Asbagh; and when asked if he did not make an exception in favour of Ibn al-Kâsim, he replied: "Not even Ibn al-" Kâsim." He was *kâtib* (2) to Ibn Wahb, and his ancestor Nâfi, who was an enfranchised slave of Abd al-Aziz Ibn Marwân Ibn al-Hakam the Omaiyide, was governor of Egypt (3). Asbagh died on Sunday, 25th of Shawwâl, 225 (A. D. 840), some state, however, that his death took place in 226 or 220.

(1) For the life of Ashhab, see the preceding article; the lives of Ibn al-Kâsim and Ibn Wahb will be found in the letter *ain*.

(2) *Kâtib*, copyist or secretary.

(3) Abd al-Aziz was appointed governor of Egypt by his father Marwân Ibn al-Hakam in the year 65 (A. D. 685), and was authorised by him not only to preside at public prayers (which was the prerogative of the governor), but to collect the revenue. He continued in the exercise of these functions till his death, which took place A. H. 85 (A. D. 704.)—(*An-Nujûm az-Zâhira.*)

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## AK SUNKUR THE HAJIB.

Abû Saîd Ak Sunkur (1) Ibn Abd Allah, surnamed Kasîm ad-Dawlat (*partner in the empire*), and generally known by the title of al-Hâjib (*the chamberlain*), was the ancestor of the Atâbeks of Mosul, and the father of Imâd 116 ad-dîn Zinki. He and Buzân (2), prince of Edessa, were mamlûks of the Seljûk Sultan, Malak Shah Ibn Alp Arslân. When Tâj ad-Dawlat Tutush Ibn Alp Arslân obtained possession of Aleppo (*in the year* 478) (A. D. 1085) (3), he left Ak Sunkur as his lieutenant in that city, thinking that he could place every reliance on one who was his brother's mamlûk. Ak Sunkur, however, revolted, and Tutush, who was then master of Damascus, marched against him and gave him battle, in the month of the first Jumâda, A. H. 487 (A. D. 1094); both sides fought with great animosity, and the conflict terminated by the death of Ak Sunkur (4). He was interred in the Zajjâjiya College at Aleppo. When I visited his tomb, I found it surrounded by a great number of persons, who met there every Friday for the purpose of reading the Ko-

ran (5); and I was informed that (*in recompense for their services*), a large sum, arising from the revenue of a *wakf* (6) founded for that purpose, was distributed among them; but I do not know by whom that *wakf* was established.—I have since discovered that it was established by Nûr ad-din Mahmûd, grandson of ak-Sunkur; I shall give his life later, and shall narrate also, in the life of Tutush, some particulars respecting Ak Sunkur, which are in contradiction to the foregoing statement (7). — The *Zajjâjiya* College was built by Abû 'l-Rabî Sulaimân Ibn Abd al-Jabbâr Ibn Ortuk, prince of Aleppo (8). Ak Sunkur was at first buried at (*Mount*) Karnebia, but his son Zinki, on obtaining possession of Aleppo, had his body transported to the Zajjâjiya, and introduced it into the city by hoisting it over the wall (9). Ak Sunkur was slain at a village called Rûyân, which is situated near Sabîn (10) in the dependencies of Aleppo, according to Yâkût (*in his Mushtarik*).

(1) Ak-Sunkur is a Turkish name; it means *white falcon*.

(2) This Buzân assisted ak-Sunkur in his revolt against Tutush, and was taken and beheaded by that prince, A. H. 487.—(*Zubdat al-Halab*.) The analysis of this work is given by professor Freytag in his *Selecta ex Historia Halebi*.

(3) It appears from a passage in the life of Tutush, that this date should have been inserted in the Arabic text. It is omitted in most of the manuscripts.

(4) A more full account of Ak Sunkur's revolt and death is given by Abû 'l-Fadâ in his Annals. Kamâl ad-dîn Omar Ibn al-Adîm says, in his *Zubdat al-Halab*, that the troops of Ak Sunkur did not resist an instant, and that he himself was taken *after* the battle and beheaded by Tutush.

(5) The merits and spiritual recompenses attached to the reading of the Koran are transferable to the dead, when this act of piety is performed on their account and in their name.

(6) See note (7), page 49.

(7) This is an oversight of the author; nothing of the kind is to be found in the life of Tutush.

(8) Sulaiman Ibn Abd al-Jabbâr was lieutenant of Il Ghâzi in Aleppo. (*Zubdat al-Halab*.)

(9) When the Atâbek Zinki transported the corpse of his father to the college situated in (*the quarter of Aleppo called*) *al-Zajjâjûn* (*the glassblowers*), he did not bring it through any of the city gates, but had it hoisted over the wall; for it would have been considered as an unlucky omen to introduce a dead body into the city.—(*Bughiat at-Talab*; MS. No. 726, fol. 180.) Kamâl ad-dîn, the author of this work, states that Ak Sunkur governed Aleppo with great justice, and that, under his excellent administration, the revenues of the city amounted to fifteen hundred dinars *per diem*. (Fol. 178, v.)

(10) The author of the *Marâsid al-Ittilâ* says that Sabîn is a village at the gate of Aleppo, but Abû 'l-Fadâ in his History, t. III. p. 290, places the field of battle at *Tall as-Sultân*, on the *river* Sabîn, at six parasangs from Aleppo.

## AK SUNKUR AL-BURSOKI.

Abû Saîd Ak Sunkur al-Bursoki al-Ghâzi (*the warrior*), surnamed Kasim ad-Dawlat Saif ad-dîn (*partner in the empire and sword of religion*), was prince of Musul, Rahaba, and the neighbouring countries. He got possession of these places on the death of the Ispâsalâr (1) Maudûd, who governed them and the Syrian provinces in the name of the Seljûk prince Muhammad Ibn Malak Shah (whose life shall be given in this work). Maudûd was murdered on Friday, 12th of the second Rabi, A. H. 507 (September, A. D. 1113), by a gang of Bâtinites (2), who attacked him in the great mosque of Damascus. Ak Sunkur was then acting as *shahna* (3) at Baghdad, to which post he had been appointed in the year 498 (A. D. 1004-5), by the sultan Muhammad, who had become master of the empire by the death of his brother Barkyârûk. In the year 499, Ak Sunkur was directed by the sultan Muhammad to lay siege to Tikrît, which was then in the possession of Kaikobâd Ibn Hazârasb the Dailamite, who was reported to be a partisan of the Bâtinite doctrines. In pursuance of his orders, Ak Sunkur made preparations for the expedition, and having set out in the month of Rajab of that year, he besieged Kaikobâd till Muharram, A. H. 500. When on the point of taking the city, Saif ad-Dawlat Sadaka came up, and was put in possession of it (4), and then returned to Hilla, accompanied by Kaikobâd, who took with him his treasures, but died on arriving. The sultan Muhammad, on being informed of Maudûd's assassination, ordered Ak Sunkur to set out for Mosul, and make preparations for attacking the Franks in Syria. On arriving at Mosul, he established his authority in the city, and then made an expedition against the Franks, whom he forced to raise the siege of Aleppo, which was closely pressed by them; he then returned to Mosul, and continued to inhabit it till his death. He was one of the greatest and most celebrated emirs under the Seljûkides. It was in the mosque of Mosul, on Friday, 9th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 520 (November, A. D. 1126), that he met with his death by the hands of some Bâtinites. Ibn al-Jawzi says, in his History, that he was slain in the *Maksûra* (5) of the mosque of Mosul, A. H. 519, whilst the kâtib Imâd ad-dîn states that it happened in 520; the latter writer says: "The 117

"assassins, who were sitting in the mosque, in the dress of Sûfis, sprang upon "him as he was retiring from prayers, and stabbed him in many places. This "was in the month of Zû' l-Kaada. Their enmity had been excited against "him, because he had persecuted and slain them in great numbers, with the "intention of eradicating their power." The government of Ak Sankur passed to his son Izz ad-dîn Masûd, whose death took place on Tuesday, 22nd of the latter Jumâda, 521 (July, A. D. 1127); Imâd ad-dîn Zinki (son of the Ak Sunkur whose life is given in the preceding article) was his successor.—The derivation of *Bursoki* was unknown to me, and as-Samâni makes no mention of the word; but I have since discovered that it comes from *Bursok*, the name of a Mamlûk belonging to the sultan Muhammad Toghrulbek, whose life we intend to give. This Bursok held a high rank under the Seljûk dynasty, and was one of their most remarkable and eminent emirs.

(1) This word, which is written اسفهسلار واسبهسالار and اسفهلار, signifies *commander of the troops*.

(2) The Bâtinites are the same as the Ismailians: they are better known in Europe as the Assassins الحشيشية. — See M. de Sacy's *Mémoire sur la dynastie des Assassins et sur l'étymologie de leur nom*; and his *Histoire des Druzes*.

(3) See page 172, note (4).

(4) This was a concerted plan between Sadaka and Kaikobâd, and must have caused great disappointment to Ak Sunkur, who had the promise of the sultan to be allowed to retain Tikrit as a fief after he had captured it. (Ibn al-Athîr's *Kâmil*.)

(5) In the great mosques, a railed enclosure or pew, called the *Maksûra* is reserved for the sultan or his lieutenant.

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## OMAIYA IBN ABI 'S-SALT.

Abû 's-Salt Omaiya Ibn Abd al-Azîz Ibn Abi 's-Salt al-Andalusi ad-Dâni (*a native of Denia in Spain*), possessed superior information in the different branches of general literature, and is author of a work entitled *al-Hadîka* (*the Grove*), which is composed on the plan of at-Thaâlibi's *Yatîma*; being also skilled in philosophy, he received the title of *al-Adîb al-Hakîm* (*the learned in belles-lettres and philosophy*): he was besides deeply versed in the sciences of

the ancients (1). Having left Spain, he took up his residence at Alexandria. The kâtib Imâd ad-dîn mentions him with commendation in the *Kharîda* (2), and cites the following, among other pieces of verse composed by him:

> Formed as I am of earth, the earth is my country, and the human race my relations. I must therefore impose on my camels a task of difficult accomplishment even for the tallest and the strongest (3).

I have not, however, met with these verses in Ibn Abi 's-Salt's poetical works. The kâtib gives also as his, the following piece:

> She said to me: "Why art thou living in obscurity? Is thy judgment weak or thy talent inferior?" To which I answered: "My fault in the eyes of the public is to have obtained glory such as they never possessed. It is in fortune alone that I am deficient, but I am rich in honourable deeds."

This piece also is not to be found in his *diwân*.—By the same:

> She tormented and sported with my heart, and then returned unconcerned. How intrepid is that gazelle whose magic charms prolong my sufferings (4); she kills with her looks whom she pleases, and whom she pleases she revives. Where is the love which she has not betrayed? Where are the promises which she does not break?

By the same:

> The *izâr* crept along his cheek, but retreated from the smiling lips it did not dare 118 to kiss. No wonder it should fear death from such a kiss; saliva is a deadly poison for scorpions (5).

By the same:

> I have seen a graceful maid, whose beauty partook of the qualities possessed by that liquor which she poured from the ewer into the wine-cup; its intoxicating power was in her looks, its colour in her cheeks, its flavour in her kiss.

The author of the *Kharîda* gives as his the following verses in his notice on al-Hasan Ibn Abi 'l-Shakhnâ (6):

> I marvel how your looks, which are so languishing, can captivate the brave and vigorous; your glances, though sheathed (*in your eyelids*), work the same effects as the unsheathed sword.

The poetical compositions of Omaiya Ibn Abi 's-Salt are numerous and good. Towards the end of his life he removed to al-Mahdiya (7), where he died on

Monday, the first day of the year 529 (22nd October, A. D. 1134); some, however, place his death on the 10th of Muharram, 528, and Imâd ad-din says in the *Kharîda* that he found written at the end of a copy of the *Hadîka* given him by al-kâdi al-Fâdil, that the author died on Monday, 12th of Muharram, A. H. 546; but the first is the true date, because most writers agree in giving it, and it is mentioned also in the *Jinân* of the kâdi ar-Rashid Ibn az-Zubair (8). Ibn Abi 's-Salt died (*as we have said*) at al-Mahdiya, and was buried at al-Monastir (9) (of which place we shall again speak in the life of Hibat Allah al-Bûsîri). The last words pronounced by him were the following verses of his own composition, which he ordered to be inscribed on his own tomb:

> I have dwelt in thee, O transitory world! in the full certainty of passing to an eternal abode; and the most awful circumstance for me in that event, is the obligation of appearing before one whose judgments are equitable, and who acts not unjustly. O! that I knew what reception shall be mine on that day; for my stock (*of merits*) is small, and my sins are many. If I be covered with confusion for my crimes (*I shall avow the justice of my sentence*), for I deserve the severest punishment inflicted on a sinner. But if mercy and forgiveness be shewn me, (*what happiness!*) for bliss shall be there, and joy without end.

In the height of his last illness, he addressed his son Abd al-Azîz in these terms:

> O, Abd al-Azîz! thou who art to replace me! Let the fear of the Lord of Heaven be before thee when I am gone. I thus do bind thee to fulfil a duty which thou knowest (*to be essential*): keep therefore thy agreement. If thou actest according to my recommendation, the true direction and thou shall be inseparable; if thou breakest thy promise, thou shalt err from the right way. I have now advised thee to the best of my power.

I have since discovered, in a compilation written by a native of Maghreb, that Abû 's-Salt was born at Denia, a city in Spain, in the year 460 (A. D. 1067-8), and that he studied under a number of persons in that country; among others, 119 Abû 'l-Walîd al-Wakshi, kâdi of Denia. He arrived at Alexandria with his mother on the festival of Sacrifices (10*th Zû 'l-Hijja*), 489; in the year 505 he was banished from Egypt by al-Afdal Shâhânshâh, but he continued some time at Alexandria, uncertain (*to what country he should go*); he departed in the year 506 for al-Mahdiya, where he was honourably received by the sovereign of that city, Ali Ibn Yahya Ibn Tamîm Ibn al-Moizz Ibn

Bâdis (10). He there had a son born to him, whom he called Abd al-Azîz, and who became a poet of superior ability and a skilful chess-player: Abd al-Azîz died at Bugia (*in the province of Algiers*), A. H. 546 (A. D. 1151). I may observe that Imâd ad-dîn, in citing the authority of al-kâdi al-Fâdil, has made a mistake and taken the date of the son's death for that of the father's. When Omaiya was imprisoned in Egypt, he composed, by al-Afdal's orders, a treatise on the use of the astrolabe; a work on astronomy, entitled *al-Wajîz* (*the compendium*); a treatise on simple medicines; a work on logic, entitled *Takwîm ad-Dihn* (*regulation of the mind*); another, called the *Intisâr* (*Aid*), containing an answer to Ali Ibn Ridwân's (11) refutation of Hunain Ibn Ishak's Medical Questions. When he had composed the *Wajîz* by order of al-Afdal, that vizir had it examined by his astronomer Abû Abd Allah of Aleppo, who gave as his opinion that the work could not be made use of by beginners in astronomy, and that those who were masters of that science had no occasion for it. One of Omaiya's verses is as follows:

> Why should his clothes not be worn out, since he is a full moon (*in beauty*), and they are of linen.

His reason for enouncing so singular a thought is, that linen rots when exposed to the light of the moon. The disease of which Omaiya died was dropsy.

(1) *The sciences of the ancients;* the philosophical doctrines of the Greeks.

(2) See MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 1375, fol. 76. Numerous extracts from the poems of Abû 's-Salt are there given.

(3) That is, I must visit a generous patron who lives in a distant land.

(4) Literally: Who bloweth on the knots of patience; see Sale's Koran, note on surat 113, in which a similar expression occurs.

(5) See Introduction.

(6) Abû Ali al-Hasan Ibn Abd as-Samad Ibn Abi 's-Shakhnâ, surnamed al-Mujîd, was a native of Askalon in Syria, and the greatest poet which that city produced. He was living A. H. 470 (A. D. 1077-8). Imâd ad-dîn's *Kharîda* furnishes little information respecting him, but it contains numerous fragments of his poetry. See MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 1374, fol. 13 *v*. In this manuscript, the name of as-Shakhnâ is written *as-Shajnâ* الشجنا.

(7) Al-Mahdiya, a sea-port city lying to the south of Tunis, was founded A. H. 303, by al-Mahdi Obaid Allah, the first of the Fatimite khalifs. For its description see al-Bakri's geography of Northern Africa in the *Notices et Extraits*, tom. 12, p. 470.

(8) See his life, page 143.

(9) It would appear from al-Bakri's description of Northern Africa, that Monastir, a sea-port town 50 miles S. E. of Tunis, was a sort of military convent, or *ribât*: see *Notices et Extraits*, tom. 12, p. 488.

(10) In the life of Yahya Ibn Tamîm will be found the requisite information respecting Ali Ibn Yahya: mention is also made, in the same article, of Omaiya Ibn Abi 's-Salt, and of some works composed by him, which are not indicated here.

(11) Ali Ibn Ridwân died, A. H. 460 (A. D. 1067-8). See Abû 'l-Faraj, p. 236, in which work will be found several anecdotes respecting him; see also *Russell's Description of Aleppo*, vol. 2, *appendix*, p. xix. His life is given in the *Târîkh al-Hukamâ*, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, supplement, No. 105, page 351.

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## IYAS AL-KADI.

Abû Wâthila Iyâs was son of Moawia Ibn Kurra Ibn Iyâs Ibn Hilâl Ibn Rabbâb Ibn Obaid Ibn Suât Ibn Sâria Ibn Dubyân Ibn Thalaba Ibn Sulaim Ibn Aûs Ibn Muzaina, for which reason he was surnamed al-Muzani, or the descendant of Muzaina. He was renowned for eloquence (1) and penetration, and the acuteness of his mind was proverbial; the persons of merit who spoke their language with elegance considered him as their chief; (*his judgment was so sure, that*) his conjectures were verified by the events, and in the management of affairs he showed great dexterity. It is he to whom al-Hariri alludes in the following passage of his seventh *makâma*: *In quickness of understanding, I resemble Ibn Abbâs, and in the art of physiognomy I possess the talent of Iyâs* (2). He was appointed kâdi of Basra by (*the khalif*) Omar Ibn Abd al-Azîz, and his great-grandfather Iyâs was one of the companions of Muhammad. His father Moawia, having been asked how his son behaved towards him, replied: "An excellent boy! (*his filial piety*) relieves me from the cares of "this world, so that I have leisure to think of the next." Iyâs was celebrated for his talents and judgment; he was equally remarkable for his acuteness, instances of which are thus related: Being at a place in which something happened productive of alarm, and where three females whom he did not know were present, he said: "One of these females is pregnant, "the other is nursing, and the third is a virgin." On inquiry, it was found that he had judged right; and on being asked how he had acquired that

information, he replied: "In time of danger, persons lay their hands on what "they most prize; now I saw that the pregnant woman, in her fright, placed "her hand on her belly, which showed that she was with child; and I per- "ceived the nurse place her hand on her bosom, by which I knew that she was "suckling; and the movement of the virgin's arm (3) proved to me that she was "a maid."—Hearing a Jew express his astonishment at the silliness of the Moslims in imagining that the inhabitants of paradise are to eat food, and yet not be subject to any natural evacuation, he asked him if all that he eat passed off in that manner; and on the Jew's replying, that God converted a portion of it into nourishment, he said: "Why then dost thou deny the possibility of God's convert- "ing into nourishment the whole of the food eaten by the inhabitants of para- "dise?"—Being one day in the court-yard of a house at Wasit, he said that there was an animal under one of the bricks (*which formed the pavement*); and the people having pulled it up, found a snake coiled under it. He was then asked how he came to know it, and he answered: "I saw that, among all the bricks in "the pavement, there were only two between which any dampness appeared; so "I knew that there must have been something underneath which breathed."— As he was one day passing by a place, he said that he heard the howl of a strange dog, and on being asked how he knew that, he answered: "I know it from the "lowness of his howl, and the loudness of the other dogs in barking." On examination, it was found that a strange dog was tied up there, and that the other dogs were barking at him.—Another day, he saw a fissure in the ground, and said that some animal was beneath, which was found to be true: being asked how he knew it, he replied that a fissure in the ground could only be produced by an animal or by a plant (*underneath*). Al-Jâhiz says that, on examining a raised spot in an even soil, if the orifice be found of a regular form, and surrounded with loose earth, it is a sign that a truffle is below (4); but if the opening be irregularly shaped, and the earth thrown up unevenly, it denotes the presence of an animal. - Were I not apprehensive of being prolix, I should relate many singular instances of his clear-sightedness, but one of our learned men has already compiled a large volume on that subject. When Omar Ibn Abd al-Azîz was khalif, he wrote to Adi Ibn Arta, who acted as his lieutenant in Irak, ordering him to effect a meeting between Iyâs Ibn Moawia and al-Kasim Ibn Rabîa al-Harashi, and authorising him to appoint the most acute-minded of the two kâdi of Basra.

The meeting having taken place, Iyâs said to Ibn Arta: "O emir! ask the two "great doctors of Egypt, al-Hasan al-Basri and Muhammad Ibn Sirin, their "opinion of al-Kasim and me." (*His object in this was, to avoid the heavy responsibility which he should incur, were he to accept the office of kâdi, and he therefore wished that the choice of the emir should fall upon al-Kasim, who would certainly be strongly recommended by these two doctors;*) for al-Kasim went often to see them, whilst he, Iyâs, did not. Al-Kasim (*being equally unwilling to fill the place of kâdi, and*) aware that these two doctors would advise the emir to name him, said: "Make no inquiries respecting me or him, for "I solemnly aver by the only true God, that Iyâs Ibn Moawia is an abler juris-"consult than I, and knows better the duties of a kâdi; if what I say be false, you "cannot legally appoint me, because I am a liar; and if my declaration be true, "it is incumbent on you to receive it (*and act by it*)." On this Iyâs said: "(*O "emir!*) you set a man on the brink of perdition, and he escapes the dangers "which he apprehends, by making a false oath, for which he will implore God's "forgiveness." "Since you perceive that," replied Adi Ibn Arta, "you are "fit to fill the place;" and he appointed him accordingly (5). It is related of Iyâs that he said: "I was never worsted (*in penetration*) but by one man; I "had taken my seat in the court of judgment at Basra, when a person came be-"fore me and gave testimony that a certain garden, of which he mentioned the "boundaries, belonged to a man whom he named. (*As I had some doubts of "his veracity,*) I asked him how many trees were in that garden; and he said "to me, after a short silence, 'How long is it since our lord the kâdi has been "giving judgment in this hall?' I told him the time. 'How many beams,' "said he, 'are there in the roof?' On which I acknowledged that he was in the "right, and I received his testimony."—Iyâs was once in the desert, and the water had run short, when he heard the bark of a dog: "That fellow," said he, "is at the mouth of a well." His companions, having gone to the place from which the barking proceeded, found the fact as he had stated; on which they asked him how he knew it, and he replied that the barking which he had heard seemed to issue from a well. Many other extraordinary instances are related of his sagaciousness. It is stated by Abû Ishak Ibn Hafs that Iyâs dreamt that he should live till the next Festival of Sacrifices (*which takes place each year on the 10th Zû 'l-Hijja*); he therefore retired to a farm which he had at Abdasi

(a village in the dependencies of Dosht Maisân, which place lies between Basra and Khûzestan); and he died there in the year 122 (A. D. 739-40), or, by another account, in the year 121, at the age of 76. In the year of his death, he related that he had a dream (6), in which it seemed to him that he and his father were riding a race, and that one was unable to outstrip the other; he then mentioned that his father had lived seventy-six years, and that he himself was in that year of his age. On the night before he died, he said: "Do you know that in this "night I shall have reached my father's age?" He then went to sleep, and was found dead in the morning. His father Moawia died A. H. 80 (A. D. 699). —(*We shall conclude this article by another anecdote respecting Iyâs:*) A number of persons, amongst whom was Ans Ibn Mâlik (7), then nearly one hundred years of age, were looking out for the new moon of the month of Ramadân (8); Ans said that he saw it, and he pointed to the place, but the others could not discern it. On this, Iyâs went up to Ans, and perceived that a hair of his eyebrow was bent down (*before the pupil of the eye, and thus produced an optical delusion*); he therefore drew his finger over it, and smoothed it to his brow, after which he said: "O Abû Hamza! show us the moon;" and the other looked again, but could not discover it.

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(1) An Arab of the desert defined eloquence as the art of expressing one's ideas with precision and brevity. Arabic eloquence is therefore quite different from European; it is laconicism rather than eloquence.

(2) See De Sacy's *Harîri*, page 72.

(3) The Arabic is here much more explicit.

(4) Truffles are common in the Syrian Desert about the month of April. They are a favourite dish with the Arabs. (Burckhardt's *Notes on the Bedouins*, vol. 1, page 60.)

(5) In the early ages of Islamism, pious Moslims were deterred from exercising the functions of judge, by consideration of the heavy responsibility they should incur, and the strict account they should give to God of their administration. There were many instances of learned jurisconsults suffering persecution and punishment rather than consent to fill so dangerous an office. Their apprehensions were grounded on the *Sunna*, or Traditions, which furnish many positive declarations on the subject; according to one of these traditions, Muhammad said: "There will come upon a judge, at the day of resurrection, such fear and hor- "ror, that he will wish: 'Would to God I had not judged between two persons in a trial for the value of a "single date!'" Muhammad said also: "He who shall be judge and awards agreeably to justice, will nei- "ther gain nor loose." (See other traditions of similar import in Matthew's *Mishkât al-Masâbih*, vol. 2, page 221.)

(6) See note (7), page 46.

(7) Ans Ibn Mâlik, one of the last survivors among the companions of Muhammad, died at Basra, about

the year 92, (A. D. 710-11), aged 102 years. He had served ten years under the Prophet, to whose prayers (say the Moslim writers,) he was indebted for his long life, his great wealth (his palm-trees bearing fruit twice every year), and upwards of eighty children.—(*Siar as-Salaf.*)

(8) The Moslim Lent begins on the appearance of the new moon in the month of Ramadân.

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## IBN AL-KIRRIYA AL-HILALI.

Abû Sulaimân Aiyûb al-Hilâli, surnamed Ibn al-Kirrîya, was son of Zaid Ibn Kais Ibn Zurâra Ibn Salama Ibn Jusham Ibn Mâlik Ibn Amr Ibn Aâmir Ibn Zaid Manât Ibn Aâmir Ibn Saad Ibn al-Khazraj Ibn Taim Allah Ibn an-Nimr Ibn Kâsit Ibn Himb (1) Ibn Adnân. *Al-Kirrîya* was the surname of one of his female ancestors, whose real name was Jamâa, and who descended also from the Khazraj of the above genealogy; her father, Jusham, being son to Rabîa Ibn Zaid Manât Ibn Aûf Ibn Saad Ibn al-Khazraj. Ibn al-Kirrîya was an untutored Arab of the Desert, but the elegance and precision of his language entitled him to the reputation of being one of the first orators among that people. A season of severe drought having obliged him to quit the Desert, he went to Aîn at-Tamar (2), the governor (3) of which was under the orders of al-Hajjâj Ibn Yûsuf. This governor kept open table every day, morning and evening, and Ibn al-Kirrîya, who had stopped at the door of the palace and saw the people enter, asked where they were going; being informed that they were going to dine with the emir, he went in also, and dined along with them. He then asked if the emir did so every day, and being answered in the affirmative, he went to the palace every day for morning and evening meals. It happened, however, that the emir received a letter from al-Hajjâj, written in the pure Arabic of the Desert, and full of uncommon expressions, which he was unable to understand, and, for that reason, he caused dinner to be delayed. Ibn al-Kirrîya, on his arrival, not seeing the emir at table, asked why he did not dine, nor have dinner served for his guests; and he was informed that al-Hajjâj had sent him (*the governor*) a letter which he could not understand, as it was in the language of the Desert Arabs, and worded in terms of rare occurrence. On this, Ibn al-Kirrîya, who was an able orator and spoke (*the pure Arabic*) with fluency and eloquence, said: "Let the

"emir have the letter read to me, and I shall explain it with the help of God." This being told to the emir, he called him in; and Ibn al-Kirrîya, on hearing the letter read, explained to him all the contents. "Could you answer it?" said the emir. "I cannot read," said Ibn al-Kirrîya, "neither can I write; "but I may sit by a person who can write down what I dictate." The answer was drawn up accordingly, and sent to al-Hajjâj, who, on hearing it read, perceived that it was in the pure language of the Arabs, and that its expressions were of uncommon elegance; and knowing that such was not the ordinary style of writers in the tax office, he caused the letters of the governor of Ain at-Tamar to be brought, and found that they were not like that which he had just received. He therefore wrote to the governor in these terms: "Your letter "has come to hand; it is widely different from your (*usual*) answers, and is in a "language not your own: therefore, on the perusal of this, lay it not out of "your hand before you send me the man who dictated to you your letter. "Adieu." The governor read this note to Ibn al-Kirrîya, and told him to go to al-Hajjâj; the other wished to be dispensed, but the governor insisted, and having ordered him a dress, a supply of money, and a conveyance, he sent him off. Ibn al-Kirrîya, on arriving, went to al-Hajjâj, who said to him: "What is "your name!"—"Aiyûb."—"That," said al-Hajjâj, "is the name of a pro- "phet, and yet I think that you are an untutored Arab of the Desert (4), one who "meddles with eloquence, and finds no difficulty in expressing his thoughts." He then gave him a hospitable reception, and his admiration for him increased to such a height, that he intrusted him with a mission to (*the khalif*) Abd al-Mâlik Ibn Marwân. On the revolt of Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Ashâth Ibn Kais al-Kindi (5) in Sejestan, al-Hajjâj sent Ibn al-Kirrîya on a mission to that chieftain. When he entered, Ibn al-Ashâth said to him: "You must "mount the pulpit, and say the *khotba* (6), and you must pronounce the "deposition of Abd al-Mâlik, and revile al-Hajjâj; if not, I shall strike off 122 "your head." Ibn al-Kirrîya represented that he was an ambassador (*and ought to be respected*), but the other merely replied that he should do what he had said. He was therefore obliged to mount the pulpit, pronounce the deposition of Abd al-Malik and rail at al-Hajjâj. He then remained at that place. On the defeat and repulse of Ibn al-Ashâth (7), al-Hajjâj wrote to his agents at Rai, Ispahan, and the neighbouring places,

ordering them to arrest all the partisans of Ibn al-Ashâth whom they might meet, and send them to him prisoners. Ibn al-Kirrîya was among the number that were taken, and on being brought before al-Hajjâj, the following dialogue ensued (8) :—Al-Hajjâj : "Answer what I ask thee."—Ibn al-Kirrîya : "Ask what thou wilt."—H.: "What sayest thou of the people of "Irak?"—K.: "They know the best of any the difference between true (*rights*) "and vain (*pretensions*)."—H.: "And what of the people of Hijâz?"—K.: "They are the most prompt of any to sedition, and the feeblest when in it."—H.: "What of the people of Syria?"—K.: "The most submissive of any to their "khalifs."—H.: "And the people of Egypt?"—K.: "They are the slaves of "him who conquers."—H.: "Those of Bahrain?"—K.: "They are Nabateans "become Arabs."—H.: "What sayest thou of the people of Ammân?"—K.: "They are Arabs become Nabateans (9)."—H.: "The people of Mosul?"—K.: "The bravest of horsemen, and the most fatal to their foes."—H.: "And those "of Yemen?"—K.: "People who hear and obey, and cling to the strong side."—H.: "Those of Yemâma?"—K.: "They are rude and fickle, yet most firm in "fight."—H.: "The people of Fars?"—K.: "They are mighty in their vio-"lence, and ready to work woe; their plains are extensive, their towns few."—H.: "Now tell me of the Arabs."—K.: "Ask."—H.: "The Koraish?"—K.: "The greatest in prudence, and the noblest in rank."—H.: "The tribe of "Aâmir Ibn Sâsâa?"—K.: "They bear the longest spears, and are the bravest "in making inroads (10)."—H.: "The Banû Sulaim?"—K.: "The most socia-"ble, and also the most generous in their gifts for God's service (11)."—H.: "The tribe of Thakîf (12)?"—K.: "The noblest by their ancestry, and the "most frequent in their deputations."—H.: "And the Banu Zubaid?"—K.: "They are the most attached to their standards, and the most successful in "their vengeances."—H.: "What sayest thou of the tribe of Kudâa?"—K.: "The greatest in importance, the noblest in origin, and the widest in renown." H.: "What of the Ansârs?"—K.: "The best established in rank, the most "sincere in their acceptance of Islamism, and the most illustrious in their "combats."—H.: "The tribe of Tamîm?"—K.: "The most conspicuous for "their fortitude, and the greatest by their numbers."—H.: "Bakr Ibn Wâil?" K.: "The firmest in their ranks, the sharpest in their swords."—H.: "And "Abd al-Kais?"—K.: "The first to reach the goal, and the best swordsmen

"under standards."—H.: "What of the Banû Asad?"—K.: "A people great "in number and fortitude; difficult to overcome, and firm in resisting."—H.: H.: "The tribe of Lakhm?"—K.: "Princes, but some of them fools (13)."—H.: "And Judâm?"—K.: "They light up war, and fan it into a flame; they "make it fruitful, and they reap the profits (14)."—H.: "The Banû 'l-Hârith?" —K.: "They are maintainers of their ancient glory, and protectors of female "honour."—H.: "The tribe of Akk?"—K.: "Obstinate lions, with hearts "working evil."—H.: "Taghlib?"—K.: "They strike home when they meet "the enemy, and they raise around him the flames of war."—H.: "And Ghas-"sân?"—K.: "They of the Arabs possess the highest reputation, and the best "established genealogy." — H.: "Which of the Arab tribes in the time of "paganism was the farthest above the reach of insult?" - K.: "Koraish; the "people of a hill (*of glory*) which is inaccessible, of a mount not to be shaken; "dwelling in a town of which God declared the rights sacred, and took under "his protection the clients who sought its shelter."—H.: "Tell me now of the "character of each Arabian tribe in the time of paganism."—K.: "The Arabs "used to say: Himyar are lords of the kingdom; Kinda are the pure race of kings; "Madhij are spearsmen; Hamdân, horsemen (15); and Azd, the lions of the hu-"man race."—H.: "Tell me now about the countries of the earth."—K.: "Ask." —H.: "What is India?"—K.: "Its seas are pearl; its mountains, rubies; its trees, "(*sweet-smelling*) aloes; their leaves, perfumes; its people, a vile multitude, "(*fearful*) as a flock of pigeons."—H.: "The people of Khorasan?"—K.: "Their waters are frozen, and the enemy they must contend with obsti-"nate (16)."—H.: "What sayest thou of Omân?"—K.: "Its heat is violent, "and its game ready at hand."—H.: "And Bahrain (17)?"—K.: "It is a heap "of refuse between the two cities (18)."—H.: "What of Yemen?"—K.: "It "is the stock from which the Arabs are sprung; the people come of noble "houses, and bear a high reputation."—H.: "And Mekka?"—K.: "Its men "are learned yet rude, and its women clothed yet naked."—H.: "Medina?" K.: "It was there learning took root and sprang up." — H.: "Basra?" — K. "Its winters are frosty, its heats violent; its waters salt, and its wars peace."—H.: "And Kûfa?"—K.: "It is so high that it feels not the heat of the sea, and "so low that the cold of Syria does not reach it; its nights are pleasant, and its "good things abundant."—H.: "What sayest thou of Wâsit?"—K. "It is a 123

"wife (19) placed between a mother-in-law and a sister-in-law."—H.: "And "what are its mother-in-law and sister-in-law?"—K.: "Basra and Kûfa, which "are jealous of it; but what harm can await it, since the Tigris and the Zâb "shed, as they flow, prosperity upon it?"—H.: "What of Syria?"—K.: "It is "a fair bride, with females seated around her."—H.: "Woe be to thee (20), "O Ibn Kirriya; (*it had been better for thee*) that thou hadst not followed the "people of Irak and adopted their hypocritical doctrines, after my telling "thee to avoid them." He then called forth the executioner, to whom Ibn al-Kirrîya made a sign to wait, and then said: "May God prosper the emir! (*let me say only*) three words, which shall become proverbs after my "death (21)."—H.: "Out with them."—K.: "The best horse may stumble; the "best sword may rebound without cutting; and the man of prudence may com- "mit a fault."—H.: "This is not a time for jesting. Slave, inflict his (*death's*) "wound!" On these words, the executioner struck off his head. According to another account, al-Hajjâj said, as he was about to put Ibn al-Kirrîya to death: "The Arabs pretend that for each thing there is a cause of ruin; what "then is the ruin of clemency?"—K.: "Anger."—H.: "What is the ruin of a "bright understanding?"—K.: "Self-admiration."—H.: "What is the ruin of "knowledge?"—K.: "Forgetfulness."—H.: "What ruins a reputation for "liberality?"—K.: "To bestow on those in affliction, and tell them that "they are undeserving."—H.: "What ruins the credit of the generous?" —K.: "To keep company with the base."—H.: "What is the ruin of "bravery?"—K.: "Tyranny."—H.: "What is the ruin of piety?"—K.: "Lukewarmness."—H.: "And of genius?"—K.: "Ambition."—H.: "And "of tradition?"—K.: "Falsehood."—H.: "What is the ruin of property?" —K.: "Bad management."—H.: "What is the ruin of the perfect man?"— K.: "Privation (*of life*)."—H.: "What is the ruin of al-Hajjâj Ibn Yusûf?" —K.: "May God prosper the emir! nothing can ruin one whose reputation "is noble, whose family is illustrious, and whose fortune is flourishing (22)."— H.: "Thou art full of schism; thou hast shown thyself a hypocrite! Strike "off his head." When he saw him dead, he was sorry for it.——I took the above account from the work entitled *Kitâb al-Lafîf* (23), and gave it in full, as it was so connected that it was not possible to make an extract from it. To the demand of a learned man, who asked him the definition of address (24), Ibn

al-Kirrîya replied: "To bear with vexations, and wait for opportunities." The following was his definition of embarrassment: Stammering not produced by a natural infirmity, hesitation without motive (25), and stumbling without cause. He was put to death A. H. 84 (A. D. 703). This is the person meant by the grammarians when, in citing their examples, they say *Ibn al-Kirrîya in the time of al-Hajjâj* (26). Abû 'l-Faraj al-Ispahâni says, in his *Kitâb al-Aghâni*, after giving a full account of Majnûn, the lover of Laila (27): "It has "even been said that there are three persons who had never any real existence, "though their (*supposed*) adventures and names are well known; namely, "Majnûn, the lover of Laila, Ibn al-Karrîya," (he of whom we are now speaking,) "and Yahya Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Abi 'l-Akb, the putative author of the "*Malâhim* (28)."—*Ibn al-Kirrîya* was so named after al-Kirrîya, mother of Jusham Ibn Mâlik Ibn Amr, one of his ancestors; she had been first married to Amr, and on his death she became the wife of his son Mâlik (29), by whom she had Jusham. *Kirrîya*, as an appellative noun, signifies *the crop of a bird*, but it was given to this woman as her real name. Some learned genealogists state, that al-Kirrîya's true name was Jamâa; (as has been said towards the commencement of this article;) and that she had two sons by Mâlik: Jusham, ancestor of Ibn al-Kirrîya, and Kulaib, maternal grandfather of al-Abbâs Ibn Abd al-Muttalib, uncle of Muhammad; for Nutaila, or Natla, mother of al-Abbâs, was daughter of Hubâb, son of Kulaib, son of Mâlik: from this it would appear that al-Abbâs was a descendant of al-Kirrîya. Ibn Kutaiba says, in his *Kitâb al-Maârif*, that Ibn al-Kirrîya was surnamed *Hilâli* because he sprung from the tribe of Hilâl Ibn Rabîa Ibn Zaid Manât Ibn Aâmir; but Ibn al-Kalbi states that he descended from Malik Ibn Amr Ibn Zaid Manât; there is then no Hilâl in Ibn al-Kirrîya's genealogy (*as given by Ibn al-Kalbi*); and Hilâl and Malik are only related to each other through Zaid Manât; God knows best!—

—*Hilâli* means *descended from Hilâl* Ibn Rabîa Ibn Zaid Manât, a branch of the tribe of Nimr Ibn Kâsit: there is another Arabian tribe of the same name descended from Aâmir Ibn Sâsaa. Ibn al-Kalbi has noticed these two tribes in his *Jamharat an-Nisab*, and marked the relationship by marriage which existed between them; the reader is therefore referred to that work.

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(1) I have here suppressed the intervening links of this genealogy, as they have been already given in the life of Ahmad Ibn Hanbal; page 44.

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(2) Ain at-Tamar is situated on the edge of the Desert to the west of the Euphrates (*Marâsid*).

(3) The word عامل (*admil*), which is here translated *governor*, signifies literally *an agent*; it was also the name given to the resident officers who collected the revenue in the provinces.

(4) The names of patriarchs and prophets were more frequently borne by the Arabs who dwelt in towns, than by those who inhabited the Desert.

(5) See *Abulfedæ Annales*, tom. I. p. 423; and Price's *Retrospect of Muhammadan History*, vol. I. p. 455. This revolt took place A. H. 80 (A. D. 699).

(6) See note (2), page 174.

(7) A. H. 83 (A. D. 702). Price's *Retrospect*, page 461.

(8) This singular dialogue or catechism is frequently cited by Arabic historians and philologers; and is remarkable as an encyclopædia of the knowledge possessed at that period by the inhabitants of the Desert; it is frequently obscure, its style being singularly concise and ancient. But it may be doubted if such a conversation as this really took place between al-Hajjâj and Ibn al-Kirrîya.

(9) The contempt of the Arabs for the Nabateans is well known.

(10) I have doubts respecting the real meaning of the expression اكرمهم صباحا.

(11) I may be possibly mistaken here.

(12) This is the tribe to which al-Hajjâj belonged.

(13) It was to this tribe that the Mundirs of Hira belonged.

(14) Literally: They impregnate it and milk it.

(15) Literally: Saddle cloths; that is, always on horseback.

(16) Probably the Turkish tribes.

(17) *Bahrain*, as it is now written and pronounced, is a noun in the accusative case of the dual; it would appear that in old times it was pronounced *Bahrân* in the nominative, which is more correct. The province of Bahrain is to the south-west of the Persian Gulf.

(18) This I do not understand; but Kûfa and Basra were sometimes called *the two cities*.

(19) I have followed the authority of the MSS. in printing جنة (*a garden*) in the Arabic text, but I am inclined to think that حنة (*a wife*) is the true reading. According to Abû 'l-Fadâ, Wasit lay between Kûfa and Basra, at the distance of fifty parasangs from each.

(20) Literally: May thy mother be bereft of thee!

(21) In the translation I have omitted rendering the expression كانهن ركب وقوف, as it is impossible to make it understood without a note. Ibn al-Kirrîya's words are: "May God prosper the emir! *three words like a troop of travellers when halted.*" This is most probably an allusion to the third verse of Amro 'l-Kais's *Moallaka*, in which the poet describes his sorrow at the sight of the abandoned cottage where his mistress dwelled, and relates that his two companions *stopped* their camels وقوفا, and endeavoured to console him. Their troop was therefore composed of *three* persons, and it is to this number of *three* that Ibn al-Kirrîya made allusion. He merely meant that the words which he had to say were three in number, like the troop of Amro 'l-Kais. Al-Hajjâj possessing, as he did, a great acquaintance with the language, customs, and poems of the Desert Arabs, must have immediately understood the expression.

(22) Literally: Whose branches are growing.

(23) This work is not noticed by Hajji Khalifa.

(24) Meaning address in the management of affairs.

(25) Literally: Not arising from doubtfulness (or mental incertitude).

(26) I take the words *Ibn al-Kirrîya in the time of al-Hajjâj* to be a grammatical example cited to prove

that a noun governed in the genitive case by a preposition may sometimes be put in the accusative, and the preposition suppressed, thus, زمانَ is for فى زمان.

(27) See M. de Sacy's *Anthologie grammaticale*, p. 150.

(28) The *Malâhim* (*prognostics*) is a collection of predictions and pretended prophecies. There were a number of works which bore this title. M. de Sacy has an excellent note on the subject in his *Chrestomathie*, tom. II. pag. 298 *et seq.*

(29) These incestuous marriages were common before Islamism. See Pocock's *Specimen*, p. 325, 2nd edit.

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## NAJM AD-DIN AIYUB.

Abû 's-Shukr Aiyûb Ibn Shâdi Ibn Marwân, surnamed al-Malik al-Afdal Najm ad-dîn (*the excellent prince, the star of religion*), was father of the sultan Salâh ad-dîn Yûsuf, to whose life the reader is referred for the rest of the genealogy, and the nature of the uncertainty which prevails respecting it; we need not therefore repeat it here. An historian says: "Shâdi Ibn Marwân belonged to one of the most eminent and respectable families of Duwîn (1); he "had there a companion called Jamâl ad-Dawlat al-Mujâhid Bihrûz," (the same who is mentioned in the life of Salâh ad-dîn,) "who was a most engaging and "insinuating man, and gifted with superior abilities for the management of "affairs; they were like two brothers for their mutual attachment, but an "adventure which happened to Bihrûz at Duwîn forced him to abandon that "city in shame and confusion. Having been suspected of improper familiarity "with the wife of an emir, he was seized and castrated by the husband; after "this cruel mutilation, he would remain no longer in the city, but departed "with the intention of entering the service of the sultan (*of Irak*), Ghiâth ad-"dîn Masûd, son of Muhammad Ibn Malakshah." (The lives of these princes will be found in this work.) "He there became acquainted with the tutor of the "sultan's sons, and gained his favour and confidence by the address and skill "which he displayed in all the affairs entrusted to his management; the tutor "even authorised him to ride out with the young princes, when business pre-"vented him from accompanying them himself. The sultan having perceived "him one day with his sons, rebuked the tutor, who informed him that the "person whom he had seen was a eunuch possessing great talents, and highly to

" be commended for his piety and morality. He then sent Bihrûz occasionally on " business to the sultan, who at length took much pleasure in his company, and " chose him for his companion when he played at chess or draughts (2). " Bihrûz got thus into such favour, that on the death of the tutor, he was chosen " to fill his place; and being also entrusted by the prince with every affair of " importance, his reputation spread over the empire. He then sent to Shâdi, " inviting him to come and witness the prosperity which he had attained, and par- " take of the good fortune with which God had favored him, 'for,' said he, 'I " wish you to know that I do not forget you.' On his arrival, Shâdi met with the " greatest attention and kindness from his old friend, and he afterwards, with " his sons, accompanied Bihrûz to Baghdâd, whither he had been sent by the " sultan as governor; it being the custom of the Seljûk sultans to have a lieute- " nant in that city. Bihrûz having received the castle of Tikrit in gift from " his sovereign, appointed Shâdi to the command of that place, finding that he, " above all others, was worthy of this mark of confidence. Shâdi died at Tikrit, " and was succeeded by his son Najm ad-din Aiyûb" (the subject of this article), " who obtained, for his able administration, the thanks and the rewards of Bih- " rûz. He was older than his brother Asad ad-din Shirkûh;" (whose life we intend to give). This relation differs in some points from that which is contained in the life of Salâh ad-dîn (*given in this work*); but the facts may, no doubt, be perfectly established by combining the two accounts. We have also mentioned in that article by what means it was, that Imâd ad-dîn Zinki, lord of 125 Musûl, became acquainted with Najm ad-dîn Aiyûb and Asad ad-dîn Shirkûh; there is therefore no necessity for repeating it here (3). It happened some time after this, that one of the females went out of the castle of Tikrit on some business, and passed, on her return, by Najm ad-din Aiyûb and his brother Asad ad-dîn Shirkûh, who remarked that she was weeping, and asked her the cause; on which she told them that on entering the castle gate, she had been insulted by the Isfahsalâr (4). Shirkûh, on hearing this, rose up, and seizing the halberd which belonged to that officer, struck him with it and killed him. In consequence of this, Najm ad-din imprisoned him and wrote to Bihrûz, informing him of the circumstance, and putting Shirkûh at his disposal. Bihrûz made answer in these terms: "I have been under obligations to your " father, who was my intimate friend; it is not therefore possible for me to

"treat either of you with severity; but it is my wish that you and your bro-
"ther retire from my service, that you leave the city of Tikrît, and seek your
"livelihood where you will." This letter having put it out of their power to remain any longer at Tikrît, they went to Mosûl, where they met with a favourable reception from the atâbek Imâd ad-dîn Zinki, who treated them with great honour and kindness, on account of his former acquaintance with them, and granted them a rich fief. When this atâbek obtained afterwards possession of the castle of Baalbek, he appointed Najm ad-dîn Aiyûb as his lieutenant in that place. All these circumstances have been already related in the life of Salâh ad-dîn, but in different terms. When I was at Baalbek, I saw there a convent of Sûfis, founded by Najm ad-dîn during his stay in that city, and called *the Najmiya* after him. He was a man of great holiness and piety, fond of virtuous society and animated (*in all his actions*) by the purest motives and the best intentions. We have mentioned in the beginning of Salâh ad-dîn's life some particulars respecting his father Najm ad-dîn, and have there related his appointment to the government of Baalbek by Zinki, and his removal afterwards to Damascus; it is not therefore necessary to repeat the same account here. When Shîrkûh went to Egypt to assist Shâwir, his brother Aiyûb remained at Damascus in the service of Nûr ad-dîn Mahmûd, son of Zinki: we shall speak of this expedition in the life of Shîrkûh and in that of Shâwir. In the reign of al-Aâdid, the (*Fatimite khalif and*) lord of Egypt, Salâh ad-dîn became vizir of that country, and sent to request the presence of his father Aiyûb, who was still in Syria. In pursuance of his desire, Aiyûb was authorised to set out for Egypt, and was accompanied by a guard of honour furnished by Nûr ad-dîn, who defrayed also all the expenses of the journey (5). He arrived at Cairo on the 24th Rajab, 565 (April, A. D. 1170); on approaching the city, al-Aâdid went out to meet him, in order to testify his esteem for Salâh ad-dîn, who, on his part, treated his father with all due honour and respect; he even offered to resign the authority over to him, but Aiyûb replied: "O, my son!
"God had not chosen thee to fill this place, hadst thou not been deserving of it;
"and it is not right to change the object of Fortune's favours." Aiyûb continued to remain with his son till the latter obtained the sovereignty of Egypt, particulars of which event shall be given in his life. On the departure of Salâh ad-dîn to lay siege to Karak (6), his father remained at Cairo, and as he was

one day riding out to exercise, as was customary with the troops, his horse stumbled after passing through the Bab an-Nasr, which is one of the city gates, and threw him in the middle of the road; this happened on Monday, 18th of Zu'l-Hijja, A. H. 568 (end of July, A. D. 1173). Having been carried home, he continued in great suffering, till death took place on Wednesday, 27th of the same month. Such is the statement of the generality of historians, the kâtib Imâd ad-dîn amongst the rest; this author says, however, that Aiyûb died on a Tuesday, and I read in the historical work of Kamâl ad-dîn Ibn al-Adîm (7), a passage extracted from a note written by Adad ad-dîn Murhif Ibn Osâma (8), stating that Aiyûb died on Monday, 18th of Zû 'l-Hijja; but it is manifest that Adad ad-dîn fell into this mistake from supposing that he died the same day on 126 which he fell from his horse. Aiyûb was buried by the side of his brother Shirkûh in a chamber of the royal palace, and some years later, their bodies were transported to Medîna: I find the following passage in a diary, composed by the kâdi al-Fâdil, and in his own handwriting, in which he mentions the occurrences of each day: "On Thursday, 4th Safar, 580 (May, A. D. 1184), a letter writ-"ten by Badr ad-dîn, formerly mamlûk of Asad ad-dîn Shîrkûh, came from "Medîna, with the information that the two coffins, containing the bodies of the "emirs Najm ad-dîn Aiyûb and Asad ad-dîn Shîrkûh had arrived, and that "they had been deposited in the mausoleum prepared for their reception, and "which is situated near the sacred tomb of the Prophet: may God grant to "them the (*spiritual*) advantages of that neighbourhood!" Salâh ad-dîn was on his way from Karak to Egypt, when he received the news of his father's death, and his affliction was the more poignant from his having been absent at the time. The following is an extract from a letter of consolation written by the kâdi al-Fâdil, in the name of Salâh ad-dîn, to Izz ad-dîn Farûkh Shah Ibn Shâhânshâh Ibn Aiyûb, lord of Baalbek and a nephew of that prince: "The "fatality which has befallen our deceased lord (may God pardon him his sins "and shed mercy on his tomb!) is a cause of great pain and extreme sorrow; "and our sadness was doubled by our absence from his death-bed; though "we invoke the aid of patience, it refuses to come, but tears obey our wishes. "O, what a misfortune! to be deprived of him who has thus deprived us of "consolation; whose death has made all other afflictions appear light, and

"sundered the bonds of our happiness, formerly so complete, and now, broken "for ever (9)!

'The hand of Death snatched him away in my absence; and had I been present, what 'could I have done?'"

The doctor Omârat al-Yamani (whose life shall be given) lamented his death in a long *kasída*, the greater part of which is excellent; it begins thus:

It is the greatest shock (*which could happen*)! and a double reward shall be his, who hath shown firmness in abiding its terrors.

The learned Ibn Abi 't-Tai of Aleppo (10) says in his greater history that Najm ad-dîn Aiyûb was born in Sejestan, or, by another account, at Jabal Jûr (11), and that he was brought up in the city of Mosûl; but in this he is in contradiction with every other author, and my only reason for noticing his statement is to prevent those who may read that passage, and who are unacquainted with history, from supposing that it is exact, which is by no means the case; the true circumstances being those which we have mentioned above.—*Shâdi* is a Persian word and means *joyful* (12).—*Duwîn* is the name of a city in the most northern extremity of Aderbijan, near Georgia. *Duwîni* and *Dûni* are relative adjectives derived from it.—The mosque and cistern which are outside the Gate of Victory (*Bâb an-Nasr*) at Cairo, were constructed by Najm ad-dîn Aiyûb, and it appears from an inscription on the stone placed over the cistern, and which I have myself seen, that it was built by him, A. H. 566 (A. D. 1170-1).

(1) Duwin, or Dawîn, is the Arabic name of the city of Tovin in Armenia. (St. Martin's *Mém. hist. sur l'Arménie*, tom. I. p. 119.)

(2) Draughts, in Arabic, *Nard*. See Hyde's treatise *de Ludis Orientalibus*.

(3) I suspect that what follows is a continuation of the preceding extract.

(4) See page 228, note (1).

(5) I have here been obliged to paraphrase, in order to render fully the ideas expressed by the original.

(6) This was in A. H. 568; see Abû 'l-Fadâ's Annals and M. Reinaud's *Extraits, etc.*, page 151.

(7) The life of this historian has been given by M. de Sacy, in the *Biographie universelle*, article KEMAL-ADDIN; and by M. Freytag, in his *Selecta ex Historiâ Halebi*. He died A. H. 660 (A. D. 1262). The passage to which Ibn Khallikân alludes, is not to be found in the *Zubdat al-Halab*, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 728. On the contrary, that work places Ayûb's death on the 28th Zû 'l-Hijja. It must therefore be his *Bughiat at-Talab*, or biographical dictionary of the illustrious men of Aleppo, which contains the note here spoken of, but this I have been unable to verify, as the MS. of the *Bughiat* belonging to the *Bib. du Roi* is incomplete; it proceeds only as far as أمية.

(8) See page 146, note (5).

(9) Literally: By whose death the collected mass of happiness was scattered, so that, after its union, it became fragments.

(10) Ibn Abi 't-Tai Yahya Ibn Humaida, a native of Aleppo, wrote a history of that city in the form of Annals, which he entitled *Maddin ad-Dahab fi Târîkh Halab* (*Goldmines, being a treatise on the history of Aleppo*). He died A. H. 630 (A. D. 1232-3).—(Hajji Khalifa.)

(11) Jabal Jûr (*Mount Jûr*) is the name of a region in Armenia, on the borders of Diâr Bakr, containing a number of castles and villages inhabited by Armenians.—(*Marâsid al-Ittilâ*.)

(12) It does not mean *joyful*, but *joy*.

## BADIS IBN AL-MANSUR.

127 Abû Manâd Bâdîs Ibn al-Mansûr Ibn Bolukkîn Ibn Zîri Ibn Manâd (1) al-Himyari as-Sunhâji (*descended from the tribe of Himyar through that of Sunhâj*) was father of al-Moizz Ibn Bâdîs (whose life shall be given later): the rest of his genealogy will be mentioned in the life of his grandson Tamîm. Bâdîs governed the kingdom of Ifrîkiya as lieutenant to al-Hâkim al-Obaidi, the pretended khalif of Egypt, who gave him the title of Nasr ad-Dawlat (*aid of the empire*); he succeeded to the government on the death of his father al-Mansûr, which happened on Thursday, 3rd of the first Rabî, A. H. 386 (March, A. D. 996), in the great castle which he possessed outside the city of Sabra (2), and in which he was interred the next day. Bâdîs was a powerful and resolute prince; he possessed great bodily strength, and could break a spear by merely brandishing it: his birth took place on Saturday evening, 13th of the first Rabî, A. H. 374 (August, A. D. 984), at Aashîr, a place of which mention has been made in the life of Ibn Kurkûl (3). He continued to govern with prosperity till A. H. 406: on Tuesday, 29th Zû 'l-Kaada of that year, he reviewed his army, which passed before the canopy under which he was seated to receive its salutations. He continued sitting till the afternoon, and then returned to his palace, highly pleased with the beauty of his troops, the splendour of their equipment, and their excellent condition. In the evening of the same day, he rode out with a superb escort, and caused the soldiers to exercise in his presence; he then went back to his palace, delighted with the prosperous

state of his affairs, and took his place at a feast with his favourites and the other persons admitted to his table; during the repast he was animated with joy to a degree never observed in him before; the company at length withdrew, and about midnight he expired. His death was kept secret, and his brother Karâmat Ibn Mansûr was established ostensibly as sovereign (4) (*by the chief officers of the kingdom*), till they went to al-Moizz, son of Bâdîs, and placed him at the head of affairs. It is stated, in the work called *ad-Dual al-Munkatia* (5), that the death of Bâdîs happened in the following manner: he had set out for Tripoli, and remained near it for a considerable time with the intention of attacking it; having sworn not to depart till he had rendered (*the soil on which*) it (*was built*) as a field fit for grain. (To avoid prolixity, I abstain from relating the motive which induced him to take this determination.) In consequence of this, the inhabitants of the city went to a schoolmaster called Muhriz, (*who was in great reputation for sanctity*,) and said to him: "O thou who art "God's friend! thou hast heard the declaration of Bâdîs; call therefore on God "to deliver us from his violence." On this, Muhriz raised his hands to heaven and said: "O Lord of Bâdîs! preserve us from Bâdîs." That very night, Bâdîs died of a quinsy. — *Sunhâji* means *belonging to Sunhâj* or *Sinhâj*, a great and celebrated tribe in Maghreb, descended from Himyar. Ibn Duraid says that *Sunhâja* is the true pronunciation, and he admits of no other; but some persons allow that *Sinhâja* also is correct. — The orthography of the names of Bâdîs' ancestors shall be given hereafter.

(1) For the pronunciation of these names, I have followed Ibn Khallikân. See the lives of Zîri and Bolukkîn.

(2) The city of Maghrib, called al-Mansûriya, after al-Mansûr Ibn al-Kâim, bore previously the name of Sabra. — (*Marâsid al-Ittilâ*.) Al-Bakri has given a description of this city: see *Notices et Extraits*, tom. XII. pag. 473.

(3) See page 43. This city was built by Zîri Ibn Manâd, A. H. 324 (A. D. 935-6). It was a place of such natural strength, that ten men were sufficient to defend it, and it contained within its walls two copious springs of excellent water. (*An-Nuwairi*, MS. No. 702, fol. 28. *Notices et Extraits*, t. XII. p. 519.)

(4) On the death of Bâdîs, the chief officers رجالة of the empire met and agreed to appoint his brother Karâmat ostensibly ظاهرا as sovereign till tranquillity would be re-established, and that he should then place al-Moizz, son of Bâdîs, at the head of affairs. As their design was not generally known, the partisans of al-Moizz murmured at Karâmat's nomination, but were promptly appeased on learning for what object he was appointed.—(*An-Nuwairi*; MS. No. 702, fol. 35 verso.)

(5) See note (5), page 152.

## IZZ AD-DAWLAT BAKHTYAR.

Abû Mansûr Bakhtyâr, surnamed Izz ad-Dawlat (*might of the empire*), was son of Moizz ad-Dawlat Ibn Bûwaih, whose life has been already given, with the genealogy of the family (1). Izz ad-Dawlat succeeded to the government of the kingdom the same day on which his father died (*Monday, 17th of the 2nd Rabî, A. H.* 356.) In the year 364 (A. D. 974-5), the khalif at-Tâi gave him in marriage his daughter Shah Zamân (2), on whom a dowry of one hundred thousand dinars was settled by her husband; the marriage-sermon (3) was pro-
128 nounced by the kâdi Muhammad Ibn Kuraya, whose life is given in this work. Izz ad-Dawlat was a noble prince, and possessed such bodily strength, that he would seize an enormous bull by the horns and throw him to the ground. He was profuse in his expenses, in his grants, and in his allowances to the officers of his court. It was related by a wax-chandler of Baghdad named Bishr, that Adad ad-Dawlat (on entering that city after the death of his nephew Izz ad-Dawlat,) asked him respecting the wax-light which was kept burning in the presence of the prince, and was informed that it was furnished out of a monthly allowance of two thousand pounds weight of wax granted, for that object, to the vizir Abû 't-Tâhir Ibn Bakiya: which allowance Adad ad-Dawlat found so excessive, that he would not suffer the usage to be continued (4) in its full extent. (The life of the vizir Ibn Bakiya will be given in the letter *M*).– A contestation which arose between Izz ad-Dawlat and his uncle Adad ad-Dawlat relative to their respective possessions, caused a breach between them which led to a war; and on Wednesday, 18th Shawwâl, 367 (May, A. D. 988), they met and fought a battle, in which Izz ad-Dawlat was slain, at the age of thirty-six years. His head was placed on a tray, and presented to Adad ad-Dawlat, who, on seeing it, covered his eyes with his handkerchief and wept.—(We shall give the life of Adad ad-Dawlat.)

(1) See page 155.

(2) *Shâh Zamân*, or *prince of the age;* a singular title for a female, but we have another example in *Shah Firend*, the name of the Omaiyide khalif Yazîd Ibn al-Walîd's mother.—(*An-Nujûm*, A. H. 126.)

(3) *The marriage sermon;* literally, *the khotba of the bond*. See the description of the ceremony in Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, vol. I. p. 200.

(4) One of my manuscripts has بيارد in the singular; this reading appears preferable.

## BARKYARUK.

Abû 'l-Muzaffar Barkyârûk, son of the sultan Malak Shâh Ibn Alp Arslân Ibn Dâwûd Ibn Mîkâyil Ibn Saljûk Ibn Dakâk, and entitled Rukn ad-dîn (*pillar of religion*), Shihâb ad-Dawlat (*flambeau* (1) *of the empire*), and Majd al-Mulk (*glory of the kingdom*), was a prince of the Seljûk dynasty: (we shall give an account hereafter of a number of persons sprung from the same stock.) He succeeded to the empire on the death of his father, who, as we shall mention in its proper place, possessed a more extensive kingdom than any other (*sovereign of that family*), having entered Samarkand and Bokhâra, and carried the war into Transoxiana. Barkyârûk appointed his brother Sinjar (see his life in the letter *S*) as his lieutenant in Khorasan, and in one of his wars he slew his uncle Tutush (as shall be related in the letter *T*). He was highly fortunate in his enterprises, and was animated by a lofty spirit; the only fault he had was his addiction to wine. He was born A. H. 474 (A. D. 1081-2), and died at Borûjird on the twelfth of the latter Rabî (some say of the first), A. H. 498 (A. D. 1104.) He had governed as Sultan during twelve years and some months (2).—*Borûjird* is a town at eighteen parasangs from Hamadân.

(1) The word *shihâb*, which is here translated *flambeau*, means a *shooting star*.

(2) A fuller account of this prince's life will be found in Mirkhaund's history of the Seljûkides, edited and translated into German by professor Vullers in 1838. A still more satisfactory notice on Barkyârûk will be found in Von Hammer-Purgstall's *Gemældesaal*, fünfter Band.

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## ABU 'T-TAHIR AR-RAFFA AL-ANMATI.

Abû 't-Tâhir Barakât was son of the shaikh Abû Ishâk Ibrahîm, son of the shaikh Abû 'l-Fadl Tâhir Ibn Barakât Ibn Ibrahîm Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Abbâs Ibn Hâshim: he was surnamed al-Khushûi, ad-Dimishki, al-Jîrûni, al-Furshi and ar-Raffâ al-Anmâti. He drew his knowledge of the Traditions from the highest sources, and he handed down some of them on the

authority of certain Traditionists, from whom he alone, of all the persons of his time, possessed certificates of licence to that effect (1). He was the link which connected the past and the rising generation of Traditionists (2); for in his latter 129 days, he was the sole person who had heard Abû Muhammad Hibat Allah Ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Akfâni teach, and who was himself authorised to teach by al-Akfâni. He was also the sole who possessed a similar certificate from al-Hariri, the author of the *Makâmas,* which certificate was dated *Basra, A. H.* 512 (A. D. 1118) (3). Abû 't-Tâhir al-Anmâti belonged to a family of Traditionists, and he, his father, and grandfather, were Traditionists themselves. His father having been asked why they were called the *Khushûiûn* (*humble*), replied that one of their ancestors, when acting as imâm to a congregation, died in the *mihrâb* (4), and was named *al-Khushûi,* which word is formed from *khushû* (*humility*) (5). Abû 't-Tâhir was born at Damascus, in the month of Rajab, 510 (A. B. 1116), and died in the same city on the 27th Safar, 598 (November, A. D. 1201): he was interred outside the *Bab al-Farâdis* (*gate of the gardens*) in the grave of his father: he was the last person who bore a licence from al-Hariri, authorizing him to teach what he had learned from him.—*Furshi* means a *seller of carpets* (*furush*); *Anmâti* has the same signification: *Raffâ* is well known (6). —I met a number of Abû 't-Tâhir's disciples, and learned Traditions from them, for which I have their certificates: I met also his son in Egypt, who used to visit me very often; he gave a certificate authorising me to teach all the Traditions which he had learned, and granted to me the privileges contained in the certificates which he himself had received from his father.

(1) I have paraphrased the text here, so as to render intelligible the nature of the sort of certificate called *Ijâza* اجازة.

(2) In Arabic الحق الاصاغر بالاكابر, a technical expression employed only in speaking of Traditionists.

(3) Abû 't-Tâhir was then only two years of age, if the date of his birth, as given by Ibn Khallikân, be correct.

(4) See page 37, note (3).

(5) It appears from this that Abû 't-Tâhir died in making one of the prostrations ordained by the Moslim ritual as a sign of the worshipper's *humility* and profound submission to the Deity.

(6) *Raffa* signifies *a darner*; *Anmâti* means *a carpet-merchant*, it is derived from *Anmât*, plural of *Namat (carpet).*—*Jirûni* means native of that quarter of Damascus which is near the gate of Jirûn, and *Dimishki* signifies *native of Damascus*.

## BARJAWAN.

The *ustâd* (1) Abû 'l-Futûh Barjawân, whose name is borne by one of the streets of Cairo, was a eunuch in the service of al-Azîz, lord of Egypt, and governed with unbounded authority as one of his ministers of state. In the year 388 (A. D. 998), he was director of the affairs of Egypt, Hijâz, Syria, and Maghreb, and intendant of the royal demesnes; this was in the reign of al-Hâkim. We shall give some further information respecting him in the life of al-Azîz Nizâr. Barjawân was a black (2); he was slain in the castle of Kairo, by order of al-Hâkim, on Thursday evening, 26th of the latter Rabi (or, by another account, on Thursday, 15th of the first Jumâda), A. H. 390 (A. D. 1000). He was killed by Abû 'l-Fadl Raidân as-Saklabi, the prince's umbrella-bearer, who stabbed him in the belly with a knife. It is related by Ibn as-Sairafi, in his History of Vizirs, that Barjawân had all the affairs of the state under his control in the month of Ramadân, A. H. 387; and that, on his death, his wardrobe contained one thousand pair of *Dabik* (3) trowsers, with one thousand silk *tikkas* (4), and an immense quantity of clothes, furniture, musical instruments (5), books and curiosities. The Raidân here mentioned is the person after whom the *Raidâniya* (6), outside the Gate of Conquests (*Bab al-Futûh*) at Cairo, was so called. On the death of Barjawân, al-Hâkim transferred the entire direction of affairs to the *kâid al-Kuwwâd* (7) al-Husain, son of the *kâid* Jawhar; (we shall make mention of him when giving the life of his father.) Al-Hâkim then caused Raidân to be put to death by Mâsud as-Saklabi the sword-bearer, in the beginning of the year 393 (A. D. 1002). *Saklabi* means *one of the people called Sakâliba* (*Sclavonians*), a race out of which eunuchs are procured (8).

(1) *Ustâd* means *master*; it is a title frequently borne by eunuchs who were tutors or ministers to a prince.

(2) Al-Makrizi says, on the contrary, that he was a white eunuch.

(3) The town of Dabik, situated between the cities of Farama and Bilbais, was celebrated for the clothes made there. (*Marâsid.*)

(4) The *tikka* is the running string or band by which the trowsers are fastened round the waist.

(5) Al-Makrizi says that Barjawân was very fond of music.

(6) According to al-Makrizi, the Raidâniya was a garden.

(7) General-in-chief.

(8) In M. de Sacy's life of the khalif Hâkim will be found a full account of Barjawân's rise and fall. See *Exposé de l'Histoire des Druzes*, tom. I.

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## BASHSHAR IBN BURD.

150 Abû 'l-Muâd Bashshâr Ibn Burd Ibn Yarjûkh, member by adoption of the tribe of Okail, was a blind man and a poet of celebrity. Abû 'l-Faraj al-Ispahâni gives, in his *Kitâb al-Aghâni*, the names of twenty-six of his ancestors, which I do not insert here, as their number is too great; they belong also to a foreign language, and may probably be altered in the transcription, this author not having marked the right orthography of any of them; it is therefore useless to pay farther attention to them. Abû 'l-Faraj gives copious information respecting his life and adventures: he was a native of Basra, whence he removed to Baghdad—he was surnamed al-Muraath—he was descended from one of the natives of Tokharestan, who were led into captivity by al-Muhallab Ibn Abi Sufra (1). It is said that Bashshâr was born in slavery and enfranchised by a woman of the tribe of Okail, for which reason he received the surname of Okaili. He was blind from his birth, and his eyeballs, which were prominent, were covered with red flesh; he was a man of great bodily frame and corpulence; his face was long and marked with the small-pox. He held the highest rank among the eminent poets in the first period of Islamism, and the following verses, composed by him on good counsel, are among the best made on the subject:

> When your projects are so far advanced that counsel becomes necessary, have recourse to the decision of a sincere counsellor, or to the counsel of a determined man. Let not good advice be irksome to you, for the short feathers of a wing are close to (*and sustain*) the long. Of what use is one hand when the other is confined in a pillory? Of what use is the sword, if it have no handle to give it power?

He is also author of this verse, which is so current:

> I have attained the furthest bounds of love; is there, beyond that, a station which I must reach in order to be nearer to thee?

He composed also the following verse, which is the most gallant of any made by the poets of that epoch (2):

Yes, by Allah! I love the magic of your eyes, and yet I dread the weapons by which so many lovers fell.

By the same:

Yes, my friends! my ear is charmed by a person in that tribe; for the ear is sometimes enamoured sooner than the eye. You say that I am led by one whom I never saw; know that the ear, as well as the eye, can inform the mind of facts.

The idea expressed in the first of these verses has been adopted by Abû Hafs Omar al-Mausili, surnamed Ibn as-Shahna, and inserted by him in a *kasida* of one hundred and thirty verses, in praise of the sultan Salâh ad-din, from which I extract it:

I am one who loves you on the report of your virtues; for the ear can be charmed as well as the eye.

Bashshar composed a great quantity of poetry, which is in general circulation; but we shall confine ourselves to the foregoing extracts. Happening one day to celebrate the praises of al-Mahdi, son of the khalif al-Mansur, that prince, to whom he had been denounced as an atheist (3), ordered him to receive seventy strokes of a whip; this punishment had for result the death of Bashshar, who expired in the Batiha (*or swamp*), near Basra, to which city his body was transported by one of his relations, and there buried. This occurred in the year 167 or 168 (A. D. 783-4); he was aged upwards of 90. It is related that he considered the element of fire superior to that of earth, and that he justified Satan for refusing to fall prostrate before Adam (4). The following verse, on 131 the superiority of fire to earth, is attributed to him:

Earth is dark and fire is bright; fire has been worshipped ever since it was fire.

It is related, however, that on the examination of his works, nothing was discovered in them to warrant the accusation; the following passage was found in one of them: "I had the intention of satirizing the family of Sulaimân (5) Ibn "Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbâs; but I abstained on recollecting their near "relationship to the Prophet." God alone knows what were his real princi-

ples. At-Tabari says, in his History: "The reason for which al-Mahdi put "Bashshâr to death was this: That khalif had conferred a government on Sâlih "Ibn Dâwûd, brother of his vizir Yakûb (6), and the poet satirized him in "this verse addressed to Yakûb:

'They have raised thy brother Sâlih to the pulpit (7), and the pulpit complains of the 'indignity.'

"Yakûb, on hearing of this satire, went to al-Mahdi and said: 'Bashshâr has "reviled you.'—'How so?' said al-Mahdi.—'The Commander of the Faithful "must dispense me from repeating the verses.'—'I must hear them.'—So he "recited to him these lines:

'A khalif who commits fornication with his aunts, and plays at the game of *dabbûk* 'and mall! May God give us another in his stead, and thrust Mûsa back into the 'womb of al-Khaizurân (8).

"Al-Mahdi therefore caused him to be sought for, and Yakûb, fearing that "Bashshâr, when brought before the khalif, might obtain pardon by reciting a "panegyric on him, sent a person who threw him into the Batîha." — *Okaili* means *belonging to Okail* Ibn Kaab, which is a great (*Arabic*) tribe.—The word *Muraath* denotes one who wears *riath* in his ears; *riath* is the plural of *ratha,* which means *ear-ring;* Bashshâr received this surname from his wearing ear-rings when a boy: the *rathât* of a cock are the wattles which hang under his beak, and *râth* means *to be suspended* or *hanging down;* whence the derivation of *ratha* for *ear-ring*. There are other reasons given for his receiving this surname, but the one here stated is the truest.—*Tokharustân* is a great country containing the towns situated beyond the river of Balkh, which river is called the Jaihûn (9). This province has produced a number of learned men.

(1) See his life in this work.

(2) In Arabic المولدون *(al-Muwalladûn).* See note (11), page 209.

(3) See d'Herbelot's *Bib. Orient.* ZENDIK.

(4) God said to Iblis (or Satan): "What hindered thee from prostrating thyself before Adam?" He answered: "I am more excellent than he: thou hast created me of *fire,* and hast created him of *clay!*"—(*Koran,* surat 7, verse 11.)

(5) Sulaimân Ibn Ali al-Abbâsi, was uncle to the khalif as-Saffâh, who named him governor of Basra and the neighbouring provinces in A. H. 133 (A. D. 750-1). He died A. H. 142 (A. D. 759-60). – (Abû 'l-Fadâ.)

(6) Abû Abd Allah Yakûb Ibn Dâwûd was son of an enfranchised slave. His brothers and father were in the service of Nasr Ibn Saiyâr, emir of Khorasan; and he himself was chosen by the khâlif al-Mahdi for vizir. He was afterwards imprisoned in the *Matbak* by that prince for having suffered a state-prisoner to escape, whom he had confided to his custody. Yakûb was liberated on the accession of ar-Rashîd, and retired to Mekka, where he died A. H. 186 (A. D. 802). During his confinement, he lost his sight. (Fakhr ad-dîn. MS. No. 895, *fol.* 171 *et sequentia.*)

(7) The governors of provinces possessed the right of pronouncing the *khotba* from the pulpit.

(8) Musa was son, and al-Khaizurân wife, of Al-Mahdi.

(9) The MSS. and the printed text have على جبّحون, but the true reading is certainly وهو جبّحون. The whole passage is taken from the *Lubâb* of Ibn al-Athîr. See the Arabic text of the Geography of Abû 'l-Fadâ, page 471.

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## BISHR IBN AL-HARITH AL-HAFI.

Abû Nasr Bishr al-Marwazi (*native of Marw as-Shâhjân*), and surnamed al-Hâfi (*the barefooted*), was son of al-Hârith Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Atâ Ibn Hilâl Ibn Mâhân Ibn Abd Allah; (this Abd Allah, whose name was originally Babûr (1), was converted to islamism by Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib (2)). Bishr was one of the *men of the path* (3); he ranked among the greatest of the holy ascetics, and was most eminent for his piety and devotion. He was born in the village of Matarsâm (4), situated in the dependencies of Marw, and dwelt at Baghdad. 132 His father was a *kâtib* and president of one of the government offices. Bishr renounced the world from the following circumstance: Happening to find on the public road a leaf of paper with the name of God written on it, and which had been trampled under foot, he bought *ghâlia* (5) with some dirhems which he had about him, and having perfumed the leaf with it, he deposited it in a hole in a wall. He afterwards had a dream, in which a voice seemed to say to him: "O Bishr! thou hast perfumed my name, and I shall surely cause thine to "be in sweet odour both in this world and the next." When he awoke, he gave up the world, and turned to God.—It is related that he once knocked at the door (6) of al-Muâfa Ibn Imrân (7), and on being asked who was there, he an-

swered Bishr al-Hâfi; on which the girl inside the door said: "Go and buy a "pair of shoes for two *dânaks* (8), and the name of al-Hâfi (*the barefooted*) "will leave you." He was so surnamed for the following reason: the latchet of one of his shoes having broken, he went for another to a shoemaker's, who said to him: "How full you are of worldly consideration!" On this Bishr threw away the shoe he held in his hand and kicked the other off his foot, making oath never to wear shoes again.—Bishr being once asked with what sauce he eat his bread, replied: "I think on good health, and I take that as my sauce."—One of his prayers was this: "O, my God! deprive me of notoriety, if thou hast "given it to me in this world for the purpose of putting me to shame in the "next." One of his sayings was: "The punishment of the learned man in this "world is blindness of heart." He used also to say: "He that seeks for worldly "goods should be prepared for humiliation." It is related that Bishr said to the Traditionists: "Pay the legal alms out of your Traditions;" and that on being asked what was the mode of doing so, he replied: "Out of every two hundred, "take five for rules of conduct (9)."—Sari as-Sakati and a number of holy men cited Traditions on his authority. He was born A. H. 150 (A. D. 767), and died at Baghdad (or, by another account, at Marw), in the month of the second Rabî, A. H. 226 (February, A. D. 841) or 227; some say, however, that he died on a Wednesday, 10th of Muharram, and others again state that his death took place in Ramadân. Bishr had three sisters named Mudgha, Mukhkha, and Zubda, who spent their lives in the practice of mortification and piety; the eldest, Mudgha, died before her brother, who was deeply afflicted at her loss and wept bitterly; on being asked why (*he who was so resigned to the will of God should give way to grief*), he answered: "I have read in some book, that "when the creature is remiss in the Lord's service, the Lord deprives him of "his companion, and my sister Mudgha was my companion in this world." The following is related by Abd Allah, son of Ahmad Ibn Hanbal: "A woman "came in to my father and said: 'O Abû Abd Allah! I spin at night by can-"dle-light, and, as it sometimes happens that my candle goes out, I spin by "the light of the moon; is it incumbent on me to separate the portion spun by "the light of the candle from that spun by the light of the moon (10)?' To this "my father answered: 'If you think that there is a difference between them, "it is incumbent on you to separate them.' She then said: 'O Abû Abd Allah!

"are the groans of a sick person a repining against Providence?' To which he
"answered: 'I hope not; it is rather a complaint addressed to God.' The
"woman then withdrew, and my father said: 'I never heard such a question
"made; follow her.' I followed her therefore, till I saw her enter into the
"house of Bishr al-Hâfi, and I then returned and told my father that it was
"Bishr's sister. 'You are right,' said he, 'it is impossible that this woman
"could have been any other than Bishr's sister!'" — The same Abd Allah related this anecdote: "Mukhkha, one of Bishr's sisters, came to my father and
"said: 'O Abû Abd Allah! I possess a capital of two dânaks which I lay out
"in cotton wool; this I spin and sell for half a dirhem (11); and I spend one
"dânak each week: now it happened that the patrole passed one night with
"their cresset, and I profited by the opportunity to spin a double quantity
"by that light: I know that God will question me on the subject (12); free me
"then from this strait, and may God free thee.' My father answered: 'Thou 133
"shalt spend two dânaks in alms, and remain without any capital till God
"gives thee something better.' On this I said: 'How is that? You tell her to
"give her capital in alms?' And my father replied: 'O my son! her question
"would not admit of any modification in its solution. Who is she?' I answered:
"'It is Mukhkha, a sister of Bishr al-Hâfi.' To which my father said: 'In
"making answer to her, I proceeded on that supposition.'" —Bishr al-Hâfi
said: "I learned devotion from my sister; for she was assiduous in abstinence
"from whatever food had undergone preparation by a created being."

(1) Neophytes received a new name on their conversion to Islamism.

(2) Literally: Professed Islamism on the hand of Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib; that is, he took a solemn engagement to that effect, and ratified it by placing his hand in Ali's.

(3) *Man of the path;* a title given to some of the eminent Sûfis; it means one who walks in the path of ascetism. The word طريقة (*path*) signifies also metaphorically *doctrine* and *system of conduct*, which, with the Sûfis, consisted in the continual practice of mystic devotion.

(4) In the *Marâsid* this name is spelled *Mâbarsâm*.

(5) The *ghâlia* غالية was indubitably a sort of perfume. This word occurs also in a satirical verse given in the Hamâsa, page 668, line 3, the meaning of which is: "Compared with Katâda, son of Mughrib, the "odour of a swine's putrid carcass is musk and *ghâlia*."—Meninski notices the word after Wankûli.

(6) Literally: He knocked the door with the ring (or circular knocker).

(7) Abû Masûd al-Muâfa Ibn Imrân, a member of the tribe of Azd and native of Mosul, learned the Traditions from a number of learned men, and studied jurisprudence under Sofyan at-Thauri; he was remark-

able for his learning, piety, liberality, and mortified life. Died A. H. 184 (A. D. 800). — (*An-Nujûm az-Zâhira*, MS. No. 659.)

(8) Two dânaks made one third of a dirhem.

(9) The legal alms consist in a yearly tax of 2 1/2 *per cent.* on cattle, money, corn, fruits, and wares sold.

(10) In spinning by moonlight, she had economised her candles, and being thus in some degree richer, she thought herself obliged to increase her legal alms: this anecdote is given as an example of her scrupulous piety.

(11) Half a dirhem is equal to three dânaks.

(12) As the cresset did not belong to her, she imagined that she had no right to make use of its light, and that the money which she gained in so doing was badly acquired غصب.

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## BISHR IBN GHIATH AL-MARISI.

Abû Abd ar-Rahmân Bishr Ibn Ghiâth Ibn Abi Karîma al-Marîsi, a theologian and jurisconsult of the sect of Abû Hanîfa, was descended from a slave belonging to Zaid Ibn al-Khattâb (1). He was instructed in the law by the kâdi Abû Yûsuf al-Hanefi, but he was addicted to the study of dogmatic theology, and taught openly that the Koran was created (2); some abominable opinions of his on this subject have been handed down. He belonged to that sect of the Murjians (3) which is called after him the *Marîsian*, and he held that it was not an *act* of infidelity to bow down to the sun and the moon, but only a *token* of it. He had frequent discussions with the imâm as-Shâfi. He committed the grossest faults in grammar, from his ignorance of that science: he transmitted the Traditions on the authority of Hammâd Ibn Salama (4), Ibn Oyaîna, the kâdi Abû Yûsuf and others. It is said that his father was a Jewish goldsmith of Kûfa. He died at Baghdad in the month of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 218 (A. D. 833-4) or 219.—*Marîsi* means *native of Marîs*, a village in Egypt, according to the statement of the vizir Abû Saad in his work entitled *an-Nutaf wa 't-Turaf* (*pickings and sweetmeats*); but the inhabitants of Misr tell me that the Marîs are a people of negroes inhabiting the country between Nubia and Syene; they appear to be of the Nubian race, and their country is contiguous to that of Syene. In winter they (*the people of Cairo*) are visited by a cold south wind, which they believe to come from that country, and name the *Marîsi* in consequence.—I have since found in the handwriting of a person who has studied

this branch (*of science*) (5), that (*Bishr al-Marîsi*) dwelt in the street of Baghdad which is called *al-Marîsi* after him, and lies between the rivers ad-Dajâj and al-Bazzâzîn.—I may add that the name of *marîs* is given at Baghdad to flat cakes kneaded with butter and dates; the people of Egypt make a similar sort of cake, only substituting honey for dates, and they call it *basîsa*.

(1) Abû Omar Zaid Ibn al-Khattâb, one of the companions of Muhammad, was an elder brother of the khalif Omar Ibn al-Khattâb, and embraced islamism before him; he fought on Muhammad's side at the battle of Badr. In the thirteenth year of the Hijra he was standard-bearer of the Moslims in their expedition against the false prophet Musailama; he led them to action, and was slain after displaying great gallantry. His brother Omar was deeply afflicted for his loss.—(Al-Yâfi. *Siar as-Salaf*, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, fonds St. Germain, No. 133, fol. 72 verso.)—The details of his death will be found in professor Kosegarten's edition of the Annals of at-Tabari.

(2) A most heterodox doctrine (see note (2), page 46); indeed all the doctors versed in dogmatic theology were suspected of heretical principles.

(3) See Pocock's *Specimen, etc.* MORJIANI.

(4) Abû Salama Hammâd Ibn Salama was descended from an enfranchised slave belonging to the Banû Tamîm and sister's son of Hamîd at-Tawîl (see note (1), page 176). He was noted for his learning, piety, and holy life, and his authority as a traditionist was of the highest order. Born at Basra, and died A. H. 168 (A. D. 784-5).—(*An-Nujûm az-Zâhira.*)

(5) He means Biography.

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## BAKKAR IBN KUTAIBA.

The kâdi Abû Bakr Bakkâr was son of Kutaiba Ibn Abi Bardâa Ibn Obaid Allah Ibn Bashir Ibn Obaid Allah Ibn Abi Bakra Nufaî Ibn al-Hârith Ibn Kalda ath-Thakefi (*member of the tribe of Thakîf*); Ibn Kilda was one of the companions of Muhammad (1). Bakkâr followed the doctrines of Abû Hanîfa, and was appointed kâdi of Misr in the year 248 (A. D. 862), or 249; but it is stated in another account, that he arrived at Misr for the purpose of acting as kâdi on behalf of the khalif al-Mutawakkil, on Friday 8th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 246. The excellent manner in which he fulfilled the duties of that office is well known, and the treatment which he experienced from Ahmad Ibn Tûlûn, lord of Egypt, has been mentioned by historians: Ibn Tûlûn used to give Bakkâr every year one thousand dinars

more than his salary; but the kâdi made no use of that additional sum, neither did he break the seal placed on the purse which contained it. Ibn Tûlûn having afterwards required of him to depose al-Muwaffak, the son of al-Mutawakkil and father of al-Motadid (who had been declared khalif-elect), imprisoned him on his refusal, and then redemanded the amount of the money which 134 he had advanced him each year in addition to his salary. This sum, which consisted in eighteen purses, was given up by Bakkâr with the seals unbroken, to the great confusion of Ibn Tûlûn, who thought that the money had been spent, and hoped to have had a pretext to persecute the kâdi for his inability to pay. Bakkâr, on being imprisoned, was obliged by Ibn Tûlûn to appoint Muhammad Ibn Shâdân al-Jauhari (2) as deputy, and he remained in confinement for a number of years; but as the students who were learning the Traditions complained that they were deprived of his tuition, he was frequently produced to the public by Ibn Tûlûn, and then taught from a window of the prison. The kâdi Bakkâr was one of that class of pious men who were called the weepers and chanters of the Koran (3); (*every day*) on the termination of his judicial duties, he retired into a private apartment, and then recalled to mind the cases of all those who had come before him, and the judgments which he had given; he would then weep and say to himself: "O, Bakkâr! two persons came before thee on such and such a case; two adverse parties appeared "before thee in such and such a cause, and thou hast judged so and so; how "wilt thou answer for it to-morrow (4)?" He frequently made pious exhortations to the defendant when administering to him the oath (5), and would recite to him this verse of the Koran: *They who make merchandize of God's covenant, and of their oaths, for a small price, shall have no portion in the next life, etc.* (6). He never ceased making his *Amins* (7) render an account of their conduct, and constantly inquired into the character of witnesses. He was born at Basra, A. H. 182 (A. D. 798), and died at Misr on Thursday, 6th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 270 (June, A. D. 884), being still in prison and invested with the functions of a kâdi. On his death, Misr remained without a kâdi for three years. His tomb is close to that of the sharîf Ibn Tabâtabâ (8), and is a well-known monument; it lies near the *Musalla* of the Banû Maskîn (9); and is situated between the Kaum (*the mound*) and the road below; it is famous for the fulfilment of prayers offered up at it. His nomination as kâdi is said to have taken place A. H. 245, but the correct date is A. H. 246.

(1) Nufai was also a companion of Muhammad, who named him Abû Bakra, or *the pulley-man*, because he let himself down by a pulley from the castle of Taif when it was attacked by the Moslims in A. H. 8.— (*Kâmus*, in the root ب ك ر.)

(2) Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Zakariya Ibn Shâdân al-Jawhari possessed great reputation as a traditionist. He died A. H. 274 (A. D. 887), or by another account, 286, aged 73 years. (*History of the kâdis of Egypt*, by Ibn Hajr al-Askalâni.)

(3) They wept for their sins and recited the Koran assiduously through devotion.

(4) *To-morrow*, that is, the day of judgment, when God should question him.

(5) According to the Moslim law, oaths are not required before justice, except in certain cases; as for instance, when a plaintiff is unable to furnish evidence in support of his claim; he has then the right of requiring the defendant to confirm his negation by oath. In criminal causes oaths are not receivable.

(6) Koran; surat 3, verse 71.

(7) Amîn أمين, *anglice* trustee or confidant. It is the name of an officer in the kâdi's court, in the manner of a register. It also signifies an inquisitor.—(Hamilton's *Hedaya*, vol. II. p. 618.)—They were entrusted with the care of the documents in the kâdi's office, and of all property confided to him.

(8) Ibn Tabâtabâ's life is given page 114.

(9) This Musalla was probably in the Lesser Karâfa.

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## ABU BAKR THE JURISCONSULT.

Abû Bakr Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn al-Hârith Ibn Hishâm Ibn al-Mughaira Ibn Abd al-Allah Ibn Omar Ibn Makhzûm al-Kurashi al-Makhzûmi (*member of the tribe of Koraish and descended from Makhzûm*), was one of the Seven Jurisconsults of Medîna. The surname *Abû Bakr* was his real name, and we have placed him under the letter *B*, because it is customary with annalists, when noticing a person who has no other name but a surname, to insert his life under the letter which corresponds to the initial of the consequent in the genitive (1); some annalists, however, place names of this kind in a separate chapter.—Abû Bakr was one of the chief *Tâbîs* (2), and was called *the monk of the Koraish:* his father al-Hârith, brother of Abû Jahl, was an eminent companion of Muhammad. The birth of Abû Bakr took place under the khalifat of Omar Ibn al-Khattâb, and his death happened in A. H. 94 (A. D. 712-3); which year was denominated *the year of the jurisconsults,* because a number of them died therein. The Seven Jurisconsults lived at Medîna in the same time, and it was from them that the science (*of law*) and legal decisions spread over the world:

we shall notice them under their respective letters. One of the learned has united the names of them all in the two following verses:

> He who taketh not an imâm for guide shall receive a portion (*in the next life*) inadequate to his deserts. Learn here their names: Obaid Allah, Orwa, Kâsim, Saîd, Sulaimân, Abû Bakr, Khârija.

Were it not that it is very requisite for the jurisconsults of our epoch to have information respecting these persons, I should not have made mention of them in a work which, like this, aims at concision; for they are so well known, that 135 I might have passed them over in silence (3). They were designated by the appellation of the Seven Jurisconsults, because the right of giving decisions on points of law had passed to them from the companions of Muhammad, and they became publicly known as *muftis;* it is true that there were some learned *Tâbîs* still living, Sâlim Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Omar for instance; but these seven alone were acknowledged as competent to give *fatwas*, or legal decisions. Such is the observation made by the hâfiz as-Silafi.

(1) In *Abû Bakr* (*Pater Bakri*), *Bakr* is governed in the genitive as consequent of the antecedent *Abû*.

(2) See page 4, note (2).

(3) It might be supposed that the author intended this passage as a sarcasm against the jurisconsults of his time; but such, I am inclined to think, was not his intention.

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## ABU OTHMAN AL-MÂZINI THE GRAMMARIAN.

Abû Othmân Bakr Ibn Muhammad Ibn Othmân (named also Bakia and Adi) Ibn Habîb al-Mâzini was a native of Basra and the first man of the age in grammar and general literature. He learned philology from Abû Obaida, al-Asmâi, Abû Zaid al-Ansâri and others, and had for pupil Abû 'l-Abbâs al-Mubarrad, who profited greatly by his tuition, and handed down many pieces of traditional literature which he had learned from his master. The following works were composed by al-Mâzini: Observations on the Faults of Language committed by the Vulgar; a Treatise on the Arabic Article; one on the Conjugations; one on

Prosody; one on Rhyme; and the *Kitâb ad-Dîbâj*, written in opposition to a work of the same title composed by Abû Obaida (1). It is related by Abû Jaafar at-Tahâwi that he heard Bakkâr Ibn Kutaiba, the kâdi of Egypt, say: "I ne-" ver saw any grammarian resemble a jurisconsult except Haiyân Ibn Harma " and al-Mâzini;" meaning the present Abû Othmân. Al-Mâzini was scrupulously pious, and among the anecdotes related by al-Mubarrad (*on this subject*) is the following: "A *zimmi* (2) went to Abû Othmân, and offered him one " hundred dinars, on condition that he would explain to him the grammar of " Sibawaih. He refused however to do so, and I said to him: 'May I be your " ransom! how can you reject so advantageous an offer, suffering, as you do, " from poverty and extreme distress?' On which he replied: 'That work con-" tains three hundred and so many verses of the book of God (*the Koran*), and " I do not think it right to communicate them to a *zimmi; (in this I am ac-" tuated)* by zeal for the book of God, and by the desire of guarding it from " profanation.'—Some time after, a slave girl happening to sing, in the pre-" sence of the khalif al-Wâthik, this verse of the poet al-Arji (3):

> 'O (*fair*) tyrant! thy evil treatment of a man who made thee his salutation, is an in-' justice!

" A contestation arose among the persons who were in the khalif's presence, " respecting the case of the word رجلا (*man*); some were of opinion that it should " be put in the accusative, as being the subject of a proposition governed by إن " (*utique*); and others, would have it in the nominative as being the attribute of " that proposition (4). The girl maintained, however, that her master, Abû " Othmân al-Mâzini had taught her to pronounce the word in the accusative. " Al-Wâthik therefore sent for him: 'When I came into his presence,' said " Abû Othmân, 'he asked, 'Of what family are you (5)?' I answered: 'Of " the Banû Mâzin.' — 'Which of the Mâzins? Is it those of the tribe of " Tamîm, those of the tribe of Kais, or those of the tribe of Rabîa?'- 'That " of Rabia,' I replied.— The khalif then addressed me in the dialect of my " tribe, saying, *Ba 'Smuk*, in place of *Ma 'Smuk* (*what is thy name?*) for " they change the *m* into *b* and *vice versâ*. Not wishing to answer him in the " same dialect, so as to avoid pronouncing before him the word *Makr*, I " replied 'Bakr (6);' and he, having perceived my motive, was well pleased with

"that (*mark of respect*). He then repeated to me the verse of al-Arji, and asked "me if I put رجلا in the nominative or in the accusative; to which I answered: "'Commander of the Faithful! it must be put in the accusative.'—'Why so?' "'—Because مصاب is a noun of action employed here with the sense of اصابة.' "Then al-Yazidi commenced making me some objection, but I said: 'The "phrase is similar to this ان ضربك زيدا ظلم (*utique actionem tuam percutiendi Zeidum injustitia* est); the word رجلا is governed by مصابكم and is "therefore in the accusative; the proof is, that the sense of the phrase is suspended till you pronounce ظلم, which completes it (7).' Al-Wâthik approved "of my opinion, and asked me if I had any children. 'Yes, Commander of "the Faithful; a little girl.'—'And what did she say to you on leaving her!' "—'She recited to me these verses of the poet al-Aasha (8):

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> 'Remain with us, dearest father! we shall be happy whilst you stay. If a distant 'region possess you, we foresee that harsh treatment will befal us, and that the ties of 'blood will be severed (*by our unjust relations*).'

"'And what answer?' said he, 'did you return her?'—'My answer,' I re-"plied, 'was in the words of the poet Jarîr:

> 'My confidence is in God, whose power is shared by none; and my hopes of success 'are fixed upon the khalif!'

"On this al-Wâthik said: 'I answer for your success;' and he dismissed me "with a present of one thousand dinars.' Al-Mubarrad then relates that al-Mâzini, on his return to Basra, said to him: "What think you of that, Abû 'l-"Abbâs? I refused one hundred dinars for God's sake, and he has given me "a thousand in stead." Al-Mubarrad states also that he heard al-Mâzini relate the following anecdote: "There was a person who, for a long time, stu-"died under me the grammar of Sîbawaih, and who said to me, when he got "to the end of the book, 'May God requite you well! as for me, I have not "understood a letter of it.'" Abû Othmân al-Mâzini died at Basra, A. H. 249 (A. D. 863); or, according to other accounts, in 248 or 236.

(1) *Dibâj* means cloth made of silk. Abû Obaida's work is noticed by Hajji Khalifa, but he does not mention its subject.

(2) *Zimmi* means *client;* it is the legal denomination of the Christian, Jewish, and Sabean subjects of a Moslim power.

(3) Abd Allah Ibn Amr al-Arji (*native of Arj near Taif*) was grandson of the khalif Othmân. His life, extracted from as-Soyûti's *Shurh Shawâhid al-Mughni*, is given by M. de Sacy in his *Anthologie Grammaticale*, page 453.

(4) This grammatical question can only be understood by reference to the Arabic text of the verse; it is necessary, however, to observe that expressions such as the following, *Utique Deus est justus*, would stand thus, *Utique Deum justus*, if construed according to the genius of the Arabic language. I shall make another remark on this anecdote; *neither of the two parties understood the meaning of the verse*, otherwise they would not have given grammatical explanations so totally inapplicable.

(5) Literally: Of whom is the man? It was natural for the khalif to make use of the third person in addressing a stranger and one much beneath him.

(6) The word *Makr* means *wile* or *stratagem*. In respectable society, terms of a disagreeable import are avoided in conversation, as the person spoken to might consider them as an offence to himself or as an evil omen. (See Lane's *Arabian Nights*, chap. 2, note 8.)

(7) Al-Mâzini's reasoning is perfectly just, but it can be intelligible to those only who are acquainted with the technicalities of the Arabic system of grammar.

(8) The life of al-Aasha is given by M. de Sacy in his *Chrestomathie*, tom. II. p. 471.

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## BOLUKKIN IBN ZIRI.

Abû 'l-Futûh Bolukkîn (1) Ibn Zîri Ibn Manâd al-Himyari as-Sunhâji (*descended from the tribe of Himyar through that of Sunhâj*) was grandfather of the Bâdîs, whose life has been given (2). He was also called Yûsuf, but it is by the name of Bolukkîn that he is generally known. It was he whom al-Moizz Ibn al-Mansûr al-Obaidi left as his lieutenant in Ifrîkiya (*Africa Propria*) on his departure for Egypt; this nomination took place on Wednesday the 22nd Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 361 (October, A. D. 972), and the people were enjoined by al-Moizz to obey Bolukkîn, who was then placed in possession of the province, and had its revenues collected in his name. Al-Moizz (*in departing*) gave him pressing injunctions respecting a number of things necessary to be done, and finished by saying: "Though you forget my counsels, forget not (*at least*) these "three: never cease levying contributions on the nomadic Arabs, and keeping "the sword on (*the necks of*) the Berbers; never appoint any of your bro- "thers or cousins to a place of authority, for they imagine that they have a "better right than you to the power with which you are invested; and treat "with favour the dwellers in towns." He then departed, and Bolukkîn, after

bidding him adieu, returned to his government, and having taken the country under his command, he ruled with ability, and gave unremitting attention to the welfare of his empire and subjects. He died on Sunday the 23rd of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 373 (May, A. D. 984), at a place called Wâraklân, on the confines of Ifrîkiya. His death was the result of an inflammation in the intestines; or, as some say, of a tumour in his hand. He had four hundred concubines; and it is even stated that on one single day, the births of seventeen sons were successively announced to him. — His name must be pronounced *Bolukkîn,* and his father's, *Zîri.* The remainder of his genealogy will be given in the life of his descendant Tamîm.

(1) All European authors have written this name *Belkîn*, or *Bolkîn;* but its true pronunciation is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(2) See page 248.

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## BURAN.

Bûrân was daughter of al-Hasan Ibn Sahl, whose life shall be given; it is 175 said by some that her real name was Khâdija and her surname Burân; but the first is the more general opinion. She became the wife of the khalif al-Mamûn, who was induced to marry her by the high esteem he bore her father. The marriage was celebrated at Fam as-Silh, with festivities and rejoicings the like of which were never witnessed for ages before: the expenses were defrayed by her father (*the vizir*), whose liberality went so far that he showered balls of musk upon the Hâshimites (1), the commanders of the troops, the *kâtibs* (2), and the persons who held an eminent rank at court; each of these balls contained a ticket, on which was inscribed the name of a landed property, or of a slave girl, or of a set of horses, etc.; and the person into whose hands it fell, having opened it and read its contents, proceeded to an agent specially appointed for the purpose, from whom he received the object inscribed on the ticket, whether it was a farm, or other property, or a horse, or a slave girl, or a mamlûk. The vizir then scattered gold and silver coins, balls of musk, and eggs of amber among the rest of the people. He defrayed all the

expenses of al-Mâmûn, of his officers and companions, those of the troops which accompanied him, and of the camp-followers, who were innumerable; he even paid the camel-drivers, those who hired the camels out, the boatmen, and all those who were in the camp; so that none of the latter were under the necessity of buying any thing either for himself or his horse. At-Tabari relates, in his History, that al-Mâmûn stopped nineteen days with al-Hasan (*Bûrân's father*), who furnished him and his suite, every day, with all they required; these expenses amounted to fifty millions of dirhems (3). Al-Mâmûn, on his departure, having ordered him ten millions of dirhems (4), and granted him Fam as-Silh in fief, al-Hasan gave a public audience, and distributed that sum to the khalif's generals, companions, and domestics. The historian then says: "After this, "on the 8th of Ramadân, al-Mâmûn went forth to (*visit*) al-Hasan, and he set "out from Fam as-Silh on the 22nd Shawwâl, A. H. 210. The death of "Hamîd Ibn Abd al-Hamid (5) took place on the first of Shawwâl, the same "year." The following anecdote is told by another historian: "(*At the* "*marriage ceremony*) a mat interwoven with gold was spread out for al-Mâ-"mûn, who stood on it whilst pearls were showered down in abundance at his "feet; on perceiving the pearls thus scattered on the mat of gold, he said: "'God be merciful to Abû Nuwâs (6)! one would think that he had seen this, "when he described the bubbles which cover the surface of wine when mixed "with water:

'The little bubbles and the great resemble a gravel of pearls upon a ground of gold.'

(In this verse critics have remarked a fault, the nature of which cannot be explained here.) (7)—"Al-Mâmûn then granted al-Hasan one year's revenue "of Fars and of the province of al-Ahwâz. Poets and orators were profuse in "their praises on this occasion, and the following verses on the subject by "Muhammad Ibn Hâzim al-Bâhili, have been remarked for their ingenuity (8):

'God grant that Bûrân and al-Hasan may be happy with the son-in-law! Thou hast 'triumphed, son of Harûn (9); and of whose daughter hast thou made the conquest?'

"When these verses were mentioned to al-Mâmûn, he said: 'By Allah! I know "not whether the author means good or ill.'" At-Tabari says: "Al-Mâmûn "went in to Bûrân on the third night after his arrival at Fam as-Silh; and when

"he sat down by her side, a thousand pearls were showered upon them, out "of a golden tray, by her grandmother; he ordered them to be picked up, and "asked her how many there were, and she answered, one thousand; on which "he deposited them in her lap, saying: 'Let this be the marriage gift, and ask "what thou requirest.' On this, her grandmother said to her: 'Speak to thy "lord, who hath commanded thee.' Bûrân then asked him to pardon Ibrahîm "Ibn al-Mahdi (10)." (His life has been already given *in page* 16.) "To this "the khalif answered, saying: 'I grant his pardon.' On that night they lit a 138 "candle of ambergris weighing eighty pounds, which was placed in a candle-"stick (11) of gold; but al-Mâmûn blamed them, saying, that it was an excess "of prodigality." Another author says: "When al-Mâmûn sought to enter "in to Bûrân, he was refused admittance, on the pretext that she was indis-"posed, but he would not retire; and when his bride was brought forth to him, "he found her unwell, and left her. The next morning, when he gave public "audience, the *kâtib* Ahmad Ibn Yûsuf (12) entered and said to him: 'Com-"mander of the Faithful! may God accord you happiness and good fortune in "what you have undertaken; may you be great in prowess and victorious in "combat!' To this al-Mâmûn replied by reciting the following verses:

> 'Eques impetuosus, cum hastâ suâ promptus ad confossionem in tenebris, prædam 'suam sanguine inficere voluit; sed eum prohibuit illa, cum sanguine, a sanguine suo.'"

In this, he made allusion to the nature of her indisposition, and the figure he employed is perfectly appropriate. The foregoing anecdote is related by Abû 'l-Abbâs al-Jurjâni (13) in his *Kinâiyât* or tropes; but I have found the story told in a different manner; and God knows best the truth (14). All this occurred in the month of Ramadân, A. H. 210 (A. D. 825-6), but al-Mâmûn had been (*already*) betrothed to her in the year 202. She was with him in A. H. 218 when he died; his death took place on Thursday, 17th Rajab (August, A. D. 833); and hers, on Tuesday, 27th of the first Rabî, 271 (September, A. D. 884) She was then eighty years of age, as she was born on Sunday evening, 2nd Safar, A. H. 192 (December, A. D. 807), at Baghdad. It is said that she was buried in a vault opposite to the *maksûra* (15) in the mosque of the sultan, and that her monument exists till this day.—According to as-Samâni, *Fam as-Silh* (*the mouth of the Silh*) is a town on the Tigris near Wâsit; but the *kâtib* Imâd ad-

din says, in his *Kharîda*, that as-Silh is a large canal branching off the Tigris above Wâsit, and that a great number of towns (16) were on its banks; but the waters having overflowed, those places went to ruin. I must observe that Imâd ad-dîn was better informed on the subject than as-Samâni, having made a long residence at Wâsit as director of the government office (17).

(1) The persons related to the Abbaside khalifs were designated by the title of Hashimites, as being descended from one common ancestor, Hâshim Ibn Abd Manâf.

(2) See page 26, note (7).

(3) This, on a very moderate evaluation, is about one million two hundred thousand pounds sterling.

(4) About two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling.

(5) Hamid Ibn Abd al-Hamid died in the year 210 (A. D. 825). He was a native of Tûs, and one of al-Mâmûn's principal generals. In his enterprizes he displayed great vigour, courage, and promptitude.—(*An-Nujûm az-Zâhira.*)

(6) Literally: May God *slay* him. This imprecation is frequently employed to denote approbation.

(7) The fault consists in his having employed صغرى and كبرى, the feminines of اصغر and اكبر (which are adjectives in the comparative degree), without their being preceded by the definite article, or followed by a complement in the genitive case. (See M. de Sacy's *Grammaire Arabe*, tom. II. p. 302.) An Arabic grammarian, in noticing this fault, would say, in his technical language, ذكر فعلى افعل التفضيل من غير اضافة ولا تعريف.—The word فواقع signifies *bubbles*, but this meaning is not indicated by the lexicons; it occurs again, however, in page 413, line 5, of the Arabic text, with the same signification.

(8) In the original Arabic, these verses are so turned, that they may be taken either as a compliment or a sarcasm.

(9) The khalif al-Mâmûn was son of Harûn ar-Rashid.

(10) In the Arabic text, the word ابن (*Ibn*) has been omitted through inattention.

(11) Mr. Lane, in the second volume of his excellent translation of the *Thousand and One Nights* (p. 351), refers to this passage, and supposes that the word تور, as given in my Arabic edition of Ibn Khallikân's work, is an error of the press for تنور *lantern*. The best manuscripts agree, however, in giving تور, and the correctness of this reading is confirmed by the following passage from Kamâl ad-din's History of Aleppo: اربع شمعات من عنبر فى اربعة اتوار من فضة "four candles of ambergris in as many candlesticks of silver." (See Freytag's *Selecta ex Historiâ Halebi*, p. 34.) Were تنور the true reading in the first instance, we should necessarily be obliged to suppose that, in the second, اتوار is a mistake of the copyist for تنانير; which is inadmissible. The word تور is not to be found in the lexicons with the signification of *candlestick*, but this or *lantern* is certainly its meaning here. The same word occurs again in the next page of M. Freytag's work, where it is said that the princess Katr an-Nadâ (*dew-drop*) went forth, preceded by four hundred female slaves, each of whom bore in her hand a تور of gold and silver, containing a candle of ambergris.

(12) Ahmad Ibn Yûsuf Ibn al-Kâsim was the son of an enfranchised slave. He filled the place of *kâtib* in one of the government offices, and was distinguished by his talents, instruction, prudence, and skill in state affairs; he was also a poet. On the death of the visir Ahmad Ibn Abi Khâlid, he was chosen to succeed

him by the khalif al-Mâmûn, to whom he had been recommended by al-Hasan Ibn Sahl. He died during the reign of al-Mâmûn. (MS. No. 895, *fol.* 211.)

(13) Abû 'l-Abbâs Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al-Jurjâni was a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi. He studied jurisprudence under Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi, and became eminent for his talents. He filled the place of kâdi at Basra, and was the shaikh of the Shafites in that city. He was learned in the Traditions and composed both in verse and in prose. Among his works are the following: *Kitâb as-Shâfi* الشافى (*the healing*), rare, in 4 vols. The *Tajrîd* التجريد (*the stripped*), a large volume of legal decisions without the proofs. *Al-Muâyât* المعاياة (*the puzzler*), being a collection of enigmas, *jeux d'esprit*, etc. He died A. H. 482 (A. D. 1089).—(*Tab. al-Fok. Tab. as-Shâf.*)

(14) This story is told differently in another part of the work. See page 28.

(15) See note (5), page 228.

(16) Literally: Places.

(17) An office existed in each province, for the administration of the government estates, recovery of taxes, and registry of all property liable to taxation.

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## BURI TAJ AL-MULUK.

Abû Saîd Bûri, surnamed Tâj al-Mulûk (*crown of kings*) and Majd ad-dîn (*glory of religion*) was the youngest son of Aiyûb Ibn Shâdi (whose life has been already given), and brother to the sultan Salâh ad-dîn. He was a man of talent; and his *diwân*, or collected poetical works, though made up of pieces, some feebly and some well written (1), is yet good, if compared to those of the epoch. I extract from it the following lines, written on one of his mamlûks, who came riding up from the west on a grey horse:

> My friend approached from the west, riding on a grey horse, and I exclaimed: "Glory to the Almighty! the sun has risen in the west!"

The following piece is given as his by the *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn, in the *Kharîda*:

> 139 O, thou who, when pleased, art my life; and when angry, my death! how beautiful are the musk-spotted roses of thy cheeks (2)! Between thy eyelids is a (*magic*) power which holdeth sway over my weakness. I strived to assume fortitude, though love tormented me, and passed all bounds. Perhaps Fortune may one day grant, through mistake, that I obtain from thee my cure.

He also quotes the following:

**O, thou who bearest a lance as slender as thy wàist! O, thou who wieldest a sword which wounds like thy glances! Quit the lance and sheath thy weapon, for sometimes, undesignedly, thou givest mortal wounds (*with thy eyes*).**

This prince composed some good poetry, and other specimens, besides the foregoing, are given by Imâd ad-dìn. Bûri was born in the month of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 556 (A. D. 1161), and died near Aleppo, on Thursday the 23rd of Safar, A. H. 579 (June, A. D. 1183), of a wound he received when that place was besieged by his brother, the sultan Salâh ad-dîn. They laid siege to it on the 16th of Muharram, and on the same day, Bûri received the wound in his knee of which he died. The *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn says, in his *al-Bark as-Shâmi*: "On the conclusion of the peace (3), the sultan, before his entry into the "city, had a feast prepared in the camp for Imâd ad-dîn (*Zinki*), the lord of "Aleppo; he was sitting at table, with Zinki by his side, and we were in the "height of joy and pleasure, when the chamberlain entered and whispered to "the sultan that his brother was dead. On receiving this information, he be-"trayed no emotion; and having given orders to bury him privately, he conti-"nued to do the honours of hospitality to the last moment." It is related that Salâh ad-dîn used to say: "We did not gain Aleppo cheaply at the cost of Tâj "al-Mulûk's life."—*Bûri* is a Turkish word and means *wolf*.

(1) Literally: Lean and fat; a metaphor taken from cattle.

(2) Moles on the cheek are compared by the poets to spots of musk, which is of a black colour.

(3) Zinki offered some resistance at first, but he then made a secret treaty with Salâh ad-dîn, and gave Aleppo up to him.

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## TUTUSH.

Abû Saìd Tutush (1) Ibn Alb Arslân Ibn Dâwûd Ibn Mikail Ibn Saljûk Ibn Dakâk as-Saljûki was lord of the countries to the east of Syria. When Badr al-Jamâli held Damascus besieged by order of the lord of Egypt (*the Fatimite khalif al-Mustansir*), the Turk Atsiz (2) Ibn Aûk Ibn al-Khowârezmi, who was then in possession of the city, sent to implore the aid of Tutush, who marched to his

assistance. On arriving near Damascus, Tutush was met by Atsiz, whom he caused to be arrested, and having put him to death, he took possession of his kingdom: this was in the year 471, on the 11th of the second Rabî (October, A. D. 1078). Atsiz had become master of the city in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, 468 (June, A. D. 1076); I have read, however, in some historical work, that it was in 472. It has been already stated in the life of Ak-Sunkur (3), that Tu-
**140** tush again took Aleppo in A. H. 478; he then conquered the provinces of Syria, but the dissensions which afterwards arose between him and his nephew Barkyârûk led to a war, and a battle was fought between them, near the city of Rai, on Sunday the 17th of Safar, A. H. 488 (February, A. D. 1095), in which the troops of Tutush were defeated, and he himself was slain: his birth was in the month of Ramadân, 458 (August, A. D. 1066). He left two sons, Fakhr al-Mulûk Ridwân and Shams al-Mulûk Abû Nasr Dakâk, the former of whom took possession of the principality of Aleppo, and the latter of that of Damascus. Ridwân died on the last day of the first Jumâda, A. H. 507 (November, A. D. 1113); it was from (*one of*) his lieutenants that the Franks took Antioch in the year 492 (4). Dakâk died on the 18th of Ramadân, A. H. 497 (June, A. D. 1104), and was interred in the mosque situated in the Hakr al-Fahhâdîn (5), on the bank of the river Barada outside Damascus. He died of a lingering illness, but it has been said that he was poisoned by his mother with a bunch of grapes. On his death, he was succeeded by his atâbek, or guardian, Zahîr ad-dîn Abû Mansûr Toghtikîn, to whom his mother had been given in marriage by his father Tutush. This Toghtikîn was an enfranchised slave of Tutush. Ridwân is the ancestor of the family called Aulâd al-Malik Ridwân (*prince Ridwân's children*), which resides outside of Aleppo. Toghtikîn continued in possession of the principality of Damascus till his death, which took place on Saturday, 8th Safar, 522 (February, A. D. 1128.) He was succeeded by his son Tâj al-Mulûk Abû Saîd Bûri (6), who died on Monday, 21st Rajab, A. H. 526 (June, A. D. 1132), of a wound he received from the Bâtinites (7). He had for successor his son Shams al-Mulûk Ismaîl, who reigned till Thursday, 14th of the second Rabî, 529 (February, A. D. 1135), on which day he was put to death by his mother Khâtûn Zumurrud (*princess Emerald*), daughter of Jâwili, and his brother Shihâb ad-dîn Abû 'l-Kâsim Mahmûd was placed by her on the throne. Mahmûd governed Damascus till he was murdered by his page

at-Tugush, the eunuch Yûsuf, and the *farrâsh* (8) al-Kharkâwi on the night of Thursday, 23rd Shawwâl, 533 (June, A. D. 1139). The next morning, his brother Jamâl ad-dîn Muhammad Ibn Bûri arrived from his principality of Baalbek and took possession of Damascus, where he remained till his death, which happened on the night of Thursday, 8th Shâbân, 534 (March, A. D. 1140). He was succeeded by his son Mujîr ad-dîn Abek, who continued to govern Damascus till besieged by Nûr ad-dîn Mahmûd Ibn Zinki (*A. H.* 549, *A. D.* 1154), when he delivered up the city and received Emessa in exchange. He had not been long in Emessa, when Nûr ad-dîn sent him to Bâlis, a town on the Euphrates where he remained for some time, and then went to Baghdad, where he was honourably received by the khalif al-Muktafi (*liamr illah*); but I do not know the epoch of his death (9). When he was at Damascus, he confided the government to Muin ad-dîn Anez Ibn Abd Allah, a mamlûk of his grandfather Toghtikin. The castle of Muin ad-dîn, in the canton of al-Ghaur, which is in the dependencies of Damascus, was so named after him; he died on the night of the 23rd of the latter Rabî, 544 (August, A. D. 1149). It was his daughter whom Nûr ad-dîn Mahmûd married, and who became wife of the sultan Salâh ad-dîn on the death of her first husband. There is a college at Damascus which was founded by Muin ad-dîn. —I have since discovered the date of Mujîr ad-dîn Abek's death; it was (*in A. H.* 564, *A. D.* 1168-9) as we shall mention in the life of Nûr ad-dîn Mahmûd.

(1) In Reiske's Annals of Abû 'l-Fadâ this name is incorrectly written *Tanash*.

(2) Reiske erroneously writes this name *Ansuz*.

(3) See page 225.

(4) This is a mistake; Antioch was taken by the crusaders A. D. 1098 (A. H. 491).

(5) *Hakr al-Fahhâdîn (the enclosure of the panther* or *ounce-keepers)*; the word *hakr* signifies *an enclosed ground*; see *Chrestomathie*, t. I. 239. It is well known that in the East, panthers and ounces were trained for hunting. In the Arabic text I have printed التى in conformity with all my MSS. except one, which has الذى; the latter reading seems preferable.

(6) These were also the names and titles of a brother of Salâh ad-dîn; his life has been given in the preceding article.

(7) See note (2), page 228.

(8) The duty of the *farrâsh* is to pitch his master's tent, spread his carpets, and keep his furniture in order.

(9) See however the last lines of this article.

## TAKIYA BINT GHAITH.

Omm Ali Takiya Bint Abi 'l-Faraj Ghaith (*Takiya, mother of Ali and daughter of Abû 'l-Faraj Gaith*) Ibn Ali Ibn Abd as-Salâm Ibn Muhammad 141 Ibn Jaafar as-Sulami al-Armanâzi as-Sûri was the mother of Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Fâdil Ibn Samdûn as-Sûri. She was a woman of talent, and composed some good *kasîdas* and short pieces of poetry. The *hâfiz* as-Silafi, in whose service she had been for a time when at Alexandria, speaks of her favourably in some of his works, and the following passage is found in his handwriting: "I stumbled in the place of my abode, and my foot was wounded "thereby; on which a girl in the house tore a piece off her veil and bound it "up (1)." Takiya herself pronounced the following verses on the occasion:

> Had I found means, I should have given my cheek (2) rather than a maiden's veil. How happy should I be to kiss a foot which has always trod in the laudable path (*the path of righteousness*).

In expressing this idea, she had in view the following lines, which are by Harûn Ibn (*Ali Ibn*) Yahya al-Munajjim:

> How should he stumble who hath always been upright under the gravest circumstances? How could a hurt happen to a foot which hath never swerved from the road of honour (3).

I have been informed by the *hâfiz* Abd al-Azim al-Mundiri, that Takiya composed a *kasîda* in praise of Taki ad-dîn Omar, nephew of Salâh ad-dîn; its subject was wine, and in it she described all the apparatus of a convivial party (4), and every thing respecting wine. When the prince read the poem, he said, "The old lady knows all those things from her youth." Takiya having been informed of what he said, composed another *kasîda* on war, in which she described it to perfection, and all its accompanying circumstances; she then sent it to him, saying: "My acquaintance with that is like my acquaintance with this." In so doing, it was her intention to justify herself (5) from the imputation which he cast upon her character. Takiya was born at Damascus in the month of Safar, A. H. 505 (August, A. D. 1111); I have seen, however, a note in the handwriting of as-Silafi, stating that she was born in the month of Muharram of

that year: she died in the beginning of Shawwâl, 579 (January, A. D. 1184). Her father Abû 'l-Faraj died towards the end of A. H. 509, and, as some say, in the month of Safar of that year: he was an authority as a traditionist (6). Her grandfather Ali Ibn Abd as-Salâm died at Sûr (*Tyre*) on Sunday morning, 9th of the second Rabî, 478 (August, A. D. 1085). Her son Abû 'l-Hasan Ali, who was a native of Sûr, but a denizen of Egypt, died at an advanced age in the city of Alexandria, on the 15th Safar, A. H. 603 (September, A. D. 1206). He was an able grammarian and master of the different *readings* of the Koran (7); his handwriting was elegant and his orthography correct: his father Fâdil was born at Damascus in the month of Shawwâl, 490 (September, 1097). (This I have taken from a note written by the *hâfiz* as-Silafi.) I find in the handwriting of Abû 'l-Hasan that his father Fâdil, who was surnamed Abû Muhammad, died at Alexandria in the beginning of the first Rabî, 568 (October, A. D. 1172).—*Armanâzi* means *belonging to Armanâz,* which is a village in the dependencies of Damascus; some say, however, that it is situated in the dependencies of Antioch, but the former statement is more correct; As-Samâni says that it is in the dependencies of Aleppo, and I have been in- **142** formed by a person who saw Armanâz, that it is in the dependencies of Aleppo, and lies at less than a mile's distance to the west of Azâz (8).—*Sûri* means *belonging to Sûr* (*Tyre*), a city on the coast of Syria, and now in the hands of the Franks, may God frustrate their projects! it was taken by them in the year 518 (A. D. 1124). God render its conquest easy to the Moslims! (9)

(1) So slight a mention as this was yet highly honourable, coming, as it did, from so great and learned a man. See his life, page 86.

(2) See page 126, note (3).

(3) Literally: Which hath not ceased to tread towards an honourable station.

(4) See note (10), page 187.

(5) Literally: The justification of the court of her dwelling.

(6) Literally: he was a *thikat* ثقة. See note (5), page 102.

(7) See note (1), page 152.

(8) This is one of the additions, made by the author, and as it frequently happens with him in such cases, he has neglected to modify what was previously said, and has thus fallen into a contradiction. Azâz عزاز, written also اعزاز, lies to the north of Aleppo. The country was celebrated for its beauty and fertility.

(9) Tyre was not retaken by the Moslims till A. D. 1289, seven years after Ibn Khallikân's death.

## ABU GHALIB AT-TAIYANI.

Abû Ghâlib Tammâm Ibn Ghâlib Ibn Omar the philologer, surnamed at-Taiyâni, was a native of Cordova, but had settled at Murcia. He held the first rank in the science of philology, and was considered as a sure authority in his doctrines on that subject (1). He was cited also for his knowledge of jurisprudence, his observance of the precepts of religion, and his piety. His celebrated compilation of philological remarks is unequalled by any work of the kind both for concision and extensive information. The following anecdote, related of the author by Ibn al-Faradi, is a proof not only of his learning, but of his strict religious principles: "When Abû 'l-Jaish Mujâhid (2) took Murcia, he sent to "Abû Ghâlib, who was then residing in that city, a present of one thousand "dinars, with the condition that he should add these words to the title of his "work: *Composed by Abû Ghâlib for Abû 'l-Jaish Mujâhid.* On this, he "returned the money, saying: 'Were the world offered to me on that con-"dition, I should refuse it, to avoid having a falsehood to answer for; it was "not for you that I composed the work, but for the public at large.'—How "admirable was the noble and lofty spirit of that able master (3)! what an "honest pride, what integrity in that profound scholar!" Ibn Haiyân says that Abû Ghâlib was pre-eminent in his knowledge of the (*Arabic*) tongue, and that all yielded to him in philology. He composed a most instructive collection of philological observations, which he entitled *Talkîh al-Aîn* (4). He died at Almeria, A. H. 436 (A. D. 1044-5), in one of the months of Jumâda. Among his masters in philology were his father and Abû Bakr az-Zubaidi.—I suppose that *Taiyâni* is derived from *Tîn* (*fig*), and means a seller of that fruit.

(1) Those philological doctrines consisted in the explanation of the terms and expressions proper to the language of the ancient Arabs. These explanations could only be learned from tradition, and it is for this reason that Ibn Khallikân, in speaking of al-Taiyâni, makes use of the word ثقة (*thikat*), which means a sure authority in the transmission of traditional information.

(2) Abû 'l-Jaish Mujâhid Ibn Abd Allah al-Aâmiri, surnamed al-Muwaffak, was an enfranchised slave of Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn al-Mansûr, the *hâjib* or prime minister of the Spanish khalif Hishâm Ibn al-Hakam.

In A. H. 406 (A. D. 1015) he made an expedition to the Balearic Isles and Sardinia, an account of which is given by Conde. On his return to Spain, he succeeded, after many adventures, in obtaining possession of Denia, Murcia, and the neighbouring towns. He died at Denia, of which he was *wâli*, or governor, in A. H. 436 (A. D. 1044-5), and left behind the reputation of a just and able ruler, and a generous patron of men of learning. He was brought up at Cordova.—(*Bughiat al-Multamis.*)

(3) *Able master*; the Arabic word is *Raîs* (*chief*); which was perhaps the title given him as *chief* philologer of the age.

(4) This title signifies literally: *Fructification of the Eye*; it is perhaps a commentary on Khalîl Ibn Ahmad's celebrated Arabic dictionary the *Aîn*, or a supplement to it.

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## TAMIM IBN AL-MÔIZZ IBN AL-MANSUR.

Abû Ali Tamîm was son of al-Moizz Ibn al-Mansûr Ibn al-Kâim Ibn al-Mahdi. His father was lord of Egypt and Maghrib, and the founder of the city of Cairo (*which is for that reason entitled*) *al-Moizziya*. (We shall give his life in the letter *M*, and have already made mention of a number of his family; of the others we shall speak hereafter.) Tamîm was a man of superior talent and a poet, gifted with a subtle wit and a refined taste; he did not, however, obtain the supreme authority, as the throne devolved to his brother al-Azîz in virtue of the solemn covenant by which this prince had been recognised, during his father's lifetime, as the legitimate successor to the empire. Al-Azîz also composed some good poetry, and a great number of pieces by him and by his brother are given in at-Thaâlibi's *Yatîma*. The following verses are by Tamîm:

> The love I bore her did not appear excusable till her hair spread a dark shade on her cheek, and her beauty had attained its perfection (1). The locks which encircled her cheeks (2) aspired to kiss her lips, but she repelled them with the drawn sword of her glances. By Allah! were I not apprehensive that people should say of me: "His "head is deranged by love;" (and yet I am justified in loving!)—on kissing those rosy cheeks, I should think them a bunch of violets, and her shoulders of camphor (*whiteness*) I should mistake for ambergris (3):

By the same:

> I swear by Him who alone possesses sovereign power, and who knows the most hidden secrets! that painful though it be to conceal one's sufferings, it would be, for me, more grievous and painful to reveal them (4). I undergo tortures the least of which would force the eyes to shed tears (*from pain*), and yet, for her sake, I always wear a smiling face.

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The author of the *Yatîma* gives the following lines as being composed by Tamîm:

> No! the mother of the tender fawn who passed days and nights in the desert suffering from thirst,—who roamed unconscious and wandered in amaze through the wilderness,—whom the noontide heat oppressed, and who found not a drop of cool water to quench her thirst,—who drew near to her fawn, and, hanging fondly over it, found its flanks parched and shrunk,—that mother felt not greater pain than I on the day (*of my friends' departure*), when they girthed their camels, and a voice exclaimed from the tribe: "Adieu for ever!" (5)

The following (*well-known*) line is attributed to him also:

> Evil Fortune was mortified (*and frustrated*) by (*the abundance of*) his gifts; such mortification he also felt when forced to refuse (*a solicitation*).

All Tamîm's poetry is good. The author of the *Dual al-Munkatia* (6) says that he died in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 374 (April, A. D. 985), in Misr; and al-Otaki (7) states in his History, that his death took place on the afternoon of Tuesday, 13th of the month, and that his brother al-Azîz Nizâr was present at the funeral prayers, which were said over him in his garden: the kâdi Muhammad Ibn an-Nomân (8) washed the corpse, and having wrapped it up in sixty robes, he brought it out of the garden towards sunset, and prayed over it at the *Karâfa* (9); he then bore it to the castle of Cairo, and placed it in the vault wherein the body of his father al-Moizz was deposited. Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik al-Hamadâni (10) says, in his work entitled *al-Maârif al-Mutaâkhira* (*Sciences of later Times*), that Tamîm died in the year 375; God knows best! A third writer says that he was born in A. H. 337 (A. D. 948-9).

(1) The verb عذر in the second form signifies to have the face encircled with the *izâr*, which word is explained in the Introduction. I have modified the idea for an obvious reason.

(2) Literally: The scorpions of her face. See Introduction.

(3) What I have here translated *rosy cheeks*, means literally, *the apple of her cheeks;* the similitude between the *violet* and the *izâr* has been explained in the Introduction; *camphor* with Arabic poets is the emblem of whiteness, as *musk* is of blackness, and *ambergris* is prized for its whiteness and perfume.

(4) His affliction was love; but respect for his mistress obliged him to conceal it.

(5) Literally: "No meeting again!"

(6) See page 152, note (5).

(7) Abû Abd ar-Rahmân Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah al-Otaki is the author of the work entitled *Tarikh al-Maghâriba* (*History of the natives of Maghrib*). - (Ad-Dahabi's *Mushtabih al-Asmâ*, MS. No. 862.)

Al-Otaki died A. H. 385 (A. D. 995). His life is given by Casiri in the *Bibliotheca Arabica*, tom. I. p. 431, after the *Tárikh al-Hukamá*, or History of the Philosophers, by az-Zozeni. See *Bib. Arab.* No. 1773. I have given an account of az-Zozeni's work in a note on the life of Thâbit Ibn Kurra; see page 290. Casiri does not seem to have known this author's name, although he cites his authority frequently.

(8) Muhammad Ibn an-Nomân was born at Kairawân, A. H. 345 (A. D. 956). He accompanied his father to Egypt, and was appointed kâdi by al-Azîz in the year 374 (A. D. 984-5). Before him, this place was filled by his brother Ali Ibn an-Nomân, who died in that year. The death of the kâdi Muhammad took place A. H. 389 (A. D. 999). The ceremony of his installation is thus related: "After receiving from al-Azîz a pelisse of honour and a sword, he proceeded on the same day (*from the castle*) to the city; as he was suffering from illness, he was seated in a covered chair which was placed on the back of a mule. On entering the great mosque, he found himself unable to preside at the meeting (*held for his installation*), and he therefore went home and left his son Abd al-Azîz and his nephews with the notaries; it was in their presence that the diploma was read after Friday prayers. By it he was appointed kâdi of Egypt, Alexandria, Mekka, Medîna, and the provinces of Syria; he was authorised also to preside at public prayers (*which was one of the privileges granted to governors of provinces and vizirs*), and was empowered to act as controller of the mint, and inspector of weights and measures (*these were duties usually filled by the chief magistrate of police or Muhtasib,* محتسب). In this document the names of his father and brothers were mentioned in terms of high praise."—(Ibn Hojr's *History of the kâdis of Egypt*, MS. No. 691.)

(9) See note (12), page 53.

(10) According to Hajji Khalifa, this writer died A. H. 521 (A. D. 1127.)

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## TAMIM IBN AL-MOIZZ IBN BADIS.

Abû Yahya Tamîm was son of al-Moizz (*and a descendant of Kahtân; his genealogy is thus given:*) (1) Tamîm Ibn al-Moizz Ibn Bâdîs Ibn al-Mansûr Ibn Bolukkîn Ibn Zîri Ibn Manâd Ibn Mankûsh Ibn Zanâk (2) Ibn Zaïd al-Asghar (*the less*) Ibn Washfâl Ibn Wazghafi Ibn Sari Ibn Watloki Ibn Sulaimân Ibn al-Hârith Ibn Adi 'l-Asghar al-Mathna (*the less* or *the second*) Ibn Miswar Ibn Yahsub Ibn Mâlik Ibn Zaid Ibn al-Ghauth al-Asghar Ibn Saad; Saad, named also Abd Allah, was son of Auf Ibn Adi Ibn Mâlik Ibn Zaid Ibn Sadad Ibn Zurâ; Zurâ, who was Himyar the less, was son of Saba the less, son of Kaab Ibn Zaid Ibn Sahl Ibn Amr Ibn Kais Ibn Moâwia Ibn Jusham Ibn Abd Shams Ibn Wâil (3) Ibn al-Ghauth Ibn Haidân (4) Ibn Kitr (5) Ibn Auf Ibn Arib Ibn Zuhair Ibn Aiman Ibn al-Hamaisa Ibn Amr Ibn Himyar; Himyar, named also al-Aranjaj, was son of Saba the elder, son of Yashhob (6) Ibn Yarub Ibn Kahtân Ibn Aâbir

(*Heber*); Aâbir is the same person as the prophet Hûd, who was son of Shâlih (*Saleh*) son of Arfakhshad son of Sem son of Noah. Such is the statement made by Imâd ad-dîn in the *Kharîda*.—This Tamîm, who was surnamed al-Himyari 144 as-Sunhâji (*sprung from Sunhâj and Himyar*), became sovereign of Ifrîkiya and the neighbouring countries on the death of his father al-Moizz. His government was just, and his conduct praiseworthy; he liked men of learning, and honoured persons of talent; for this reason, poets came from the most distant regions to celebrate his praise, and, amongst the rest, Ibn as-Sarrâj as-Sûri. Tamîm's ancestor, al-Mathna Ibn al-Miswar, was the first of the family who entered Ifrîkiya (7). Ibn Rashîk al-Kairawâni composed a number of pieces in honour of Tamîm, and in one of them is this passage:

> The truest and most authentic history of liberality which has been transmitted from ancient times, is that narrative made by the torrents, which learned it from the rain, which received it from the sea, which held it from the hand of Tamîm (8).

The emîr Tamîm himself composed some good poetry, of which the following are specimens:

> If my eyes looked at hers, she would know with whom I should wish a secret interview. Her glances seem to reach the heart and discover its hidden contents.

By the same:

> Ask of the abundant rains which have watered all thy country, if they fell as copiously as my tears! If it be thy character to show aversion and rigour (*to thy lover*), patience should be mine; but where shall I find it?

The *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn speaks of him in the *Sail*, and gives the following passages of his poetry:

> I thought of hell and its fires (*and when the wicked shall exclaim*:) "Alas for us! "There is no time for escape (9)." I then invoked the Lord, for my best recommendation to his mercy is to declare the sincerity of my faith.

By the same:

> How often have I drunk intoxication off faces which in beauty far surpassed description. The cheeks were like roses, the teeth like pearls, and the ringlets like myrtle (10).

The merits of Tamîm were abundant like his poetry, and his gifts were bestowed with liberality. It was in his reign that the Mahdi, Muhammad Ibn

Tûmort, passed through Ifrîkiya on his return from the East, and manifested his disapproval of those whom he saw transgress the rules of the divine law; from thence he went to Morocco, where he acquired celebrity by his proceedings. The emîr Tamîm was born at al-Mansûriya (called also Sabra (11), a town in the province of Ifrîkiya), on Monday, 13th Rajab, A. H. 422 (July, A. D. 1031): he was entrusted by his father with the government of al-Mahdiya, in the month of Safar, A. H. 445, and he remained in command of that city till his father's death, which took place in the month of Shâbân, A. H. 454 (August, A. D. 1062), when he became sole master of the kingdom. He continued in the exercise of supreme authority till he died in A. H. 501, on Friday night, 15th Rajab (February, A. D. 1108). He was buried in his palace, but his corpse was afterwards removed to Kasr as-Sîda at Monastîr (12). He left after him upwards of one hundred sons and sixty daughters, according to the account given by his grandson 145 Ibn Shaddâd in his History of Kairawân (13).—I have already marked the manner in which the names of some of his ancestors are to be pronounced, but it would occupy too much room, were I to fix the orthography of the remainder. I have written them here, however, with the vowel points (14), so that any person who wishes to quote the genealogy has only to follow what I have here given after a note in the handwriting of a man of information.—*Monastîr* shall be noticed in the life of al-Bûsiri.

(1) This genealogical list has been drawn up after the MSS. of Ibn Khallikân, and confronted with the copies of it given by Imâd ad-dîn in his *Kharîda* (MS. No. 1375, *fol.* 59), and an-Nuwairi in his History of the Zîrite dynasty (MS. No. 702, *fol.* 26). The latter writer says that he extracted it from the الجمع والبيان or History of Maghrib and Kairawân, composed by a grandson of Tamîm Ibn al-Moizz Ibn Bâdîs, whose name was Izz ad-dîn Abû Muhammad Abd al-Azîz Ibn Shaddâd. I am inclined to suspect this genealogy to be a forgery, and that it was fabricated to flatter the Zîrite princes, who naturally desired to prove their descent from an Arabian stock. A number of names in it appear to be Berber, and might be adduced as a proof that the Arabic language was not then in general use in the tribe of Sunhâj. Other lists besides the present are extant, showing the descent of the Himyarites from Kahtân, but none of them is in perfect accordance with the others. This is however a curious document, tracing, as it does, the tribe of Sunhâj up to that of Himyâr; which point, if proved, would be important for the history of Northern Africa: the fact is indeed asserted by many Arabian historians, but I should not admit it were it founded merely on the authority of suspicious genealogies.

(2) There are differences between the MSS. in the manner of pointing some names in this list. The following various readings may not be undeserving of notice: *Zaiyâk* زياك for *Zanâk; Washfâk* واشفاك for *Washfâl; Warghafi* and *Wazâfi* for *Wazghâfi, Watlki* for *Watlokî*.

(3) Or *Wâthil* واثل.

(4) Perhaps *Huddân*.

(5) *Kotn* قطن according to the *Kharîda*.

(6) *Yashjub* according to the Kâmûs.

(7) The historian (*Ibn Shaddâd*, see note (1) ) says that al-Mathna Ibn al-Miswar was the first of his family who entered Maghrib. When the Abyssians took Yemen from the Himyarites, he emigrated to Maghrib, in consequence of a prediction made to him by a soothsayer, the import of which was, that some of his posterity in that country were to obtain an empire.—(An-Nuwairi, MS. No. 702, *fol.* 27.)

(8) The Arabs compare liberality to a torrent or to the ocean, and frequently designate it by the emblem of humidity. This poet therefore represents the waters of the torrent as proceeding from the hand of the prince, and then transmitted by the sea to the rain, and by the rain to the torrent. This humidity or liberality resembles therefore an ancient tradition, which is handed down from one generation to another. Such is the idea expressed in these verses.

(9) *Koran*, surat 38, v. 2.

(10) Arabic poets frequently compare the hair to myrtle, on account of its *dark* colour. The word آس (*myrtle*) is often used metaphorically to designate the hair.

(11) See note (2), page 249.

(12) See note (9), page 232.

(13) See note (1).

(14) These vowel points have been omitted by the copyists.

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## SHAMS AD-DAWLAT TURAN SHAH.

Al-Malik al-Muazzam Shams ad-Dawlat (*the exalted prince, sun of the empire*) Tûrân Shâh Ibn Aiyûb Ibn Shâdi Ibn Marwân was surnamed Fakhr ad-dîn (*glory of religion*). Mention has been already made of his father and his brother Tâj al-Mulûk (1). He was an elder brother of the sultan Salâh ad-dîn, who often expressed his high esteem of him, and treated him with deference. In the month of Rajab, 569, the sultan having established his authority on a solid basis and strengthened his army, sent his brother Tûrân Shâh, with a chosen body of troops, from Egypt to Yemen against Abd an-Nabi Ibn Mahdi. This man pretended that his authority was to extend over all the land, and having become master of the greater part of the cities and fortresses in that province, he caused the *khotba* (2) to be said in his own name. Tûrân Shah, on his arrival in Yemen, obtained the victory by God's permission, and slew the rebel. He then took possession of nearly all the country, and enriched great numbers by his donations, for he was of a noble and generous disposition. He

left Yemen when the sultan was besieging Aleppo, and arrived at Damascus in the month of Zû'l-Hijja, A. H. 571 (June, A. D. 1176). Salâh ad-dîn, on raising the siege, went back to Egypt, after appointing Tûrân Shâh as his lieutenant in Damascus, where he remained for some time and then returned to Misr. Ibn Shaddâd says, in his History of Salâh ad-dîn, that al-Malik al-Muazzam Tûrân Shâh died at Alexandria on Thursday, 1st of Safar, A. H. 576 (June, A. D. 1180) (3), but in another part of the work he states that his death took place on the 5th of Safar. His body was transported to Damascus by Sitt as-Sham, who was his sister by the father's side, and was interred by her in the college which she had founded outside the city. That edifice contains also her tomb, that of her son Husâm ad-dîn Omar son of Lâjîn, and that of her second husband, Nâsir ad-dîn Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Asad ad-dîn Shîrkûh, whom she had espoused on the death of Lâjîn.—Husâm ad-dîn (*the sword of religion*) died on the night of Thursday, 19th Ramadân, 587 (October, A. D. 1191); he was master of the eunuch Shibl ad-Dawlat (*whelp of the empire*) Kâfûr Ibn Abd Allah, who was therefore entitled *al-Husâmi*, and who founded the *Shibliya* college and the *Shibliya* convent outside of Damascus, on the road leading to Mount Kâsiûn; these two establishments have a certain celebrity at Damascus. Shibl ad-Dawlat founded a great number of *wakfs* (4) and charitable institutions useful (*to others*) in this life and (*to himself*) in the next. He died in Rajab, 623 (July, A. D. 1226), and was interred near the *Shibliya* College, in the mausoleum which bears his name.—Mention shall be made of Nâsir ad-dîn Muhammad, son of Shîrkûh, in the life of his father.—Sitt as-Sham (*the lady of Syria*) died on the 16th Zû 'l-Kaada, 616 (January, A. D. 1220).—On finishing this article, I found some further information in the handwriting of a person of merit, who had cultivated the science of biography; this additional note I shall give here, and let what I have already said stand as it is. His narration is as follows:— When Shams ad-Dawlat had reduced the province of Yemen to tranquillity, and submitted it to his authority, he felt a dislike to 146 residing in that country, having been brought up in Syria, a land of abundance, whilst Yemen was a sterile region, deprived of every advantage. He therefore wrote to his brother, offering his resignation and demanding his authorisation to return to Syria. (*In this letter*) he complained of his unpleasant situation, and of the sufferings which he underwent in being deprived of the necessary con-

veniencies of life. Salâh ad-dîn sent a letter in reply, encouraging him to continue in a country possessed of so much wealth and forming so extensive an empire. Shams ad-Dawlat, on hearing the contents of the letter, ordered his treasurer to bring him a thousand gold pieces, and, giving them to his major-domo in the presence of the messenger who brought the letter, he ordered him to send to the market and buy a lump of ice with that sum. To this the major-domo answered: "My lord, this is Yemen, and how can ice be found in it?"—"Tell "them then," said the prince, "to buy with it a tray of apricots (5)."—"How "could such a fruit be found here?" was the reply. He then named all the different sorts of fruit peculiar to Damascus, and the major-domo manifested his astonishment, and said, as each species was named: "How, my lord, could "such a thing be found here?" Shams ad-Dawlat, having at length finished, said to the messenger: "I should like to know what is to be done with these "riches, since they cannot procure me the pleasures of life, nor furnish me with "what I desire? Money cannot be eaten, and its sole use is, that it enables a "man to attain the object of his wishes." The messenger, on his return, related the circumstance to Salâh ad-dîn, who, in consequence, allowed his brother to come back. Al-Kâdi al-Fâdil used to write to Shams ad-Dawlat, and in his letters, which were elegantly drawn up, he expressed the ardent desire he had (*of seeing him again*); one of these letters contained this well-known piece of verse:

> Be not offended at my conduct; for my bosom is (*alas!*) inclined to betray the secrets of love. By thy departure I die, and by thy return I receive new life. Time swore to separate us; when will it relent and break its oath? Thy letters are strewed around my couch, and I seem to be a victim stung by thee, whilst they are the magicians which strive to effect my cure (6). How long can the body exist deprived of life? How long, when deprived of respiration?

Shams ad-Dawlat returned to Damascus in the year above-mentioned, and Salâh ad-dîn, on his departure for Egypt, A. H. 574 (A. D. 1178), appointed him as his lieutenant. He had already sent him to subdue Nubia in the year 568 (A. D. 1172-3); this was before his expedition to Yemen. When he arrived in Nubia, he found that its conquest would not repay the trouble, and he therefore left it and returned with a rich booty, consisting of slaves. He held from his brother a number of fiefs for his support, and the taxes of Yemen were collected in his name by his lieutenants, yet he died indebted to the treasury-office for a

sum of two hundred thousand dinars (7), which were paid in by Salâh ad-dîn. My master, the learned and talented shaikh Ibn al-Khaimi al-Hilli (*native of Hilla*), who had settled in Egypt (8), relates that he had a dream, in which he saw Shams ad-Dawlat Tûrân Shâh dead in his tomb; and that he recited to the prince some verses in his praise, on which he rolled up his shroud and threw it to him (*Ibn al-Khaimi*), saying:

> Think it not slight, the gift which I make when dead, for, in bestowing it, my body remains naked. Imagine not that avarice could ever blemish the generosity of one who lavished the wealth of Syria and of Yemen. I left the world, and, of all which my hands possessed, a winding-sheet alone remained with me.

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When Shams ad-Dawlat was in Yemen, he appointed al-Mubârak Ibn Munkid (whose life shall be given in the letter *M*,) as his lieutenant in the city of Zabid.—*Tûrân* is a Persian word; *Shâh* is also Persian and means *king*; *Tûrân Shâh* signifies *king of the East*. The East was named *Tûrân*, because it is the country of the Turks, who are called *Turkân* by the Persians, which word has been altered into *Tûrân*.

(1) See pages 243 and 272.

(2) See note (2), page 174.

(3) See *Saladini vita et res gestæ*, p. 45.

(4) See note (7), page 49.

(5) Apricots, مشمش لوزى literally, *almond apricots*: "a beautiful well-flavoured fruit with a sweet "kernel."—(Russell's Aleppo, vol. I. p. 87.)—See also De Sacy's Abdallatif, p. 132.

(6) Literally: These are the magicians, the blowers. This is a *learned* allusion of the kâdi's to a superstitious practice prevalent among the ancient Arabs. When a person was stung by a scorpion, enchanters were called in, who blew upon the wound and performed other ceremonies to effect a cure. Another approved receipt was, to prevent the patient from sleeping, and for this purpose a number of metal bracelets and collars, such as are worn by females, were shaken at his ears all night; or else he performed this operation himself. It is thus that the poet an-Nâbigha ad-Dubyâni says:

يسهر من ليل التمام سليمها * بحلى النساء فى يديه قعاقع

"He that is wounded by its sting remains awake the entire night, and a rattling sound proceeds from the "women's ornaments which he holds in his hands."

(7) About 120,000 pounds sterling.

(8) See in the life of Tâj ad-dîn al-Kindi Zaid Ibn al-Hasan.

## THABIT IBN KURRA.

Abû 'l-Hasan Thâbit Ibn Kurra Ibn Harûn (or Zahrûn) Ibn Thâbit Ibn Karâya Ibn Mârinûs Ibn Mâlâgeriûs (Μελέαγρος) al-Harrâni was a great arithmetician and philosopher. He commenced his career as a money-changer at Harrân, and then removed to Baghdad, where he studied with success the sciences of the ancients (1). He acquired a superior knowledge of medicine, but he devoted himself principally to philosophy. About twenty treatises were composed by him on different branches of science, and the work of Euclid, which had been translated into Arabic by Hunain Ibn Ishak al-Ibâdi, received from him a better order, its difficulties were removed, and its obscurities cleared up. He attained by his talents an eminent rank among his contemporaries; but having, in his intercourse with the persons of his sect (2), advanced principles which they considered heterodox, he was cited by them before the chief of their religion, who condemned his doctrines and forbid him to enter the church. On this, he renounced his opinions and returned to his sect; but relapsing, some time after, into his former doctrines, he was excluded from the congregation. In consequence of this, he retired from Harrân and settled at Kafratûtha, where he continued to reside, and where he met with Muhammad Ibn Mûsa (3), who was on his return to Baghdad from the country of the Greeks. Muhammad, struck with his talent and the elegance of his language, took him to Baghdad and lodged him in his own house; he then presented him to the khalif (4), who placed him among his astronomers. Thâbit then settled at Baghdad, and his children and their posterity have continued to inhabit it to the present day.—*Kafratûtha* is a town situated in Mesopotamia near Dâra. — Thâbit Ibn Kurra was born A. H. 221 (A. D. 836), and died on Thursday, 26th Safar, 288 (February, A. D. 901). He belonged to the sect of the Sabeans, and had a son named Ibrahîm, who equalled him in merit, and was one of the greatest physicians of his time. The poet Sari ar-Raffâ having been cured of an illness by Ibrahîm, composed in his honour the following lines, which are the best ever made on the subject of medicine:

Who is there, after God, to heal the sick—who suffices, if not Ibn Kurra? Philosophy was dead, and he revived it among us; the traces of medicine were effaced, and

> he restored them to light. He is like Jesus, the son of Mary, who by a simple word bestowed life. I presented him a phial (5), and he saw therein that which was concealed between my ribs and my heart. The hidden malady appeared to him as plainly as pebbles at the bottom of a clear pond.

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By the same on the same:

> Ibrahîm, by his surpassing knowledge, obtained the title of the heir of science. He brought to light the path of medicine, the traces of which had long been effaced among mankind. From the penetration of his mind, you would think that he passed between the blood and the flesh (*to discover diseases so well*). When the soul quarrels with the body, he effects a reconciliation.

—Abû 'l-Hasan Thâbit Ibn Sanân was grandson of Thâbit Ibn Kurra. He also was a Sabean, and inhabited Baghdad during the government of Moizz ad-Dawlat Ibn Buwaih. This learned and skilful physician taught the works of Hippocrates and Galen; he shewed great penetration in discovering the sense of obscure passages, and he trod in the footsteps of his grandfather, cultivating, like him, medicine, philosophy, geometry, and the exact sciences (6) of the ancients. He wrote a very good work on history (7). Some say that the first piece of verse given above was composed by as-Sari on him.—*Harrâni* means *belonging to Harrân*, a well-known city in Mesopotamia: at-Tabari says in his History that it was built by Hârân, uncle of the patriarch Abraham, whose name it bore; and that this name was in Arabic converted into Harrân (8). Hârân was the father of Sâra, wife of Abraham; one of Abraham's brothers was also called Hârân; this was the father of Lot.—Al-Jauhari says in his Lexicon, the *Sahâh*, that from *Harrân*, the name of a town, is derived the relative adjective *Harnâni*, which is a word of irregular formation, and that the vulgar form *Harrâni* is regular.

(1) See page 149, note (3).

(2) He belonged to the sect of the Sabeans.

(3) The life of Muhammad Ibn Mûsa is given in this work. See also *Abulfedæ Annales*, tom. II. p. 241.

(4) According to az-Zozeni, it was the khalif al-Motadid to whom Thâbit Ibn Kurra was presented by Muhammad Ibn Mûsa.

(5) Literally: My urinal.—Notwithstanding Ibn Khallikân's admiration of these strange verses, I must say that even in the original language they are very poor, and offer no excuse for a profane comparison and a gross idea.

(6) The exact sciences (which were comprehended under the term of *Quadrivium* by the schoolmen of the middle ages,) are, according to Hajji Khalifa, geometry, astronomy, arithmetic, and music.

(7) "Thâbit Ibn Sanân Ibn Thâbit Ibn Kurra lived in the days of (*the khalif*) al-Mûti Lillah, and under the government of al-Aktâ Ahmad Ibn Bûwaih (*see his life, page* 155). Before that, he was attached to the service of (*the khalif*) ar-Râdi, and held a great eminence by his knowledge of medicine; he was learned in its

fundamental principles, highly skilful in resolving the difficulties (*met with*) in the books (*of the Greeks which treat on that science*), and was charged with the direction of the hospital at Baghdad. The eloquent *kâtib* Hilâl Ibn al-Muhassan Ibn Ibrahîm as-Sâbi was his sister's son. This Thâbit composed the celebrated history which surpasses in extent all other works of the kind. It begins shortly after the year of the Hijra 290, and proceeds to A. H. 363, in which year the author died. His nephew Hilâl (*Ibn*) al-Muhassan Ibn Ibrahîm continued it, and were it not for them, much of the history of that period had remained unknown. If you want a good series of historical works, take that of at-Tabari, which extends from the creation to the year 309 (*of the Hijra*); and you would do well to join with it the work of Ahmad Ibn Abi Tâhir and that of his son Obaid Allah (*see the end of this note*), for they have given a perfect account of the Abbaside dynasty, and have furnished details not to be found in at-Tabari; the works of these three finish nearly at the same epoch, but at-Tabari's goes on a little farther than the others. After these, comes the work of Thâbit, for it commences some years before the period to which at-Tabari's history reaches, and it proceeds to the year 363. If you join to that, al-Farghâni's continuation of at-Tabari, you will do well, for it is fuller, in some places, than the work of Thâbit. Then comes the work of Hilâl Ibn al Muhassan Ibn Ibrahîm as-Sâbi, which commences where his uncle Thâbit's history ends, and proceeds to the year 447: none of his contemporaries have undertaken, like him, to judge events and discover the secrets of dynasties; this he learned from his grandfather, who, being secretary of the chancery-office (*see note* (4), *page* 33), was acquainted with what occurred: he also was in the chancery-office, and the facts which came to his knowledge there, served to form his historical compilation. Then follows the work of his son Ghars an-Nîma Muhammad Ibn Hilâl, which is very good till it approaches the year 470, but is of inferior merit قصر from that period to the end; the reason of which God only knows. This history is then taken up by (*Muhammad*) Ibn (*Abd al-Malik*) al-Hamadâni, who brings it down to the year 512; it is also continued by Ibn ar-Râghûni الراغوني (*see at the end of this note,*) to the year 527; he gives, however, but an unsatisfactory account of that period, as history was not his profession. After him, Afîf ad-dîn Sadaka al-Haddâd continues the history beyond the year 570; Ibn al-Jawzi brings it down to 580, and it is continued by Ibn al-Kâdisi القادسي to the year 616.—Hilâl Ibn al-Muhassan says: On the eve of Wednesday, 11th Zu 'l-Kaada, 365 (July, A. D. 976), died Abû 'l-Hasan Thâbit Ibn Sanân Ibn Thâbit Ibn Kurra, the historian."—(*Tawârîkh al-Hukamâ*, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, Supplement, No. 105, p. 94.)

The work from which this extract is taken was composed by Muhammad Ibn Ali al-Khatîbi az-Zozeni الخطيبي الزوزني in the year of the Hijra, 647 (A. D. 1249). It contains, in alphabetical order, the lives of those Greeks, Syrians, Arabs, Indians, and Hebrews, who were eminent for their knowledge in medicine, astronomy, and mathematics. A copy of it is in the library at the Escurial, and is noticed by Casiri in his *Bibliotheca Arabica*, under the number 1773. He has also published some extracts from it in his first volume, page 402 *et seq.* This work has furnished Abû 'l-Faraj, in his History of Dynasties, with most of the literary information there given, and though some glaring faults occur in it, its utility to the student cannot be contested. It contains some long passages translated from Plato and Aristotle. The Manuscript of the *Bibliothèque du Roi* was copied, as it appears by a note at the end, in A. D. 1770, after a MS. belonging to Doctor Russell, the author of the description of Aleppo. This circumstance is mentioned in the appendix to the second volume of Dr. Russell's work, where he says: "Having accidentally "heard, at Aleppo, of a manuscript of this work, I with some difficulty obtained permission to have a "copy taken; but I was not aware of its value till two years after, when the French consul, in conse-"quence of letters from Paris, requested the favour that I would allow a copy to be made from my manu-"script for the king's library." It did not, however, reach the *Bib. du Roi* till A. D. 1784, when it was left to it as a legacy, with five other manuscripts, by M. Legrand, secrétaire-interprète du Roi. It has there remained unnoticed, till lately, when it attracted my attention.

**Abû 'l-Fadl Ahmad Ibn Abi Tâhir Taifûr was son of a Khorasanite slave in the service of the Abbaside khalifs من ابناء خراسان من اولاد الدولة. He was born at Baghdad, A. H. 204 (A. D. 819-20), and commenced his career as a low schoolmaster and *kâtib*. He then rose to considerable eminence تخصص, and opened a shop in the book-bazar on the west side of the Tigris جلس في سوق الوراقين في الجانب الشرقي. He compiled upwards of fifty works on different subjects, the titles of which are given in the *Fihrest*. Died A. H. 280 (A. D. 893). His son Abû 'l-Husain Obaid Allah trod in his footsteps as a compiler, author, and transmitter of ancient narrations. He wrote a continuation of his father's History of Baghdad; taking it up at the end of the khalifat of al-Muhtadi, and adding to it the lives of al-Motamid, al-Motadid, al-Muktafi, and al-Muktadir.—(*Kitâb al-Fihrest*, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 874, fol. 197.)**

**Abû 'l-Hasan Abd Allah Ibn ar-Râghûni, a native of Baghdad and chief doctor (*shaikh*) of the Hanbalites, died A. H. 527 (A. D. 1132-3). He taught the Traditions and the seven readings of the Koran, was versed in theology and the doctrines of his sect, and composed some works by which he gained reputation. —(*al-Yâfi*.)**

**(8) *Harrân*, in Arabic, is written with a hard *h*, and *Hârân* with a soft.**

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## ZU 'N-NUN AL-MISRI.

Abû 'l-Faid Thaubân Ibn Ibrahîm (or al-Faid) Ibn Ibrahîm al-Misri (*native of Egypt*), and surnamed Zû 'n-Nûn (1), was a celebrated saint and one of the *men of the path* (2). He was the first person of the age for his learning (3), devotion, communion with the divinity (4), and acquaintance with literature, and is mentioned as one of those who taught from memory the *Muwatta* of the imâm Malik (5). Ibn Yûnus says in his History, that he was acquainted with philosophy and spoke with elegance. His father, who was a native of Nubia, or of Ikhmîm (*in Upper Egypt*), was a slave enfranchised and adopted by the tribe of Koraish. Zû n'-Nûn said, on being asked why he had renounced the world: "I went forth from Misr, journeying to a certain village, and I fell asleep in "one of the deserts on the way. And my eye was opened, and lo! a little "bird (6), still blind, fell from its nest to the ground. Then the ground split "open and two trays came forth, one of gold and the other of silver; in one was "sesame, and in the other water; and the bird eat of that and drank of this. "'That,' said I, 'is a sufficient warning for me; I renounce the world!' And I "then did not quit the door (*of divine mercy*) until I was let in."—Having been denounced by his enemies to al-Mutawakkil, he was cited from Egypt to appear before him; on entering into his presence, he addressed a pious exhortation to the khalif, who shed tears and dismissed him honourably. (*After this inter-*

*view,)* whenever men of piety were spoken of before al-Mutawakkil, he would 149 weep and say: "Speaking of pious men, let me have Zû 'n-Nûn."—Zû 'n-Nûn was lean-bodied, of a sanguine complexion (7), and had not a gray hair in his beard. His master in the path of devotion was Shukrân al-Aâbid (*the devout*) (8). One of his sayings was: "When hearts hold converse, the members "of the body are in repose (9)." It was related by Ishak Ibn Ibrahîm as-Sarakhshi at Mekka, that he saw Zû 'n-Nûn dragged, handcuffed and fettered, to the *Matbak* (10), whilst the people were weeping around him, and that he heard him say: "This is one of the gifts and favours of God; all he does is sweet, right, good." He then recited these lines:

> For thee, (*my beloved!*) is a reserved place in my heart: I despise all blame cast on me for loving thee. For thy sake, I strive to fall thy victim; to support thy absence is (*a task*) not possible (11).

In a compilation containing some particulars concerning Zû 'n-Nûn, I found the following passage: "A dervish, who was one of his disciples, quitted him in "Egypt and went to Baghdad. He there attended a religious concert (12), and "when the brethren were excited and fell into ecstacy, he stood up and whirled "about and hearkened (*to the music*); he then uttered a loud cry and fell, and "on being shaken by those present, he was found dead. News of this having "reached Zû 'n-Nûn, he said to his disciples: 'Get ready, that we may walk to "Baghdad.' So when they had finished their preparations, they set out for "Baghdad, and the shaikh said, the moment he arrived: 'Bring me that musi-"cian.' When the musician was brought before him, and questioned about "the dervish, he related the event. On this the shaikh said: 'Blessed (*is he*)!' "Then he and his band of disciples commenced singing, and as they began, the "shaikh uttered a loud cry at that musician, who fell dead. 'A slain for a "slain,' said the shaikh; 'we have taken vengeance for our companion's death.' "He then prepared to depart and go back to Egypt; and he stopped not at "Baghdad, but returned immediately." A circumstance (*similar to this*) occurred in my time, and may be fitly related in this place. There was with us at Arbela a musician renowned for his skill and talent, whose name was Shujâ ad-dîn Jibril Ibn al-Awâni. Some time before the year 620 (A. D. 1223) he went to a religious concert, (I was then a boy, but I remember the circumstance well (13); my family and other persons having spoken of it at the time;) and he there

sung the high-sounding and beautiful *kasîda* composed by the grandson of Ibn at-Taâwìzi (whose life will be found in the letter *M*), and which begins thus:

> May a spring-tide shower descend upon thee by night, and may no evil eyes charm the clouds which come to shed their rain upon thee in the mornings.

He then came to these verses:

> The willow of the sands, in the tribe's reserved grounds, (*was once*) my heart's desire (14); but now the sands move me not, neither does the willow. And how can the lover obtain his heart's desire when the cottage weeps (*in its desolation*) and friends are departed (15). It was they who animated the dwellings (16), but the mansions are dead when deprived of inhabitants. O, how many maids (17) were in thee, sweet region! by whom my heart was dazzled! how many nymphs whose blandishments awoke my love (18)! O, what a night! when the wine received (*new*) lustre from the (*bright*) hand of the cupbearer, who sung in joy and lightness of heart. She was free from cares (19), but the ring of metal which adorned her ankles was tight; her heart was void (*of love*) and mine was full. The cool source of her lips inflames with love, and 150 her languishing glances awake desire. If she be filled with the sap of youth, my heart thirsts after the nectar of her lips. Her eyes and swords bear a relation to each other, and for this reason scabbards are called *Ajfân* (*eyelids*).

When Shujâ ad-dìn came to this verse, one of the audience rose up and requested him to repeat it, which he did twice or thrice, during which that person was ravished in ecstacy, and then uttered a loud cry and fell on the ground. The people thought him in a swoon, but finding that his senses continued suspended, they examined him and perceived that he was dead. Shujâ relates that the same thing occurred once before at one of his concerts. The poem from which these verses are taken is splendid and of considerable length; it was recited in honour of the khalif an-Nâsir li-dìn Allah on the Festival of the Breaking of the Fast (*1st Shawwâl*), A. H. 581.—The merits of Zû 'n-Nûn were great in number; he died in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 245 (February, A. D. 860), or according to others, A. H. 246 or 248, in Misr; and was interred in the lesser Karâfa (20). A chapel has been built over his tomb, and in this chapel are the graves of a number of other holy men; I have visited it more than once.

(1) *Zû 'n-Nûn*, or *he of the fish*, is a surname given by the Moslims to the prophet Jonas.

(2) See note (3), page 259.

(3) Jurisprudence is probably meant here.

(4) See the note on the signification of the word *hâl* حال, page 190.

(5) In the early ages of Islamism, many authors composed works, but did not put them in writing; those works they taught from memory to their disciples, who either wrote them down or transmitted them orally.— The *Muwatta*, or *beaten path*, is a celebrated treatise on jurisprudence.

(6) *A little Bird;* قنبرة *kunbura*, which, according to Dr. Russell in his History of Aleppo, is the Arabic name of the crested lark. Larks, however, build on the ground, not on trees, so some other species must be meant here.

(7) Literally: *Redness prevailed in him*, which may also mean that his body was reddish or copper-coloured.

(8) "Shukrân al-Aâbid was Zû 'n-Nûn's master, but I do not know the year of his death; his tomb is near "that of his disciple."—(Kâhir Shâh, in his Universal History; MS. No. 615, fol. 152.)

(9) This means that the service of the tongue is not required to express the thoughts of the mind, neither are signs necessary for the purpose, when two hearts are in sympathetic communion.

(10) See page 21.

(11) The mystic import of these lines is manifest; *the beloved* is here *the Divinity*.

(12) Literally: *a hearing;* which is something similar to the *zikrs* so well described by Mr. Lane in his *Modern Egyptians*. Consult also D'Ohsson's *Tab. Gén.* t. IV. p. 656. M. de Sacy says, in the *Notices et Extraits*, t. XII. p. 369, that the سماع or *hearing*, which he translates by *concert*, means the dances of the turning dervishes.

(13) Ibn Khallikân was not then twelve years of age.

(14) The *willow* means the maid with a slender and pliant waist.

(15) See note (8), page 38.

(16) Literally: They were the thoughts (or minds) of the dwellings.

(17) Literally: *Moons*.

(18) This verse runs literally thus: How often have moons in thy sky (or region) dazzled my heart, and how many gazelles in thee have blandished me!

(19) Literally: *Loose* from care, but in her anklets *tightness*. See Mr. Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, vol. II. p. 364.

(20) See note (12), page 53.

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## JARIR THE POET.

Abû Hazra Jarîr Ibn Atiya Ibn Khudaifa (surnamed al-Khatafa) Ibn Badr Ibn Salama Ibn Aûf Ibn Kulaib Ibn Yarbû Ibn Hanzala Ibn Mâlik Ibn Zaid Manât Ibn Tamîm Ibn Murr at-Tamîmi (*descended from Tamîm*) was one of the greatest and most celebrated Moslim poets. He was in the habit of making satires on al-Farazdak, who retorted in the same manner, and they composed parodies on each other's poems. Most critics consider him as an abler poet than al-Farazdak, and learned men agree unanimously that, among the poets of Islamic times,

there were none equal to these three: Jarîr, al-Farazdak, and al-Akhtal (1). It is said that verses are of four kinds; boasting, laudatory, satirical, and amatory (2), and that Jarîr excelled in them all, since he was author of these passages, which are specimens of each style:

When the tribe of Tamîm are wroth against you, it seems to you as if all mankind were in anger.

Are you not the best of those who ever rode on camels, and the most liberal of men (3)?

Cast down thy eyes (*with shame*), for thou belongest to the tribe of Numair! You have not even attained the rank of Kaab or of Kilâb!

Eyes, of which the glances were full of languor (4), slew us but revived not our slain. These maids strike the man of courage prostrate and motionless, and yet they are the feeblest of God's creation. 151

Abû Obaida Mamar relates this anecdote: "Jarîr and al-Farazdak rode forth "on the same camel to visit (*the khalif*) Hishâm Ibn Abd al-Malik, who was "then at Rusâfa (5). Jarîr having got down on a certain occasion, the camel "turned its head round, on which al-Farazdak struck it and said:

'Why dost thou turn when I am on thee, and am going towards the noblest of men?
'On thy arrival at Rusâfa, thou shalt repose from the toils of the journey and the bleeding wounds (*caused by the friction of the saddle*).

"He then said to himself: 'When Jarîr comes up and hears me recite these "lines, he will say:

'She bears a blacksmith's son, and therefore turns to look after the bellows and the 'dull-edged hatchet. But on arriving at Rusâfa, she will meet with the (*rough*) treat- 'ment which her rider has experienced every year, at the assemblies of Arabs (6).'

"Jarîr, on coming up, saw al-Farazdak laugh, and said to him: 'What "makes you laugh, Abû Farâs (7)?' Al-Farazdak then recited to him the "first lines, and Jarîr answered with the last. On this, al-Farazdak said: 'By "Allah! I have just pronounced the same lines;' and Jarîr replied: 'Do you "not know that it is the same demon which inspires us both (8)?' "—Al-Mubarrad relates, in his *Kâmil*, that the following verse of Jarîr's was recited to al-Farazdak:

You will see the leprosy on her body (*shine*) like the hoary beard of al-Farazdak (9);

And that the latter, on hearing the beginning of the verse clapped his hand to his chin, in expectation of what was to come after, in the second hemistich. —Abû Obaida relates also this anecdote: "Jarîr's mother, when in her preg-"nancy, dreamt that she was delivered of a rope made of black hair, and that it "began to spring about and seize a great number of people successively by the "neck, and strangle them. On this she awoke in affright, and having asked "the interpretation of her dream, was told that she would bring forth a male "child and a poet, full of acrimony and violence, who would be an affliction to "men. It was for this reason that, on his birth, she named him *Jarîr* (*halter*)." —Abû 'l-Faraj al-Ispahâni gives the life of Jarîr in the *Kitâb al-Aghâni*, and relates there the following anecdote: "A man said to Jarîr: 'Who is the first "poet of the age?' 'Rise up,' said Jarîr, 'and you shall learn.' He then lead "him by the hand to his father Atiya, who had just seized and bound a she-"goat and was sucking its teat. On being called forth by Jarîr, he appeared in "a squalid dress, with drops of the goat's milk trickling down his beard. 'Do "you see that man?' said Jarîr.—'Yes.'—'Do you know him?'—'No.'—'That "is my father; and do you know why he was sucking the goat's teat?'—'No.' "—It was because he was afraid, that (*if he milked her*) some one might hear "the noise of the milk (*falling into the pail*), and ask him for some. Now, "the ablest poet is he who, in contests with eighty others, vaunted his descent 152 "from such a father and vanquished them all.'"—It is related, in the work entitled, *al-Jalîs wa 'l-Anîs* (*the companion and friend*) (10), that one of Jârir's descendants, named Muhammad Ibn Habîb Ibn Omâra Ibn Okail Ibn Bilâl Ibn Jarîr, was asked what deed his ancestor intended to commit when he pronounced this verse:

> Had I known that the day of their departure was the last day in which we were to meet, I had done what I did not do.

To this question Muhammad answered: "He meant that he would have "plucked out his eyes, to avoid witnessing the departure of his friends!"—It is related in the *Aghâni* that Masûd Ibn Bishr asked Ibn Manâdir (11) when in Mekka, who was the first poet of the time, and received from him this answer: "He who is playful and serious at will; who in his playful style gives you "hopes to attain his level, but rises beyond your reach when you essay; and

"in his serious mood aims at thoughts so lofty, that you must despair to rival "him."—"Who is it?" said Masûd. – "Jarîr," replied Ibn Munâdir; "he "who in his sportive humour said:

'The maidens, who in their morning departure bore my heart away, left me (12), 'however, an abundant source, which ceases not yet to flow from my eyes! They 'dried up their tears and said to me: "Think not that we resemble you in feeling the 'effects of love (13)!"'

"And who, in a graver style, pronounced words like these:

'He who has refused every honourable quality to the tribe of Taghlib, has placed 'the khalifat and the gift of prophecy in ours! Modar is my father and the father of 'princes! Say, Taghlib, purblind tribe! where have you a father like ours? Behold 'my cousin a khalif in Damascus; if I chose, he would drive you to me as slaves.'"

The narrator says that (*the khalif*) Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân, on hearing these verses, said: "What could induce Ibn al-Marâgha (*Jarîr*) to go so far as to "take me for his constable (14)? Had he said: '*If* he *chose, he would drive "you to me as slaves*,' I should have done so."—These verses are an attack on the celebrated poet al-Akhtal, who was of the tribe of Taghlib (15); Jarîr says in them, that the khalifat and the gift of prophecy were in his own family; for the reason that the tribe of Tamîm, to which he belonged, was sprung from Modar, son of Nizâr, son of Maadd, son of Adnân, and Adnân was an ancestor of Muhammad's; so that the khalifat and the gift of prophecy might be considered as belonging to Modâr, from whom also the tribe of Tamîm was descended.—The word *khuzr* (*here translated by* purblind) is the plural of *akhzar*, and is regularly formed like the other plural adjectives of the same class. *Akhzar* means *narrow-eyed*, and is an epithet given to the Persians; it is for this reason that Jarîr employs it here, excluding thus the Taghlibites from the Arabic nation, and pretending that they were Persians; a most grievous insult to an Arab.—In saying, *Behold my cousin a khalif in Damascus*, he means Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân the Omaiyide, who was then living. Abd al-Malik calls Jarîr *Ibn al-Marâgha* (*son of the Marâgha*), because al-Akhtal had made a satire on him, and said that his mother was a *marâgha* (16) for men; God forgive us for saying such a thing! but the explanation of the anecdote required it.—Jarîr once went into the presence of Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân, and recited him a *kasîda*, beginning thus:

(*My companions said to me*) have you recovered, or is your heart still troubled (*since*) 153 the evening that your friends resolved to depart? Censorious females tell me that gray hairs cover my head; must gray hairs then prevent me from being gay? (*My wife*) Omm Khazra was (*at length*) consoled (*and consented to my leaving her:* " *Go,*") said she, "I foresee that your servants will have a flock of she-camels (*the khalif's gift*) " to drive to the watering place." My confidence is in God who has no partner in his power, and my hopes for success are placed in the khalif. Thee (*O prince*) shall I thank, if thou restore to me my plumage, and cause the pinions of my wing to grow: are you not the best of those who ever rode on camels, and the most liberal of men?

Jarîr said: "When I recited this poem to Abd al-Malik and came to this verse, " he sat up straight on his throne and exclaimed: 'Those who praise us must " pronounce verses like that, or else be silent.' He then turned towards me and " said: 'O Jarîr, dost thou think that one hundred camels from the flocks of the " tribe of Kalb would suffice to quench the thirst of Omm Hazra?' To this I " replied: 'Commander of the Faithful! if they suffice not, may God never " assuage her thirst!' He then ordered them to be given to me, all of them " black-eyed (17); and I said: 'Commander of the Faithful! we are all old men " in our family, unable to go on foot (18), and camels are apt to stray; suppose " that you made me a present of some slaves to keep them?' On this, he " ordered me eight, and as he had some dishes of gold before him and a rod in " his hand, I said, in pointing to one of them: 'Commander of the Faithful! " and the milkpail?' On which he pushed it towards me with the rod, saying: " 'Take it, and much good may it do thee (19)!'" It is to this circumstance that Jarîr alludes in the following verse:

They gave a *hunaida*, which was tended by eight; their gifts are not granted with ill-will, neither are they excessive.

The word *hunaida*, which has the form of a diminutive noun, is a proper name serving to designate one hundred (20), and most of the learned in philology do not allow it to take the definite article; some, however, permit it, and the celebrated poet of Aleppo, Abû 'l-Fath Ibn Abi Husaina as-Sulami has said in one of his *kasîdas:*

O, my heart! the half of *al-Hunaida* (i. e. fifty years) has left you no excuse for love (21).

When Jarîr learned the death of al-Farazdak, he wept and said: "By Allah! " I well know that I shall survive him but for a short time; we were born under " the same constellation, and each of us was taken up with the other; and it

"rarely happens that a rival or a friend dies without being followed by him "whose rival or friend he was!" And this was in fact the case, as he and al-Farazdak died in the year 110 (A.D. 728-9); see the life of (*Hammâm Ibn Ghâlib*) al-Farazdak, where some particulars of Jarir's death are related. Abû 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzi places the death of Jarir in A. H. 111; and Ibn Kutaiba states, in his *Kitâb al-Maârif*, that Jarir's mother bore him in her womb seven months. He died in al-Yamâma (22), aged upwards of eighty years.

(1) The lives of these three poets, translated from the *Kitâb al-Aghâni*, have been given by M. Caussin de Perceval in the *Journal Asiatique* for the year 1834.

(2) It would seem that descriptive and didactic poetry were not acknowledged as forming particular classes, yet many examples are to be found, especially of the former kind.

(3) Literally: The most liberal of creatures as to the palms of the hand.

(4) See page 28, note (3).

(5) The town of ar-Rusâfa lay opposite to ar-Rakka, at one day's journey west of the Euphrates. Abû 'l-Fadâ places it in lat. 36° N. It was called also the Rusâfa of Hishâm, after its founder Hishâm Ibn Abd al-Malik, who made it his summer residence and retired there to avoid the plague, which desolated Syria.—(*Marâsid.*)

(6) There were five places in Arabia at which annual fairs were held, and to which the poets resorted previously to the introduction of Islamism. See my *Diwân d'Amro 'l-Kais*, preface, page 8.

(7) Abû Farâs was al-Farazdak's surname.

(8) Literally: That our demon is one and the same.

(9) Literally: Videbis lepram in imis pudendis hujus (*mulieris*) similem esse barbæ canescenti τοῦ Farazdak.

(10) This work is not noticed by Hajji Khalifa.

(11) Mohammad Ibn Mounâdhir, (quelques-uns disent Ibn Manâdhir, le fils des Moundhir, alléguant que son père, son aïeul et son bisaïeul se nommaient Moundhir, voy. le Camous,) poète de Basra, a composé en divers genres, mais surtout dans le genre satyrique. Les ressentimens excités par ses satyres le forcèrent même à quitter Basra. Il se retira alors à la Mekke. Il a fait des vers à la louange du calife Elmahdi, des Barmécides et de Haroun Arrachid. Haroun, après avoir fait périr les Barmécides, partit pour le pélerinage de la Mekke, accompagné de son nouveau vézir Fadhl fils de Rabie. A l'arrivée du calife à la Mekke, Ibn Mounâdhir alla se présenter devant lui et demanda la permission de lui reciter un panégyrique qu'il avait préparé. Fadhl dit à Haroun: "Cet homme a célébré les Barmécides, ordonnez-lui de vous réciter les vers qu'il a composés en "leur honneur." Haroun l'ordonna en effet, et après avoir entendu cet éloge des Barmécides, il fit donner des soufflets au poète et le chassa de sa présence. Ibn Mounâdhir mourut à la Mekke, sous le califat d'Almamoun, en l'année 198. Il était alors devenu aveugle. (Aghâni, vol. IV. fol. 76. 83. 85.)—Quant à Massoud ben Bechr, il est cité quelquefois dans l'article d'Ibn Mounâdhir comme ayant rapporté quelques anecdotes relatives à ce poète, mais je ne trouve point dans cet article la conversation dans laquelle il lui demande quel est le meilleur des poètes, etc. Je ne sais pas non plus quelle était sa qualité.—(A. Caussin de Perceval.)

(12) The pronoun is here in the second person; but as the poet addresses himself, it is necessary to translate by the first in order to express the thought clearly. Arabic poetry abounds with that species of irregularity which European grammarians call *enallage of person*.

(13) Literally: What have you felt from love which we feel.—It is needless to observe that they also felt its effect, but dissembled their weakness.

(14) The word *shorati* شرطى is here translated *constable*, to avoid a periphrase. It means a soldier of the police cavalry.

(15) Al-Akthal was a Christian; his tribe also professed the same faith, and it is for this reason that the Taghlibites, although an Arab tribe, are specially excepted, by law, from paying the *Zakât*, or *tithe*, of their cattle. But this was merely a nominal advantage, as they were bound to pay tribute like the Christian subjects in conquered countries.

(16) Marâgha is thus explained in Freytag's Lexicon: *Locus ubi se volutat jumentum. Asina quæ admittit admissarios.*

(17) This was a proof of their good breed.

(18) More literally: And none of us can do without his riding-camel.

(19) Literally: May it do thee no good. It very frequently happens in Arabic that good wishes are expressed under the form of imprecations, as in this case.

(20) It is thus that an Arabic grammarian would say of the English words *a dozen* and *a score*, that they are the proper names of *twelve* and *twenty*.

(21) More literally: For attachment to the person whose face is shaded by the *izâr*.—See Introduction.

(22) *Al-Yamâma;* a country and town lying to the east of Mekka, at four days' journey from al-Katif on the Persian Gulf. - (Abû 'l-Fadâ.)

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## THE IMAM JAAFAR AS-SADIK.

Abû Abd Allah Jaafar as-Sâdik Ibn Muhammad al-Bâkir Ibn Ali Zain 184 al-Aâbidîn Ibn al-Husain Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib was one of the twelve persons who, according to the religious doctrines of the Shiites, are considered as imams. This illustrious descendant of Muhammad was surnamed *as-Sâdik* (1) for his veracity, and his merits are too well known to be mentioned here. He composed a discourse (*or treatise*) on alchemy, augury, and omens, and the sûfi Abû Mûsa Jâbir Ibn Haiyân of Tarsus (2) compiled a work of two thousand pages, in which he inserted the problems of his master Jaafar as-Sâdik, which formed five hundred treatises. Jaafar was born A. H. 80 (A. D. 699), (which year is denominated *the year of the Torrent*) (3): but according to another statement, his birth happened before the daybreak of Tuesday 8th Ramadân, A. H. 83. He died in the month of Shawwâl, A. H. 148 (A. D. 765), and was buried in the cemetery of al-Baki at Medina. The same tomb contains the bodies of his father Muhammad al-Bâkir, his grandfather Ali Zain al-Aâbidîn, and his grandfather's uncle, al-Hasan son of Ali: how rich a tomb in generosity and nobility! His

mother, Omm Farwa, was daughter of al-Kâsim, son of Muhammad, son of (*the khalif*) Abû Bakr as-Siddik. — The lives of the *twelve imams* shall be given in their respective places. — It is related by Koshâjim (4) in his *Kitâb al-Masâid wa 'l-Matârid* that Jaafar once asked Abû Hanîfa his opinion respecting a pilgrim wearing the *ihrâm* who broke the canine teeth of a gazelle (5); to which Abû Hanîfa answered: "Son of the Prophet of God! I "know not what to say on the subject." On this, Jaafar said: "You, who "are a man of quick mind, do not know that gazelles have no canine teeth, "but only incisors (6)."

(1) *As-Sâdik;* the veracious.

(2) Jâbir Ibn Haiyân is the name of the celebrated alchemist whom Europeans call Geber. Casiri gives some account of him, after the *Târikh al-Hukamâ*, in the *Bibliotheca Arabica;* vide tom. I. p. 423.

(3) In the eightieth year of the Hijra a torrent overwhelmed a number of persons at Mekka. It was for this reason that the above year was called the year of *the impetuous torrent* (*as-Sail al-Juhâf*).—(Ibn Shâkir's *Oyûn at Tawârikh.*)

(4) Abû 'l-Fath Mahmûd Ibn al-Husain, surnamed Koshâjim, was a celebrated poet and philologer, contemporary with al-Mutanabbi. He is author of the following works: *Adab an-Nadîm* (*the necessary qualities for a boon-companion*); *Al-Masaid wa 'l-Matârid* (*snares and game*), which appears to be a collection of sporting anecdotes; a Collection of Epistles, and a *Diwân* of poems. He died some time after A. H. 350 (A. D. 961).—(*Fihrest;* ad-Dahabi's *Târikh al-Islâm*, MS. No. 646, fol. 296, *v.*)

(5) The person who is making the pilgrimage to Mekka is not allowed to hunt, fowl, or fish as long as he wears the *ihrâm*, or pilgrim's dress. The laws on this subject may be seen in D'Ohsson's *Empire Othoman*, tom. III.

(6) Camels have incisors, canine teeth, and molars, but most of the other ruminating quadrupeds have incisors and molars only. This peculiarity did not escape the notice of the nomadic Arabs, but was not generally known to towns-people.

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## JAAFAR THE BARMEKIDE.

Abû 'l-Fadl Jaafar Ibn Yahya Ibn Khâlid Ibn Barmek Ibn Jâmâs Ibn Yashtâsf al-Barmaki was vizir to Harûn ar-Rashîd. In the high rank which he attained and the great power which he wielded, in loftiness of spirit and in the esteem and favour shown him by the khalif, he stood without a rival. His disposition was generous, his looks encouraging, his demeanour kind; but his liberality and munificence, the richness and the prodigality of his donations, are too

well known to require mention. He expressed his thoughts with great elegance, and was remarkable for his eloquence and command of language: it is stated that one night, he wrote, under the inspection of Harûn ar-Rashîd, upwards of one thousand decisions on as many memorials which had been presented to the khalif, and that not one of these decisions deviated in the least from what was warranted by the law. He had been instructed in jurisprudence by the kadi Abû Yûsuf the Hanefite, under whose tuition he had been placed by his father Yahya. Ibn al-Kâdisi relates, in his History of Vizirs, that Jaafar said to a person who asked his excuse for some fault: "By the pardon which "we have already granted to you, God has dispensed you from the necessity of "making any excuses to us; and our friendship for you is too great to permit "that we should entertain an unfavourable opinion of your character." — A written complaint having been presented to him against one of the public men under his orders, he wrote the following note on the back of the document and sent it to him:—"Those who complain of you are numerous, and those who "praise you are few; be just, or resign."—The following example is related of his penetration: Having learned that ar-Rashîd was much depressed in consequence of a Jewish astrologer having predicted to him that he should die within a year, he rode off to the khalif and found him deeply afflicted: the Jew had been detained as a prisoner by the khalif's orders, and Jaafar addressed him in these terms: "You pretend that the khalif is to die in the space of so many "days?"—"Yes," said the Jew.—"And how long are you yourself to live?" said Jaafar.—"So many years," replied the other, mentioning a great number. Jaafar then said to the khalif: "Put him to death, and you will be thus assured "that he is equally mistaken respecting the length of your life and that of his "own." This advice was followed by the khalif, who then thanked Jaafar for having dispelled his sadness. The Jew's body was exposed on a gibbet, and on this occasion the poet Ashja as-Sulami pronounced the following lines:

Ask the horseman who is perched on the trunk of that palm-tree, if a favourable constellation ever appeared for such a rider? Were it possible that the stars could teach the hour of death, he had known the fate which awaited his own silly head. He announced to us the imâm's (1) death; such a prediction he must have learned from the sons of Khosroes and Cæsar (*the enemies of Islamism*). Ah, worst of diviners! you foretell the ill fortune of others, while your own constellation plainly foreboded evil!

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The astrologer thus lost his life through his own folly.—The generous character of Jaafar and the abundance of his donations are well known: it is related that when he made the pilgrimage to Mekka, he passed through al-Akîk (2), which had greatly suffered that year from drought, and was met by a woman belonging to the tribe of Kilâb, who recited to him these lines:

> I passed through al-Akîk, and found its inhabitants complaining that the showers of spring had fallen but scantily. But now, that Jaafar is their neighbour, a spring without rain cannot injure them (3).

On hearing this, Jaafar made her a rich present.—The idea expressed in the last verse is taken from a piece of poetry by ad-Dahhâk Ibn Okail al-Khafâji, in which he says:

> Had we Samrâ this year for neighbour, we should not (though drought afflicts us) mind the absence of spring-tide rains.

How well the poet has turned that verse, and how sweet the parenthesis *though drought afflicts us!* This parenthesis is an example of what the rhetoricians call *Hashw al-Lawzinj* (4).—(*Hilâl*) Ibn as-Sâbi gives the following anecdote, in his *Kitâb al-Amâthil wa 'l-Aiyân,* on the authority of Ishak (*Ibn*) an-Nadîm al-Mausili, who had learned it from Ibrahîm Ibn al-Mahdi: "Jaafar Ibn Yahya was one day in a private apartment of his house with "his boon companions, and I was one of the number; he had put on a silk "dress and anointed himself with perfumes, and he made us do the same; he "gave also orders not to admit any person except the intendant of his "demesnes, Abd al-Malik Ibn Bahrân, but the chamberlain heard the "words *Abd al-Malik* only. Now it happened that Abd al-Malik Ibn Sâlih "the Hashimite (5) rode to Jaafar's house, knowing that he was at home, "and the chamberlain sent in to say that Abd al-Malik was come, on which "Jaafar said, 'Let him enter;' thinking that it was Ibn Bahrân. Judge then "of our consternation at the sight of Abd al-Malik Ibn Salih in his black "dress (6) and a *rusâfiya* (7) on his head! Jaafar himself changed colour. Ibn "Sâlih never drank *nabîd* (8), and had even refused to do so, though invited "by the khalif; but on seeing Jaafar's perplexity, he called his page, to whom "he gave his black robe and *kalansûa*, and then advanced to the door of the "apartment where we were, and after saluting us, said: 'Allow me to be a par-

"taker in your pleasures, and treat me as one of yourselves.' Having then "received a silk dress from a servant, he asked for something to eat, and when "he had done, he called for *nabîd* and drank off a pint of it (9). He then said "to Jaafar: 'By Allah! I never drank it till to-day, so I request your indul- "gence.' On this Jaafar ordered a pitcher of *nabîd* to be set before him, so that "he might take what quantity he pleased. Abd al-Malik then anointed him- "self with perfumes, and joining in our conviviality, he proved himself a most "agreeable companion. The further he went on, the more Jaafar's mind was "set at ease, and he said to his guest when about to retire: 'Inform me of "your business, for I cannot make a sufficient acknowledgment for your cour- "tesy.'--'You must know then,' said Abd al-Malik, 'that the Commander "of the Faithful is ill-disposed towards me, and I wish you to remove that un- "favourable feeling from his mind, and aid me to regain his good opinion.' "To this Jaafar answered: 'The Commander of the Faithful shall take you "into favour, and his prepossessions against you shall cease.'—'And I am also "in debt,' said Abd al-Malik, 'to the amount of four millions of dirhems (10).'— "'Your debts shall be paid,' said Jaafar; 'the money is ready, but it will be "more honourable for you to receive it from the khalif himself, and it will serve "as a public token of his good feeling towards you.'—'I should like also,' said "the other, 'to raise my son Ibrahîm to an elevated rank, by obtaining for him "a princess of the khalif's family in marriage.'—'The Commander of the "Faithful,' answered Jaafar, 'shall give his daughter al-Aâlia to him as a wife.' "'And I should wish,' said Abd al-Malik, 'as a public mark of my son's eleva- 456 "tion, that a standard be borne over his head (11).'--'The Commander of the "Faithful,' replied Jaafar, 'shall give him the government of Egypt (12).' "Abd al-Malik then withdrew, and we were in great astonishment at Jaafar's "answers, and his boldness in taking engagements of such a nature without the "authorisation of the khalif. The next morning we rode to the court of "ar-Rashîd, where we awaited the return of Jaafar, who went in to the kha- "lif's apartment. Almost immediately on his entrance, the kâdi Abû Jûsuf "was called in along with Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan (13) and Ibrahîm Ibn Abd "al-Malik; and a moment had scarcely elapsed when Ibrahim came forth "decked in a robe of honour, with a standard borne before him: he had also "been betrothed to al-Aâlia, who was then brought to him in state, and

"carried, with the money (*which Jaafar had promised*), to Abd al-Malik's "house. Jaafar then came out and ordered us to follow him home, where he said "to us: 'I suppose that your minds are so taken up with Abd al-Malik's affair, "that you would like to know the result?'—Our reply was: 'That is precisely "what we desire;' and Jaafar made us the following narration: 'I stood in the "presence of the Commander of the faithful, and informed him of Abd al-Ma-"lik's conduct from the beginning to the end, and the khalif exclaimed, "Ex-"cellent! excellent! And what did you do for him?" I here informed him of "the promise which I had made him; and the khalif approved of it and con-"firmed it. You saw the result.' (*In relating this anecdote*,) Ibrahîm Ibn "al-Mahdi said: 'By Allah! I know not which (*of the three*) to admire most: "Abd al-Malik's drinking *nabîd* and putting on attire different from what he "usually wore; he who was a serious man, scrupulously devout, full of gra-"vity and sedateness; or the liberty which Jaafar took with ar-Rashid; or the "confirmation given by ar-Rashîd to the promises made by Jaafar.' " — It is related that one day, at Jaafar's, a beetle flew towards Abû Obaid the Thakefite, and that Jaafar ordered it to be driven away, when Abû Obaid said: "Let it alone; it may perhaps bring me good luck; such is at least the vulgar "opinion." Jaafar on this ordered one thousand dinars to be given him, saying: "The vulgar opinion is confirmed." The beetle was then set at liberty, but it "flew towards Abû Obaid a second time, and Jaafar ordered him another present to the same amount. — The following anecdote is given by Ibn al-Kâdisi (14) in his History of Vizirs: "A slave girl, who was just sold to Jaafar "for forty thousand dinars, said to her former owner: 'Remember the pro-"mise which you made me, never to sell me even from necessity (15);' she "then wept, and he exclaimed, 'Bear witness that I set her free and take her "for my wife.' Jaafar (*on hearing this*) gave the money to her owner, with-"out accepting any thing in return." —Many are the examples related of his generosity; he was also the most eloquent person of his family. The first of the Barmekides who acted as vizir was Khâlid Ibn Barmak, who was raised to the vizirat by (*the khalif*) as-Saffâh after the assassination of Hafs al-Khallâl; (this circumstance is related in the life of Hafs). Khâlid continued in the vizirat till the death of as-Saffâh, which event took place on Monday, 13th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A.H. 136 (June, A.D. 754); and was confirmed in his post, the same day, by the

new khalif, al-Mansûr, brother to as-Saffâh. One year and some months after this, he was removed through the intrigues of Abû Aiyûb al-Mûriyâni, who had gained great influence over the mind of al-Mansûr, and represented to him that the Kurds had taken possession of Fârs, and that Khâlid was the most proper person to arrest their progress. Khâlid was therefore sent off to that country, and, in his absence, Abû Aiyûb got all the authority into his hands. Ibn al-Kâdisi says that Khâlid died A. H. 163 (A. D. 779-80), but Ibn Asâkir states, in his History of Damascus, that he was born A. H. 90 (A. D. 709), and died A. H. 165 (A. D. 781-2): God knows best!—Jaafar had taken a solid hold on the predilections of ar-Rashîd, who yielded to his influence and granted him his friendship; the degree of favour which he attained was unexampled, so much so that the khalif caused a robe to be made with two separate collars, which he and Jaafar wore at the same time. Ar-Rashîd could not suffer being deprived of Jaafar's company, neither could he bear being separated from his own sister al-Abbâsa, daughter of al-Mahdi, whom he loved with an extreme affection; his pleasure was never complete in the absence of one or the other; he therefore said to Jaafar: "My pleasure is never complete except when you and al-Abbâsa "are with me; I shall therefore marry you together, in order that you may "legally keep company with her; but beware that you meet her and I not pre-
157 "sent!" Jaafar accepted this condition and married her; but at last the favourable feelings of ar-Rashîd towards him and the Barmekides underwent a total change; he reduced that family to ruin, put Jaafar to death, threw his brother al-Fadl and his father Yahya into prison, and there left them to die (as will be mentioned in their respective articles). Historians disagree respecting the motives which turned ar-Rashîd against them; some go so far as to say that when Jaafar and al-Abbâsa were married on the condition above-mentioned, and had continued for a time to observe it, she conceived a passion for her husband, who refused however, through fear, to accede to her desires: she then had recourse to a stratagem, and sent to Attâba, Jaafar's mother, requesting to be offered to him as a slave, (for Jaafar's mother made him a present every Friday of a young virgin, with whom he passed the night, having previously taken some *nabîd*.) This proposal having been rejected, al-Abbâsa said to Attâba: "If you do not consent to what I desire, I shall tell my brother that you asked "me to act so and so; whereas, if I bear a son to Jaafar, it will be a source of

" honour to your family; and what could my brother do, were he to discover " the circumstance?" Jaafar's mother was induced by this to accede to al-Abbâsa's request, and she began by promising to her son that she would give him a fair slave whom she then had in her possession, and whom she described as possessing great beauty. Jaafar asked her, time after time, to fulfil her promise, and she, on perceiving that his desires were at length excited to possess the slave, told al-Abbâsa to hold herself in readiness, and that night she introduced her into Jaafar's chamber. Her countenance was not known to Jaafar, as he had never met her but in the khalif's presence, and did not then dare to cast his eyes on her. When they had been some time together, she said to him: " What think you of the stratagems practised by princesses?"—"What princess " are you?" said Jaafar.—"I am thy sovereign mistress," she replied; "I am " al-Abbâsa!" Immediately the fumes of the *nabîd* were dispelled from his head, and he sought his mother, to whom he said: "Mother, you have brought " me to ruin (16)!" The pregnancy of al-Abbâsa was the result of this interview, and she gave birth to a son, whom, to avoid discovery, she sent off to Mekka under the care of a slave called Raiyâsh, and a nurse whose name was Barra. At that time Yahya, the son of Khâlid, was inspector of ar-Rashid's palace and harem, the doors of which he used to lock and then retire with the keys. The strict confinement in which he kept the females of the harem induced at length Zobaida to make complaints of him to (*her husband*) ar-Rashid, who said to him: "Father,"—for so he used to call him—"Father, why does Zo- " baida complain of you?"—"Commander of the faithful," said Yahya, "can " you suspect me of dishonouring your harem?"—"No;" answered the khalif. —"Then," replied Yahya, "hearken not to what she says of me." After this, Yahya acted towards her with such increased rudeness and severity, that she complained again to ar-Rashid, who said to her: "I cannot harbour any " suspicion against Yahya relative to my harem."—"Why then," replied she, " did he not prevent his son from acting as he has done?"—"What has he done?" said he. She then informed him of al-Abbâsa's adventure. " Is there any " proof of this?" said ar-Rashid.—"What stronger proof than the child?"— " Where is it?"—"It was here, but fearing a discovery, she sent it to Mekka." —" Does any other but yourself know this?"—"There is not a slave-girl in " the palace but knows it." Ar-Rashid then spoke no more to her on the

subject, but manifested later his intention of making the pilgrimage to Mekka. When he set out with Jaafar for that place, al-Abbâsa wrote to the slave and the nurse, directing them to retire into Yemen with the child. Ar-Rashîd, on arriving at Mekka, commissioned a person of confidence to investigate the circumstance, and it was discovered that the child really existed (17). From that time, the khalif nourished in his bosom evil intentions against the Barmekides.— Ibn Badrûn speaks of Jaafar in his commentary on the elegiac poem composed by Ibn Abdûn on the fall of the Banû 'l-Aftas (18); this *kasîda* commences thus:

> After (*inflicting*) the reality (*of misfortune*), time torments (*us*) still with the traces (*of it*); why then weep for shadows and (*unreal*) images?

And the mention of Jaafar occurs in the commentary on the following verse of the poem:

> (*Fortune*) made Jaafar to taste of death by the sword (19), whilst Fadl and the venerable Yahya looked on.

158 —In the following verses, Abû Nuwâs alludes to the circumstance mentioned by Ibn Badrûn:

> Say to the trusty servant of God, the offspring of princes and able rulers: "When " you wish to make a traitor lose his head, slay him not with the sword, but marry him " to Abbâsa."

According to another statement, (*a descendant of Ali*,) Yahya Ibn Abd Allah (20), who had revolted against ar-Rashîd, was given by him in charge to Jaafar, who kept him prisoner in his house. This Yahya, having asked to see Jaafar, said to him: "Fear God, O Jaafar! in your conduct towards me, and avoid the " risk of having my ancestor, the prophet Muhammad, for an adversary (*on the* " *day of judgment*); for I solemnly aver that I never excited a revolt." Jaafar was touched with this appeal, and replied: "Go to what country you list." "I " fear," said Yahya, "lest I be arrested and brought back." Jaafar therefore sent with him a person who conducted him to a place of safety. When the news of this reached ar-Rashîd, he called Jaafar into his presence, and after a long conversation, addressed him thus: "O Jaafar! what is Yahya doing?" To which Jaafar answered: "He is still as he was."—"Swear by my life that it is so," said the khalif; but Jaafar, after some moments of silence and hesitation, said: "No! I swear by your life that I have set him free; for I knew that no evil was

" in him." —"It was well done," said the khalif; "you have not acted contrary " to my intentions." When Jaafar withdrew, ar-Rashid followed him with his eyes and said: "May God slay me if I slay thee not!"—It is said that Saîd Ibn Sâlim was asked what was the crime of the Barmekides which had merited the wrath of ar-Rashîd, and that he answered: "Of a verity! they committed no- " thing to warrant ar-Rashid's conduct towards them; but the day (*of their* " *prosperity and power*) had been long, and that which continues long becomes " irksome. There were persons, and those among the best of men, who were " fatigued with the length of the khalif Omar's reign, although the like of it was " never seen for justice, security, wealth, and victories; they also bore with " impatience the sway of Othmân; and both were murdered. Besides, ar-Rashîd " saw that generosity had become their habitude; that the public were loud in " their praise, and that men's hopes were fixed on them and not on him. " Less than this suffices to excite the jealousy of princes; so ar-Rashîd con- " ceived ill-will against them, wreaked his vengeance on them, and tried to find " out faults (*with which he might reproach them*). Besides this, a certain de- " gree of presumption was sometimes visible in the conduct of Jaafar and al- " Fadl, (although Yahya was exempt from it; for he had more solid experience " than the others and better skill in affairs.) This induced some of their ene- " mies, as al-Fadl Ibn ar-Rabî and others, to have recourse to ar-Rashîd, from " whom they concealed the good done by the Barmekides, and only told him " of their faults; (*they persevered in this*) till they brought about what took " place. After this, when any persons spoke ill of the Barmekides in ar-Ra- " shîd's presence, he would say:

> 'Perdition to your fathers (21)! blame them less, or fill the void which they have 'left.'"

It is also stated that the ruin of the Barmekides was caused by a memorial which was presented to ar-Rashîd by an unknown individual, and which contained the following lines:

> Say to God's trusty servant upon earth, him who has power to loose and to bind: "Behold, the son of Yahya has become a sovereign like yourself; there is no differ- " ence between you! Your orders must yield to his, and his orders dare not be re- " sisted. He has built a palace, of which the like was never erected by the Persian or " the Indian (*king*). Pearls and rubies form its pavement, and the floor is of amber

"and aloes-wood. We fear that he will inherit the empire, when you are hidden in
"the tomb. It is only the insolent slave who rivals his master in splendour."

139 On reading this paper, ar-Rashîd conceived a secret hatred for Jaafar.—Ibn Badrûn relates that Olaiya, daughter of al-Mahdi (22), said to ar-Rashîd, after the fall of the Barmekides: "My lord, I have not seen you enjoy a day of per-"fect happiness since you put Jaafar to death. Why did you do so?" To this ar-Rashîd replied: "My dear life! if I thought that even my inmost gar-"ment knew the reason, I should tear it in pieces."—Jaafar was executed by ar-Rashîd's orders at a place called al-Omr, in the province of al-Anbâr, on Sunday 30th of Muharram (or on the first of Safar), A. H. 187 (end of January, A. D. 803.)—At-Tabari says in his History: "In the year 186, ar-Rashîd made "the pilgrimage with the Barmekides, and arrived at Hîra from Mekka in the "month of Muharram, 187; he stopped at the palace of Aûn al-Ibâdi for "some days, and having then embarked, he descended the river to al-Omr "near al-Anbâr. On the eve of Sunday, last of Muharram, he sent the eunuch "Abû Hâshim Masrûr with Abû Isma Hammâd Ibn Sâlim and a troop of "soldiers to guard the issues of Jaafar's house, and Masrûr went in and found "him engaged in a party of pleasure with Ibn Bakhtyashû the phy-"sician (23) and Abû Zakkâr al-Kalwâdâni (24) the blind musician. Masrûr "dragged him out violently and led him to ar-Rashîd's mansion, where he impri-"soned him and shackled him with an ass's fetters. He then informed ar-Ra-"shîd of his arrival, and was ordered by him to behead him."—At-Tabari then gives in full the history of Jaafar.—Al-Wâkidi says: "Ar-Rashîd stopped at "al-Omr, near al-Anbâr, on his return from Mekka in the year 187; he then "wreaked his vengeance on the Barmekides and slew Jaafar on the first of Safar; "his body he ordered to be gibbeted on one side of the bridge of Baghdad, and "the head he caused to be stuck up on the other."—Another historian states that Jaafar's body was gibbeted on the bridge opposite to as-Sarât (25).—As-Sindi Ibn Shâhik (26) relates as follows: "I was one night asleep in the upper "room of the guard-house, which is on the western side (*of the Tigris*), and "I saw in a dream Jaafar, who stood before me in a robe dyed with saffron, and "recited these verses (27):

'(*'Tis now*) as if not a soul had ever lived between al-Hajûn and as-Safa (28)! As
'if there had never been one friend in Mekka to hold evening converse with another!

' For we were its inhabitants, but we perished by the vicissitudes of time and the pre-
' cariousness of fortune (29).'

" On this I awoke in terror, and related my vision to one of my friends,
" who answered: '*They are confused dreams* (30), and it is not all which a
" man sees (*in sleep*) that will bear interpretation.' I then returned to my
" couch, but had scarcely closed my eyes when I heard the challenge of the
" sentries and the guard, and the ringing of the bridles of post-horses (31),
" and a knocking at the door of my chamber. I ordered it to be opened, and
" the eunuch Sallâm al-Abrash (whom ar-Rashîd never sent out but on impor-
" tant business,) came up stairs. I shuddered at his sight, and my joints trem-
" bled, for I imagined that he had got some orders concerning me; but he sat
" down by my side and handed me a letter, the seal of which I broke open, and
" lo! it contained these words: *O Sindi! this letter is written with our own hand,*
" *and sealed with the seal-ring which we wear on our finger; it will be pre-*
" *sented to you by Sallâm al-Abrash; and as soon as you read it, even before*
" *you lay it out of your hand, go with Sallâm to the house of Yahya Ibn*
" *Khâlid, (may God not protect him!) and having seized on him, put him in*
" *heavy irons and bear him to the prison in the city of al-Mansûr* (32), *which*
" *is called* Habs az-Zanâdika (33). *Order also your lieutenant Bâdâm Ibn*
" *Abd Allah to go to al-Fadl's, at the same time that you ride off to the*
" *house of his father Yahya, before the news spread abroad: tell him to do*
" *with al-Fadl what you are ordered to do with Yahya, and let him take him*
" *to the same prison. On finishing with these two, send some of your men*
" *to seize on the children, brothers, and relations of Yahya* (34)." — Ibn
Badrûn also relates the fall of the Barmekides with some additional circum- 160
stances which I am induced to give here in an abridged manner. After the
passage relative to Jaafar which has been cited above (35), he says: "Then
" (*ar-Rashîd*) called as-Sindi Ibn Shâhik and ordered him to proceed to Bagh-
" dad and arrest secretly the Barmekides, their clerks and their relations, which
" was done. Ar-Rashîd was then with Jaafar at al-Omr, near al-Anbâr. Jaafar
" was in his lodgings at the time, and had called in Abû Zakkâr and his slave
" girls; the curtains (*of the apartment*) were closed, and Abû Zakkâr had sung
" to him this song:

'What want they with us? They never cease to watch us (36)! Their only thought 'is to detect (*the joys*) which we conceal.'

"And ar-Rashid called his page Yâsir and said to him: 'I have chosen you " for a business which I do not think fit to confide to any other (37); justify " then the opinion which I have of you, and beware resisting me, or you die.' " —To this Yâsir answered: 'Were you to order me to kill myself, I would do " it.'—'Go then,' said ar-Rashîd, 'and bring me immediately the head of " Jaafar Ibn Yahya.' Yâsir was confounded, and gave no answer. 'Wretch!' " exclaimed ar-Rashîd, 'do you hesitate?'—'It is a serious business;' replied " the other; 'would that I had died before this hour!'—'Execute my orders!' " said the khalif. Yâsir then went to Jaafar's, and found him in company with " Abû Zakkâr, who was singing these verses:

'Leave us not, for every man must meet death either in the night or in the day. 'Treasures, though well preserved, must one day be exhausted. Could you be pre-'served from the attacks of misfortune, I should give my own wealth and that of my 'fathers to secure your safety.'

" (*Yâsir then entered*) and Jaafar said to him: 'I am happy to receive your " visit, O Yâsir; but am displeased at your entering without permission.'— " 'My business,' said Yâsir, 'does not admit of ceremony (38).' He then in-" formed him of the orders which he had received from the khalif. Jaafar, on " this, kissed Yâsir's feet and said: 'Let me go in and make my will.'—'As for " going in,' answered Yâsir, 'it is impossible for me to grant it; but make your " will if you please.'—'You are under obligations to me,' said Jaafar, 'and you " can repay them at the present moment only.'—'You will find me prompt to " do any thing,' said Yâsir, 'except to disobey the Commander of the faithful.' " —'Return then,' said Jaafar, 'and tell him that you have put me to death; if " he express his regret, I shall owe you my life; and if not, you can fulfil your " orders.'—'Impossible!' said Yâsir.—'Let me then go with you to his tent, " that I may hear the answer which he makes you, and if he persist in will-" ing my death, you can execute his commands.'—'To that I consent,' replied " the other. He then entered the tent of ar-Rashîd, who, on hearing the " noise of his approach, said to him: 'Have you done it (39)?' Yâsir told him " what Jaafar had said. 'Vile wretch (40)!" exclaimed the khalif, 'if you an-" swer me another word, I shall send you before him (*to the next world*).'

"Yâsir then retired, and having put Jaafar to death, he carried in his head "and placed it before the khalif. He looked at it for some time, and then or- "dered Yâsir to bring in two persons whom he named. When they came, he "said to them: 'Strike off Yâsir's head, for I cannot bear the sight of Jaafar's "murderer.'"—In another part of the book, Ibn Badrûn relates this anecdote: "During the pilgrimage, Jaafar had remarked ar-Rashîd's estrangement, and "on arriving at Hîra, he rode out on business to a church, in which he found a "stone with something written on it, which he did not understand. He sent "for interpreters to have it explained, with the intention of drawing from it "an omen relative to what he had to fear or hope from ar-Rashîd. The "inscription was read, and it ran thus:

'In the year that the family of Mundir (41) perished, by the spot where the monk 'built the church, the hopes of the needy were fixed on them no longer, and the cri- 161 'minal ceased to fear them. Their hair breathed the odour of musk and the perfume 'of ambergris, which caused the rose to frown (*with jealousy*). They became food for 'the worms of the earth; the patron had ceased to exist, and those also who sought 'his favour.'

"Jaafar, on hearing this, was dejected and said: 'Our fortune has passed "away!'"——Al-Asmâi related this anecdote: "Ar-Rashîd sent for me after he "had put Jaafar to death, and on my arrival, he said: 'It is for some verses "which I wish you to hear.' I answered: 'If it pleases the Commander of the "faithful.' He then repeated to me these lines:

'Had Jaafar apprehended death, a bridled courser had saved him; and precaution 'against (*the stroke of*) fate had placed him in an asylum which even the eagle would 'despair to reach. But when his day was come, no horoscope could repel misfortune 'from him.'

"I perceived that the verses were his own, and said: 'They are the best verses "on the subject;' and he said to me: 'Rejoin now your family, O Ibn Koraib! "if you like.'"—It is stated that Jaafar, some days before his death, intended to ride to ar-Rashîd's, and called for an astrolabe that he might choose a (*lucky*) hour for the purpose: he was then in his house situated on the Tigris, when a boat passed by with a man in it, who, although he did not see Jaafar or know what he was doing, recited this verse:

In his ignorance he takes counsel of the stars, but the Lord of the stars does what He wills.

Jaafar, on this, threw down the astrolabe and rode out.—It is also related that on the morning after the night in which Jaafar was put to death, a bill was found posted on the door of Ali Ibn Isa (42) Ibn Mâhân's palace at Khorasan, containing the following lines written in a large hand:

The unfortunate sons of Barmek have been overwhelmed by misfortune. Their fate is an example for us, and let him who inhabits this palace take warning.

When Sofyan Ibn Oyaina heard the news of Jaafar's death and the misfortune of the Barmekides, he turned towards the *kibla* (43) and said: "O my God! he "relieved me from the wants of this world; relieve him from the pains of the "next!"—On the death of Jaafar, a great number of elegies were composed on him by the poets, in which they deplored his loss and the misfortunes of his family; the following verses on the subject were composed by ar-Rakâshi (44):

Those whose hearts were free from anguish such as mine, enjoyed quiet and repose; but sleep is not suited for my eyes. The passionate lover is wakeful, but it is not love which prevents my eyes from closing. Those sad events have awoken me; and when others yield to slumber, sleeplessness is mine. It was a heavy blow for me to lose those princely stars by whose generous showers we were watered when the skies withheld their rain. Let beneficence and the world now say adieu to the glory of the Barmekides! Before thy fall, O son of Yahya! I never saw one sword cut by another (45). By Allah! were it not through fear of informers, and of the khalif's eye which sleepeth not, we should walk around thy gibbet (*as round the Kaaba*), and kiss it as men kiss the sacred stone (46).

162 The same poet said, in a lament on the death of Jaafar and of his brother al-Fadl:

Behold how the cutting sword of the Barmekides has been broken by that of the Hashimites. Now that Fadl is dead, tell the camels that they may repose (47), and tell misfortunes to come renewed each day.

Dibil Ibn Ali al-Khuzâi said, on the same subject:

On seeing the sword fall upon Jaafar, and on hearing the khalif's herald cry vengeance on Yahya, I wept for the world (*of which they were the ornament*), and I felt how true it was that the goal of human life is the quitting of the world.

And Sâlih Ibn Tarif said of them:

O for the sons of Barmek and the happy days (*of their power*)! with you the world was (*brilliant as*) a bride; but now it is widowed and bereft of its children.

The apprehension of prolixity prevents me from giving numerous passages from the eulogistic poems and the elegies composed on the Barmekides; the present article has already attained a considerable length; but this, it is true, was rendered unavoidable by the necessity of stating, in a connected manner, the particulars of their rise and fall.—One of the most singular examples which history offers of the vicissitudes of fortune is thus related by Muhammad Ibn ar-Rahmân al-Hâshimi, chief of the prayer at Kûfa (48): "On a certain day, which "was the Festival of Sacrifices (49), I went in to my mother's, and found with "her a woman of respectable mien, but dressed in shabby clothes. 'Do you "know who this is?' said my mother.—'No,' I replied.—'This,' said she, 'is "the mother of Jaafar the Barmekide.' On this I turned towards her and sa-"luted her with respect; we then conversed together for some time after "which I said: 'Madam (50), what is the strangest thing that you have seen?' "To which she answered: 'There was a time when this anniversary found me "with four hundred female slaves standing behind me to await my orders, and "yet I thought that my son did not provide for me in a manner adequate to "my rank; but now my only wish is to have two sheep-skins, one to serve me "for a bed and the other for a covering.' I gave her," said the narrator, "five "hundred dirhems, and she nearly died from excess of joy. She afterwards "continued to visit us till death placed a separation between us."—I found the word *Omr*, as here written, in a manuscript which had been read over and carefully corrected; Abû Obaid al-Bakri (51) says, in his *Mojam* (*or dictionary of proper names*), that in the expression *killâyat al-Omr* (*cell of an* omr), the word *omr* means *convent*.

(1) The khalif was the spiritual chief or imam of the Moslims.

(2) This place lies near Medina.

(3) For he will shower down on them the rain of his generosity.

(4) These words mean, *the pulp* or *stuffing of almond comfits*. - I have not been able to find this term in the Calcutta edition of the *Mukhtasir*, or abridged treatise on rhetoric, by at-Taftâzâni.

(5) The Hashimites were all members of the khalif's family, being descended, like him, from Hâshim Ibn Abd Manâf.

(6) All the members of the Abbaside family and the chief officers of their empire wore black.

(7) The *rusâfiya* was a sort of cap the precise form of which is not now known. A little farther on, this species of cap is called a *kalansûa*, which name is now given to the coif worn by Christian priests in that country.

(8) *Nabîd* is a fermented liquor made of dates, but in many cases, this term is employed to denote wine made of grapes.—Ibn Khaldoun is of opinion that in the present case the date-liquor is meant.—(See M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, tom. I. p. 380.)

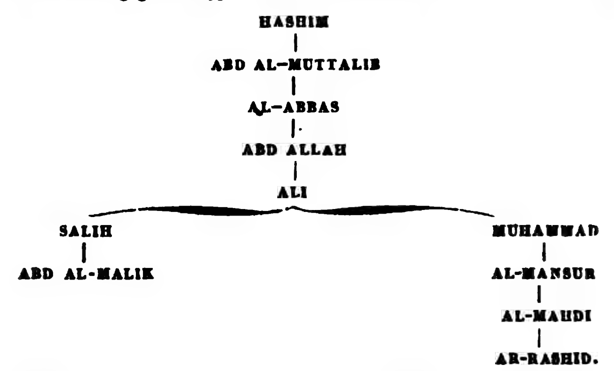
(9) *A pint*, in Arabic رطل (*ratl*); which word our principal orientalists, with the exception of M. de Hammer, pronounce incorrectly *rotl*.

(10) About ninety thousand pounds sterling.

(11) Governors of provinces were entitled to have a standard borne before them.

(12) This is certainly a mistake; it was Ibrahîm, *brother* of this Abd al-Malik who was named governor of Egypt.—As these two persons filled places of the highest importance under the Abbaside khalifs, I shall here give some account of them.

Abd al-Malik Ibn Sâlih was descended from Hâshim, grandfather of Muhammad, and was consequently related to ar-Rashîd. The following genealogy will render the degree of their relationship more appreciable:




The mother of Abd al-Malik was a concubine of Marwân Ibn Muhammad, the last Omaiyide khalif, and on the death of her master, she was bought by Sâlih, to whom she bore a son named Abd al-Malik, the subject of this notice. Some even say that Abd al-Malik was son to Marwân, for according to them his mother was pregnant when she came into the possession of Sâlih. In A. H. 173 (A. D. 789-90), Abd al-Malik commanded the *Saifiya*, or annual summer incursion made into the territory of the Greeks; in 175 (A. D. 791-2) he defeated the Greeks and returned with seven thousand heads of enemies slain in battle. In 177 (A. D. 793-4) he was appointed governor of Damascus by ar-Rashîd, and in 178 he was named governor of Egypt, but did not proceed to that country. In 187 (A. D. 803), he was accused by his own son, Abd ar-Rahmân, of aspiring to the khalifat, and was arrested by order of ar-Rashîd, who only spared his life from the reluctance he felt to shed the blood of a Hashimite. Abd al-Malik was then kept in confinement by his orders; it was only on the accession of the khalif Amîn that he was restored to liberty. He received the government of Syria from this prince, and died in 193 (A. D. 808-9), a short time before his protector lost his life.—(Ibn al-Athîr's *Kâmil*. Abû 'l-Mahâsin's *an-Nujûm az-Zâhira*. Al-Makrizi's *Khitat*.)

His brother Ibrahîm Ibn Sâlih was appointed governor of Egypt by the khalif al-Mahdi in A. H. 165 (A. D. 781-2). Under his administration, a member of the Omaiyide family, Dihya Ibn al-Muassab دحية بن المعصب Ibn Abd al-Azîz Ibn Marwân, revolted in Upper Egypt and had himself proclaimed khalif. Ibrahîm was extremely remiss in taking measures to suppress this insurrection, and he even seemed to take no notice of it. Al-Mahdi was so highly displeased at this conduct, that he deprived him of his place in A. H. 167, and fined him in a sum of fifty thousand dinars (twenty-five thousand pounds sterling); but he afterwards took him into favour and gave him another government. The khalif ar-Rashîd re-appointed

him to the province of Egypt in A. H. 176 (A. D. 792), and he died there in less than three months after his nomination.—(Abû 'l-Mahâsin's *Nujûm*.)

(13) Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan was a jurisconsult of the sect of Abû Hanîfa. His life will be found in this work.

(14) This is probably the same historian mentioned in the note, page 290.

(15) Literally: Not to eat the price obtained for me.

(16) Literally: You have sold me for a vile price.

(17) The Banû Muhanna, an Arabian tribe settled in North Africa, pretended that they drew their descent from this boy, whom they called Sami سميع.—(Ibn Khaldûn's Hist. of the Mustajamite Arabs.)

(18) The dynasty of the Banû 'l-Aftas reigned for some time at Badajos in Spain, but was overthrown by the al-Murabits under the command of Yûsuf Ibn Tâshifîn in A. H. 486 (A. D. 1093).—The poem of Ibn Abdûn with the commentary of Ibn Badrûn will be published under the direction of professor Weyers of Leyden.

(19 Literally: It choked Jaafar in making him swallow the saliva of the cutting steel.

(20) See *Abulfedæ Annales*, t. II. pp. 60. 80; and M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, t. I. p. 4 of the Arabic text.

(21) Literally: No fathers to your fathers.

(22) Olaiya, daughter of the khalif al-Mahdi, was born A. H. 160 (A. D. 776-7). Her mother Maknûna مكنونة was a slave girl possessing every perfection of mind and person, who had been bought by al-Mahdi for one hundred thousand dinars (upwards of fifty thousand pounds sterling). By her charms she gained al-Mahdi's affections to such a degree, that his wife al-Khaizurân could not repress her jealousy. Olaiya also was extremely beautiful, but her forehead was rather high; to conceal this defect, she wore a fillet or diadem set with precious stones. She had an exquisite taste for music, and in that art she surpassed her half-brother Ibrahîm, whose talent was so eminent. The airs and verses of her composition excited the utmost admiration, and are mentioned with high eulogium by Abû 'l-Faraj al-Ispahâni, who has inserted a portion of them in his *Kitâb al-Aghâni*. It was only during those periods of delicate health in which females are not allowed by the Moslim law to fulfil the duty of prayer (see D'Ohsson's *Empire Othoman*, t. II. p. 39), that she indulged her passion for music and conviviality; but on her convalescence, poetry and song were discontinued, and she abstained from *nabîd* (see note (8), page 316): her occupation was then to read the Koran and other books. She used to write poetical epistles to her friends and to a slave of ar-Rashîd's, named *Tall* (طل *dew*). Some of these pieces were set by her to music and are still preserved; they are short, but respire an ardent passion. Her brother ar-Rashîd disapproved of her familiarity with *Tall*, but afterwards gave him to her and authorised her to do with him as she pleased. Another slave called Rasha رشى was also honoured by her affection and celebrated in her verses. Her death took place A. H. 210 (A. D. 825-6): she was then wife to Mûsa كانت تحت موسى Ibn Isa Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Abbâs, a member of the imperial family.—(From the *Kitâb al-Aghâni*, which contains a long notice on Olaiya, interspersed with many curious anecdotes.)

(23) This was Gabriel Ibn Bakhtyashû. See also the *Chrestomathie*, tom. I. pag. 53, and Russell's Aleppo, vol. II. appendix, p. v. A long account of his life may be found in the *Târîkh al-Hukamâ*.

(24) Abou Zakkâr l'aveugle était un chanteur de Bagdâd attaché à la famille des Barmekides, qui faisaient grand cas de lui et le comblaient de biens. Il était auprès de Djafar et lui chantait des vers exprimant la pensée que la menace de la mort est incessamment suspendue sur l'homme, lorsque Mesrour entra chargé des ordres du calife Haroun, et fit trancher la tête à Djafar. Abou Zakkâr demanda avec instance qu'on lui donnât

la mort à lui-même; Djafar, disait-il, a été mon bienfaiteur, il me serait trop dur de lui survivre. Mesrour répondit qu'il allait consulter à cet égard la volonté de Haroun. Il porta au calife la tête de Djafar et lui répéta ce qu'Abou Zakkar avait dit. Cet aveugle, dit Haroun, mérite qu'on se l'attache; informe-toi du traitement qu'il recevait de Djafar; je veux qu'on lui en alloue un semblable.—(*Aghâni*, tom. IV. fol. 98.)—Communicated by M. Caussin de Perceval. *Kalwâdâni* means *native of Kalwâdâ*, a town at two parasangs' distance from Baghdad. - (Abû 'l-Fadâ's Geography, p. 303.)

(25) *As-Sarât* is the name of the canal on which Baghdad was built by al-Mansûr.—(See M. de Sacy's note in the first vól. of the *Chrestomathie*, p. 68.)

(26) It appears from the sequel, that as-Sîndi Ibn Shâhik was ar-Rashîd's *Sâhib as-Shorta*, or chief of the armed police. Ibn Shâhik was a native of India and an enfranchised slave of al-Mansûr. He filled a number of elevated posts under the Abbaside khalifs: in the year 176 (A. D. 792), he was governor of Damascus; in 187, as appears by Ibn Khallikân's citation, he was *Sâhib as-Shorta*, and at another period he acted as kâdi at Baghdad, where he died A. H. 204 (A. D. 819-20).—(*Mirât az-Zamân*, MS. No. 640, fol. 41 verso.)

(27) These verses are taken from a well-known poem in which Aâmir Ibn al-Harith deplores the misfortune of his tribe, the Jorhamites, who had been guardians of the *Kaaba* at Mekka, but were no longer in possession of that honourable office.—(See the *Excerpta ex Abulfedâ* in the second edition of Pocock's *Specimen Hist. Ar.* pag. 561; Fleischer's *Annales Anteislamicæ*, p. 192, and Schulten's *Monumenta Vetustiora Ar.*, p. 1.)

(28) *Hajûn* and *Safa* are hills near Mekka. For *Safa* see Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, vol. I. p. 174.

(29) Literally: But we were destroyed by the vicissitudes of nights and stumbling fortunes.

(30) Koran, sur. 12, ver. 44.

(31) It would appear from this that a number of small bells were fastened to the throat-band of the bridles, as with the post-horses on the continent.

(32) The city of al-Mansûr; Baghdad, founded by that khalif.

(33) *Habs az-Zanâdika*, the prison for *Zendîks*, or atheists.—See D'Herbelot; Zendik.

(34) The manuscripts and the printed text have يحيى و اولاده, but I read اولاد يحيى.

(35) See page 308.

(36) Literally: *They sleep not off us*; that is, their vigilance is never lulled so that their attention is drawn off us.

(37) Literally: For which I judge not fit either Muhammad or Abd Allah or al-Kâsim.

(38) Literally: Is too grave for that.

(39) Literally: What is behind you? An expression frequently used in the sense of "What have you done?"

(40) Literally: *O sugens pudenda matris tuæ!* a foul imprecation, and very common in the mouths of the ancient Arabs. See another example in my *Diwân d'Amro'l-Kais*, page 20, note.

(41) A sketch of the history of this family will be found in Pocock's *Specimen Hist. Ar.*

(42) This Ali Ibn Isa is spoken of in the lives of Tâhir Ibn al-Husain and al-Fadl Ibn ar-Rabî.

(43) See page 37, note (3).

(44) The poet Abû 'l-Abbâs al-Fadl Ibn Abd as-Samad ar-Rakâshi was born at Basra, but settled at Baghdad, where he celebrated in his verses the praises of Harûn ar-Rashîd, al-Amîn and the Barmekides. He and Abû Nuwâs were constantly at enmity with each other, and his pretensions and pride exposed him to the attacks of all the other poets of the day.—(The khatîb's *Târîkh Baghdâd*, No. 634, fol. 148.) The date of his death is not given.

(45) There is here a play upon words; حسام means a *sword* and metaphorically a *prince*.

(46) This is an allusion to the ceremony of the *Tuwaf*, which consists in walking a certain number of times

round the *kaaba*, at Mekka, and kissing the black stone.—See Sale's introduction to the Koran, and Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, vol. I. p. 172.

(47) He means that there existed no longer a generous patron in the world; and that the camels which had borne him across the deserts to solicit Fadl's bounty, might now enjoy repose, as he should not require their services again.

(48) One of the privileges possessed by the governors of provinces was to preside at Friday prayers as the representative of the khalif, but this office was often filled by the kadi.

(49) The Festival of Sacrifices is held on the 10th of Zû 'l-Kaada.

(50) To avoid confusion, the Arabic words *Ya Omma* (*O mother!*) are here rendered by *madam*.

(51) Abû Obaid Abd Allah Ibn Abd al-Azîz al-Bakri was a native of Cordova. Died A. H. 487. This is the author of the geographical work, a portion of which has been translated and published in the *Notices et Extraits*, tom. XII. For his life, see Casiri's *Bibliotheca Arabica*, tom. II. p. 46; and for specimens of his poetry and the history of his ancestors and himself, see Ibn al-Abbâr's *al-Hullat as-Siyarâ*, fol. 82 et seq. See also the translation of al-Makkari by Mr. Gayangos, vol. I. p. 312.

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## JAAFAR IBN AL-FURAT, CALLED ALSO IBN HINZABA.

Abû 'l-Fadl Jaafar Ibn al-Fadl Ibn Jaafar Ibn Muhammad Ibn Mûsa Ibn al-Hasan Ibn al-Furât, and generally known by the surname of Ibn Hinzâba, was vizir to the Ikhshîd family in Egypt during the protectorship of Kâfûr. When Kâfûr took the sovereign authority into his own hands, he served him in the same capacity, and he continued to act as vizir and direct the administration of the Egyptian and Syrian provinces for Ahmad Ibn Ali Ibn al-Ikshîd, on the death of Kâfûr. He then seized on a number of the great officers of the empire, and extorted sums of money from them; he arrested also Yakûb Ibn Killis, who was (*afterwards*) vizir to al-Azîz al-Obaidi, and forced from him a sum of four thousand five hundred dinars. Ibn Killis was delivered out of his hands by the sharîf Muslim al-Husaini (1), in whose house he lay concealed for a time, and then fled secretly to Maghrib. Ibn al-Furât was not, 165 however, able to satisfy the exorbitant demands of the Kâfûrites, the Ikhshidites (2), the Turkish mercenaries, and the other troops, as the persons who had farmed out the different branches of the public revenue paid him nothing. His authority was shaken to such a degree, that he was twice obliged to conceal himself, whilst (*a seditious multitude*) pillaged his palace and the houses of some of his partisans. About this time Abû Muhammad al-Husain Ibn Abd

Allah Ibn Toghj, prince of Ramla (3), arrived at Misr, and, having arrested Ibn al-Furât, he caused him to be put to torture and inflicted on him a heavy fine. Al-Husain then appointed his own secretary al-Hasan Ibn Jâbir ar-Riâhi (4) to the place of vizir, but through the intercession of the sharîf Muslim, he set Ibn al-Furât at liberty, and retired to Syria after entrusting him again with the government of Egypt. This happened at the beginning of the month of the latter Rabî, A. H. 358 (February, A. D. 969). (*Ibn al-Furât*) was learned himself, and loved learning in others; he taught the Traditions on the authority of Muhammad Ibn Hârûn al-Hadrami (*native of Hadramaut*) and the Traditionists of Baghdad his contemporaries; he transmitted them also as they had come down to him from Muhammad Ibn Saîd al-Burjumi, a native of Emessa, Muhammad Ibn Jaafar al-Kharâiti (5), al-Hasan Ibn Ahmad Ibn Bastâm, al-Hasan Ibn Ahmad ad-Dâraki and Muhammad Ibn Omâra Ibn Hamza al-Ispahâni. He related having heard read a *Majlis,* or conference, composed by Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad al-Baghawi (6), and that he did not possess a copy of it; "If any one brings it to me," said he, "I will make him a rich "man." When vizir of Egypt, he used to teach the Traditions by dictation, and for that reason was visited by eminent persons from distant countries. The same motive induced the *hâfiz* Abû 'l-Hasan ad-Dârakutni to make the journey from Irak to Egypt; and as the vizir had the intention of composing a *Musnad* (7), he continued with him till the work was finished. Ibn al-Furât wrote also a treatise on the proper and patronymic names of men (8), and some other works. The *khatîb* Abû Zakariyâ at-Tabrîzi mentions, in his commentary on the poems of al-Mutanabbi, that this poet, when he visited Egypt, celebrated the praises of Kâfûr and the vizir Ibn al-Furât in the *kasîda* of which the verses rhyme in *R*, and which begins thus:

Your love will appear whether you resist it or not.

He named it the *Jaafariya* (*after Jaafar Ibn al-Furât*), having terminated one of the verses with the word *Jaafar*, and inserted the words *Ibn al-Furât* in the following line:

I should have made a bracelet for the arm of him who announced the news of Ibn al-Furât's approach, and have rewarded the servant who shouted with joy.

As the vizir did not satisfy his expectations, he abstained from reciting this

poem to him; and on setting out for Arrajân with the intention of visiting Adad ad-Dawlat, at whose court Abû 'l-Fadl Ibn al-Amîd, the vizir of Rokn ad-Dawlat, was then residing, he changed the address of the *kasîda,* and converted it into a panegyric on Ibn al-Amîd, whose name he inserted in place of Ibn al-Furât's. He composed some other pieces in praise of Ibn al-Amîd, but this is a splendid production. We shall insert here another observation made by the same *khatîb,* where he explains al-Mutanabbi's *kasîda* rhyming in *A*, which contains the account of his journey to Kûfa and the description of the places at which he stopped successively on the way; in this piece the poet attacks Kâfûr in these terms:

> What are the objects which raise the laughter of Egypt, laughter which nearly resembles weeping? There is a Nabatean from as-Sawâd (9), who gives lessons on the genealogies of the desert tribes (10); and a negro whose lip is half as large as himself, and whom they style *the moon of darkness.* When I praised that hippopotamus, my pieces were half poem, half incantation (*to charm the brute*); and it was not so much to praise him as to satirize the human race (11).

On this the *khatîb* observes, that by the *Nabatean* he meant Ibn al-Furât, and by the *negro* Kâfûr; but, after all, such an attack does not detract from their merit, for *the noblest characters have always been subject both to blame and praise.*——The vizir Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Maghribi says in his *Adab al-Khuwâss:* "In a conversation with the vizir Ibn al-Furât, I quoted to him passages from "the poems of al-Mutanabbi, and he betrayed, by the very excess of his appro-"bation, his concealed (*hatred*) for the poet; he was afraid of appearing like "one who was prevented by a feeling of private animosity from concurring "with the public opinion (*respecting al-Mutanabbi's eminent talent*). He "had been satirized by the poet, and that was the motive of his enmity towards "him."—The birth of Ibn al-Furât took place on the 3rd of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 308 (April, A. D. 921); he died in Egypt on Sunday, 13th of Safar (or of the first Rabi), A. H. 391 (January, A. D. 1001). Prayers were said over him by the kâdi Husain Ibn Muhammad Ibn an-Nomân (12); and he was interred in the lesser Karâfa, where his tomb is still conspicuous.—Thâbit Ibn Kurra says in his History (13) that *Hinzâba* was the name of his father's mother. This word, when used as an appellative noun, means a *short and corpulent female.*—The *hâfiz* Ibn Asâkir speaks of this vizir in his History of Damascus, and mentions the following verses as composed by him:

He who humbleth his soul, preserveth it in repose, and passeth his nights free from anguish. The storm, in its violence, throweth down only the loftiest trees.

The same writer says: "He was very beneficent towards the inhabitants of "Mekka and Medîna; he purchased a house in the latter city, close to the "mosque, and separated by a wall only from the tomb of the Blessed Prophet. "He directed, by his will, that he should be buried in this house, and he en-"joined the *sharîfs* (14) to carry that into effect. When he died, his bier was "borne from Egypt to those two cities, and (*on its approach to Medîna*), the "sharîfs went forth to meet it in acknowledgment of the benefits they had "received. They bore the body to Mekka and made the pilgrimage with it, "visiting the temple, walking round it, and stationing at Mount Arafa. They "then brought the corpse to Medîna and interred it in the house of which we "have spoken." This is in contradiction with what I said above, and God best knows the truth! I shall only observe that the tomb of which I have spoken, I myself have seen in the Karâfa, bearing the following inscription: "This is the "tomb of Abû 'l-Fadl Jaafar Ibn al-Furât." I have since found a note in the handwriting of Abû 'l-Kâsim Ibn as-Sûfi, in which it is stated that the vizir was buried in the audience-hall of his great palace, and that the body was afterwards removed to Medîna.

(1) The sharîf Abû Jaafar Muslim Ibn Obaid Allah Ibn Tâhir al-Husaini (*descended from al-Husain grandson of Muhammad*), surnamed also Muslim al-Alawi (*descendant of Ali*) and Abû Jaafar al-Alawi, was an emir of eminent talents and merit; he acted a conspicuous part at the capture of Misr by the troops of the Fatimite khalif al-Moizz (see the life of the *kâid* Jawhar), and was treated with great respect and favour by that prince. Al-Moizz having one day found in his palace, or on the pulpit of the mosque, a piece of verse inviting him to prove the genuineness of his descent from the khalif Ali by obtaining the consent of the Banû Tâhir, Muslim's family, to a matrimonial alliance with his own, he asked Muslim to give one of his daughters in marriage to his son al-Azîz. Muslim refused on the plea that they were already betrothed to relatives of his own family. Al-Moizz was so highly displeased at the rejection of his offer, that he imprisoned Muslim and seized on his property. From that period Muslim was never seen again; some say that he was put to death by the orders of the khalif, and others state that he escaped from confinement, but perished in one of the deserts of Hijâz. His grandson al-Hasan became sultan of Mekka. (See *Umdat at-Tâlib*, MS. No. 636, fol. 206.)

(2) *The Kâfûrites* were mamlûks of Kâfûr, raised by him to places of high authority. *The Ikhshîdites* were the mamlûks and partisans of the Ikhshîde family.

(3) Al-Husain Ibn Toghj had been elected regent by the troops, during the minority of his relation Abû 'l-Fawâris Ahmad Ibn Ali Ibn al-Ikhshîd. The poet al-Mutanabbi composed some poems in his honour.—See page 110.

(4) In two manuscripts of Abû 'l-Mahâsin's History of Egypt, this name is written الزنجانى (*az-Zinjâni*).

(5) Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Jaafar al-Kharâiti, author of the *Makârim al-Akhlâk* and other works, died at Jaffa or Askalon in A. H. 328 (A. D. 939-40).—(Ad-Dahabi's *Târîkh al-Islâm*; al-Yâfi.)

(6) Abû 'l-Kasim Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad al-Baghawi was born at Baghdad, A. H. 214 (A. D. 829). He was a hâfiz of the highest reputation. Died A. H. 317 (A. D. 929). He composed a *Mojam*, or catalogue of the companions of Muhammad.—(*Târîkh al-Islâm*. Hajji Khalifa.)

(7) *Musnad;* a collection of Traditions, each of them accompanied with the names of Traditionists by whom it had been handed down.

(8) A branch of the science of the Traditions treats of the Traditionists, their names, country, credibility, etc.

(9) *As-Sawâd;* Babylonian Irak.

(10) That is; he taught the history and genealogy of the ancient Traditionists.

(11) In praising Kâfûr he satirized all mankind, for so despicable a being as Kâfûr was among the best of them.

(12) Husain Ibn Muhammad Ibn an-Nomân was grand kâdi of Egypt under the Fatimite khalif al-Hâkim, who put him to death A. H. 395 (A. D. 1005).—(*Exposé de l'Histoire des Druzes*, tom. I. pages 298, 308, 314, 316.)

(13) See page 290.

(14) A family of *sharîfs*, or descendants of Muhammad, were then governors of Mekka and Medina.

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## IBN AS-SARRAJ AL-KARI AL-BAGHDADI.

Abû Muhammad Jaafar Ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Husain Ibn Ahmad Ibn Jaâfar as-Sarrâj (*the saddler*), surnamed al-Kâri al-Baghdadi (*the Koran-reader of Baghdad*), was the chief *hâfiz* and the most learned man of the age. He composed some admirable works, such as the *Masârî al-Osshâk* (*Death-places of Lovers*). He taught the Traditions on the authority of Abû Ali Ibn (1) Shâdân, Abû 'l-Kâsim Ibn Shâhîn (2), al-Khallâl (3), al-Barmaki, al-Kazwîni, Ibn Ghailân (4), and others. His disciples were numerous, and among them was the *Hâfiz* as-Silafi, who was proud of citing the authority of such a master, although he himself had met and studied under the principal Traditionists of the time. Ibn as-Sarrâj has composed some good poetry, of which we may give the following specimen:

> The caravan departed, and, from affection towards them, my tears gushed forth. The voice of separation incited them to abandon the place of their dwelling, and they loaded their camels. Say to those travellers who have journeyed out of my sight,

although they are lodged in my heart, that they spilt my blood on the morning of departure, although I committed no crime. What harm would it have done them, had they suffered me to quench my thirst for their society with repeated draughts?

165 By the same (*to his mistress*):

> You promised to visit me every month; visit me now! the month is finished, visit me! The space which separates us extends from the river al-Moalla to the town of Shahrozûr. The months of your forced absence are a reality, but the month of our reunion is an illusion (5).

The *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn gives the following lines, by the same author, in his *kharîda*:

> The hoary-headed pretender to youth dyes his beard with woad, to prevent it from giving him the lie.

Ibn as-Sarrâj was born towards the end of the year 417, or the beginning of 418 (February, A. D. 1027); the *sharîf* Abû 'l-Mâmar al-Mubârak Ibn Ahmad Ibn Abd al-Azîz al-Ansâri says, in his *Wafayât as-Shuyûkh* (*Obituary of the Shaikhs*), that his birth took place at Baghdad, A. H. 416. He died at Baghdad on the eve of Sunday, 21st of Safar, A. H. 500 (October, A. D. 1106), and was buried at the gate of Abrez.

(1) In the Arabic text the word ابن *Ibn* has been unintentionally omitted.

(2) The hâfiz Abû Hafs Omar Ibn Ahmad al-Baghdâdi, surnamed Ibn Shâhîn, composed a great number of works; al-Husain, son of the khalif al-Muhtadi Billa, states that they amounted to three hundred and thirty; among the number was a commentary on the Koran in one thousand parts, or quires; a collection of authenticated Traditions still more voluminous; and a historical work in one hundred and fifty quires: this last is mentioned by Hajji Khalifa under the title of *Kashf al-Mamâlik* (Flügel's edition, t. II. p. 148). Died A. H. 385 (A. D. 995-6).—(Al-Yâfi.)

(3) The hâfiz Abû Muhammad al-Hasan Ibn Muhammad al-Khallâl was a preacher and traditionist of Baghdad. He wrote some works and taught the Traditions on the authority of the *Sahîhs* of Bokhari and Muslim. Died A. H. 439 (A. D. 1047.)—(Al-Yâfi.)

(4) The hâfiz Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ghailan died A. H. 440 (A. D. 1048-9).—(Abû 'l-Fadâ.)

(5) The original is remarkable for an ingenious play upon words, by which the poet is enabled to terminate each of the three verses with the syllables *shahrozûri*. In the second line, however, he has committed a fault; for *Shahrozûr*, the name of the town, is in the accusative case, and should be pronounced *Shahrozûra*. —(Al-Yâfi.)

## ABU 'L-MAASHAR AL-BALKHI.

Abû 'l-Maashar (1) Jaafar Ibn Muhammad Ibn Omar al-Balkhi (*native of Balkh*), the celebrated astrologer, was the great master of his age in that art. He composed a number of instructive works on the science of the stars, such as the *Mudkhil* (*introduction*), the *Zaij* (*astronomical tables*), the *Olûf* (*thousands*) (2), etc. He was singularly fortunate in his divinations. I have read in a collection of anecdotes, that he was in the service of a prince who wished to arrest one of the great officers of his kingdom, who had committed some crime and then concealed himself through fear of punishment. As this officer was aware that Abû 'l-Maashar would discover him by means of the operations which he employed for finding out treasures and things hidden, he thought of doing something to bewilder the astrologer and baffle his penetration; and he remained therefore some days seated on a golden mortar which he had placed in a vessel containing blood. The prince, being unable to discover him, notwithstanding the strictest perquisitions, sent for Abû 'l-Maashar and ordered him to employ his usual processes and find out in what place the officer was; the astrologer, after erecting a scheme by which he might make the discovery, remained for a time in silent amazement; and on the prince's asking him the cause, replied that what he saw was most extraordinary; the man whom they wished to discover was on a mountain of gold, which mountain was in a sea of blood. "And I know not," said the astrologer, "of any place in the world such as that." On this, the prince ordered him to observe anew the aspect of the heavens, and examine again by means of another scheme. The result was the same, and Abû 'l-Maashar declared that he had never met with the like before. The prince, having lost all hopes of discovering the offender by this means, declared by proclamation that he would pardon the man and the person who harboured him; and he gave public proofs of the sincerity of his intentions. The officer's apprehensions being thus allayed, he left his hiding-place and presented himself before the prince, who, on learning from him where and in what manner he had been concealed, was struck with admiration at the artifice he had employed and the skill of Abû 'l-Maashar in making the discovery.—Other anecdotes are related

## JAAFAR IBN SHAMS AL-KHILAFAT.

Abû 'l-Fadl Jaafar Ibn Shams al-Khilâfat (*sun of the khalifat*) Abi Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Shams al-Khilâfat al-Mukhtâr al-Afdali, surnamed Majd al-Mulk (*glory of the kingdom*), was a poet of talent and celebrity. He wrote a great deal, and books transcribed by him are in high request for the elegance of the handwriting and their correctness. Some of his works are compilations, and contain pieces, the elegance of which proves the goodness of the (*taste which presided at their*) selection. His collected poetical works are of considerable merit; the following passage, composed by him, I found in his own handwriting:

> Distress is followed by happiness, and soon perhaps may be heard the harbinger of speedy bliss. Consider also that the evil which ceaseth is preferable to joy just passing away.

The following lines were made by him on Ibn Shukr Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Ali (1), vizir of al-Malik al-Aâdil and of his son al-Malik al-Kâmil:

> Fear induces people to praise thee with their tongues, and they pronounce in your presence the highest eulogiums. I may yet live, however, to see the time in which those tongues shall be loosened (2) (*and speak the truth*).

One of our literary men at Cairo told me, in reciting these verses, that they were by Ibn Shams al-Khilâfat; but I met with them afterwards in an old book containing a collection of different pieces, and there, the author is not named. The peculiar cast of Ibn Shams al-Khilâfat's poetry merits approbation. He was born in the month of Muharram, A. H. 543 (A. D. 1148), and died on the 12th Muharram, 622 (January, A. D. 1125), at a place called al-Kûm al-Ahmar (*the red mound*) outside Cairo.—*Afdali* is a title given to the persons who were in the service of al-Afdal Amir al-Juyûsh, (*the vizir*) of Egypt. Shams al-Khilâfat, this poet's father, was born A. H. 520 (A. D. 1126), and died in Zû 'l-Hijja, 569 (A. D. 1174).

(1) See page 196, note (16).

(2) Literally: Thinkest thou that time may delay the term of my life, so that I may live till the loosening of the tongues?

## THE EMIR JAABAR.

The emîr Jaabar Ibn Sâbik al-Kushairi, surnamed Sâbik ad-dîn (*the surpasser in religion*), is the person after whom the castle of Jaabar obtained its name; but the sole information that I have been able to procure respecting him amounts only to this: he was advanced in age and blind; he had two sons who robbed on the highway and rendered the roads dangerous; the castle continued in his 168 possession till taken from him by the sultan Malak Shâh son of Alp Arslan (whose life shall be given). Jaabar was killed afterwards in the beginning of the year 464 (A. D. 1071-2). These particulars I found in a historical work, but some doubts remain on my mind as to their exactness; for the sultan Malak Shâh did not come to the throne till the death of his father Alp Arslân, who was slain A. H. 465 (A. D. 1072); unless, indeed we suppose that he took the castle in his father's lifetime, and was then acting as his lieutenant. The date of Jaabar's death may however be erroneous. — My object in noticing this difficulty was to prevent the reader from supposing that the fault originated with me, or that I passed over it without perceiving it; but I have been since enabled to verify the circumstance, and I find that Malak Shâh, in his expedition to Aleppo, A. H. 479, took this castle, and put Jaabar to death on being informed of his evil conduct. It was also named ad-Dausariya after its founder Dawsar, a page of an-Nomân Ibn al-Mundir, king of Hira, who had placed him there to guard the Syrian frontier (1).—The word *Jaabar* signifies in Arabic *short and thick*.

(1) See, however, Freytag's proverbs of al-Maidâni, p. 198.

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## NASIR AD-DIN JAKAR.

Abû Saîd Jakar Ibn Yâkûb al-Hamadâni (*native of Hamadân*), and surnamed Nasir ad-dîn (*defender of religion*), was governor of Mosul, having been appointed by Imâd ad-dîn Zinki, lord of Mosul, Mesopotamia, and Syria, as his lieutenant in that city. He was tyrannic, unjust, a shedder of blood, and a violator of property. Having strengthened the walls of Mosul, he was admiring

the solidity of their construction, when a madman cried out to him in these sensible terms: "Are you able to build a wall which may arrest the course of "approaching fate?"—During his government, Mosul was closely besieged for a time by the khalif al-Mustarshid; but Jakar, who had already fortified and entrenched the city, resisted the attacks of the khalif, frustrated his efforts, and forced him to retire. This was in the month of Ramadân, A. H. 527 (July, A. D. 1133). Farrukh Shâh (1) al-Khafâji, a son of the Seljûk Sultan Mahmûd, was then at Mosul; but it is stated by Ibn al-Athîr, in his History of the Atâbeks, that the Khafâji who was at Mosul during these events, was Alp Arslan (*another*) son of (*the sultan*) Mahmûd. This young prince had been confided to the care of Zinki, who received, for that reason, the title of *Atâbek*: this words means *a bringer up of princes; atâ* in Turkish signifying *father*, and *bek, emir*. As Jakar was frequently in opposition to al-Khafâji and thwarted him in his projects, the latter took the opportunity of Zinki's departure for the siege of al-Bîra, to arrange, with some of his partisans, a plot for the death of Jakar. On the 8th, or (according to some) on Thursday, 9th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 539 (May, A. D. 1145), Jakar proceeded to the palace, that he might pay his salutations to the prince; and was there attacked and slain by the conspirators. Zinki then appointed a new governor named Zain ad-dîn Ali Ibn Baktikîn, who was father to Muzaffar ad-dîn, lord of Arbela: Zain ad-dîn was an upright man, and governed his subjects with justice. Zinki, on his return to Mosul, confiscated Jakar's property, seized on his treasures, and extorted large sums from his relations and the persons in his service. Jakar had nominated to a place of authority in Mosul one al-Kazwîni, a wicked wretch, whose tyrannical conduct excited general complaint; he was therefore obliged to appoint another, named Omar 169 Ibn Shikla, whose administration was also very bad: on this, the following lines were composed by a native of Mosul, Abû Abd Allah al-Husain Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Shakâka, who died A. H. 533 (A. D. 1138-9).

> O, Nasîr ad-dîn! O, Jakar! a thousand Kazwînis rather than one Omar! If God flung Omar down to hell, hell would complain of his wickedness.

—*Jakar* is a foreign name, and I believe that he himself was a mamlûk.

(1) This name is also written فروخ شاه Farûkh Shâh.

## JAMIL THE POET.

Abû Amr Jamîl, the celebrated poet and the lover of Buthaina, was son of Abd Allah Ibn Mâmar Ibn Subâh Ibn Zabyân Ibn Hunn Ibn Rabia Ibn Harâm Ibn Dubba Ibn Abd Ibn Kathîr Ibn Ozra Ibn Saad Ibn Hudaim Ibn Zaid Ibn Laith Ibn Sûd Ibn Aslâm Ibn Alhaf Ibn Kudâa. Jamîl was one of the famous Arabian lovers: his passion for Buthaina commenced when he was a boy; on attaining manhood he asked her in marriage, but met with a refusal, and he then composed verses in her honour and visited her secretly at Wâdi 'l-Kura (1), where she resided. His poetical compositions are so well known, that it is needless to quote any of them. Ibn Asâkir relates, in his history of Damascus, that a person said to Jamîl: "If you read the Koran, it would be more profit-" able for you than composing poetry;" to which Jamîl replied: "There is " Ans Ibn Mâlik (2) who tells me that the Blessed Prophet said: 'Wisdom is " certainly (*to be extracted*) from some poetry.'" Jamil and Buthaina, who was surnamed Omm Abd al-Malik, both belonged to the tribe of Ozra; beauty and true love abounded in that tribe: it was said to an Arab of the Desert, a member of the tribe of Ozra: "What is the matter with your hearts? They " are as the hearts of birds, and dissolve away like salt in water. Why have " you not more firmness?" To this the other replied: "We see eyes of which " you do not see the like."—Another Arab being asked to what family he belonged, made this answer: "I am of a people who, when they are in love, " die." A girl, who heard him say this, exclaimed: "By the Lord of the " Kaaba! This man belongs to the tribe of Ozra."—The author of the *Kitâb al-Aghâni* says: "Kuthaiyr, the lover of Azza, handed down by tradition the " poems of Jamîl; Jamîl handed down those of Hudba Ibn Khashram (3); " Hudba, those of Hutaiya; Hutaiya (4), those of Zuhair Ibn Abi Salma (5), and " of his son Kaab Ibn Zuhair." The following verses are by Jamîl:

> You told me, my two friends (6), that Taimâ (7) was the abode of (*my mistress*) Laila when summer once set in (8). But now the months of summer have passed away from us; why then does absence cast Laila into (*distant*) regions?

Some persons insert these verses in a *kasîda* by Majnûn, the lover of Laila (9),

but they are not by him.—Taimâ was a station frequented solely by the tribe of Ozra.—In the same poem from which these verses are taken, Jamîl says:

You have continued, O Buthaina! (*to torment me,*) so that the turtle-dove would sympathize with me, were I, in the ardour of my passion, to awaken its complaints with mine. The jealousy of spies only increased my love, and the prohibitions of my friends only made me persevere. The distance which separates us has not rendered me indifferent, and weary nights have not forced me to renounce you. O thou whose lips are a sweet source, knowest thou not that I languish with thirst on the day in which I see not thy face. I often feared that death might surprize me whilst my soul needed thee, as still it does.

170 Kuthaiyr, the lover of Azza, used to say: "By Allah! Jamîl was the best poet "among the Arabs when he said: *You told me, my two friends, etc.* — The following lines are by Jamîl:

I conceal the secret of my love (10), and should feel happy were you to know that you are (*ever*) remembered with sincere (*affection*), and that the day in which I meet you not, nor see your messenger, seems to me like months. Were it impossible for us to meet again one day, O then, may I meet a speedy death!

From the same poem:

Whilst I live, my heart shall love thee; and if I die, my ghost (11) shall flit after thine among the tombs. I look towards thee for the fulfilment of thy promise, as the poor looketh (*imploringly*) towards the rich. Other debts are paid, but there is a debtor who keeps no engagement with us, and who yet is not pressed (*by us*). Thou and thy promise are as the lightning of a cloud which withholds its genial rains.

From another of Jamîl's *kasîdas:*

When I said: "O Buthaina! what is this passion which causeth my death?" she replied: "It is deeply rooted and will augment." When I said: "Buthaina! restore "to me a portion of my reason, so that I may live!" she replied: "That (*which thou desirest*) is far beyond thy reach!"

By the same:

Did the jealous spy who observes my conduct know with how slight a favour Buthaina could make me happy, his envious passions would repose. (*A word from her,*) a *no* or an *unless* suffices to content me; vain desires, hopes long deferred and at last deluding my expectations, the sight of her for an instant, the year which begins and ends without my meeting her; (*such are the enjoyments for which I am envied.*)

By the same:

I should blush with shame were I seen to love one whom another had already loved,

or were another to be loved (*by my mistress*) after me. (*I should recoil*) from sipping at thy lips, if love existed no longer; I should reject thy attachment, were it feeble. I avoid a troubled source at which many have drunk before.

By the same:

(*Misgivings are*) far from him who desireth nothing, and near to him who has something to desire. "O Jamîl," said Buthaina, "thou makest me doubt of thy fidelity;" and I replied: "O Buthaina! each of us giveth the other cause of doubt; but of us two **171** "the most to be doubted is the person who betrayeth confidence and keepeth not se- "crets when far from the beloved."

Kuthaiyr, the lover of Azza, related the following anecdote: "I was once met "by Jamîl, the lover of Buthaina, who said to me: 'Where dost thou come "from?' and I answered: 'From the tent of the father of the beloved;'"—meaning Buthaina,—"'And whither,' said he, 'art thou going?' I answered: 'To "the beloved;'"—meaning Azza. "'Thou must go back again,' said Jamîl, "'and obtain from Buthaina that she appoint a place where I may meet her.' "I answered: 'I have just seen her this moment, and I should be ashamed to go "back.'—'Thou must surely do it!' said Jamîl. 'When,' said I, 'didst thou "last see Buthaina?'—'At the beginning of summer,' he replied; 'the lower "part of Wadi 'd-Daum (*palm-tree valley*) was watered by a shower, and she "went out with a servant-girl to wash clothes: she did not at first know me, "and seized a cloak out of the water to cover herself; but the girl recognized "me, and Buthaina replaced the cloak in the water. We conversed for an "hour, till the sun had set, and I then asked her to appoint a place of meeting, "but she answered that her family was removing, and I have not met her "since; nor found a trusty person whom I might send to her.'—'Wouldst "thou that I go,' said I, 'to the camp of her tribe, and recite, as if undesign- "edly, some verses in which I may hint at this circumstance, in case I find "it impossible to speak to her in private?'—'Yes,' replied Jamîl, 'that is a "good plan.' I then set out and made my camel kneel down in their camp, "and her father said to me: 'Son of my brother! what bringeth thee back?'— "'There are some verses,' I replied, 'which I have just happened to compose, "and I wish to submit them to thee.'—'Let us have them,' said he. I then "recited these verses in Buthaina's hearing:

'I said to her: 'O Azza! I send my companion to thee, (and he is a trusty messenger,)

'so that thou mayest fix a place where we may meet, and that thou mayest tell me what 'I am to do. The last time I met thee was in Wâdi 'd-Daum, when clothes were washing.'

"Then Buthaina struck the curtain behind which she was, and said: 'Go "away! go away!'—'What is the matter, Buthaina?' said her father.—'It is "a dog,' replied she, 'which has come to me from behind the hill, now that "the people are asleep.' She then said to her girl: 'Let us go to the palm-"trees (*Daumât*) and gather wood to cook a sheep for Kuthaiyr.'—'No,' said I, "'I am in too much haste to wait.' I then returned to Jamil and told him "what had passed, and he said: 'The place of meeting is at the palm-trees.' "Then Buthaina went forth with her female companions to the palm-trees, and "I went to them with Jamil: the lovers did not separate till morning dawned, "and I never saw a more virtuous meeting, nor two persons who knew so well "what passed in each other's hearts; I know not which of the two was the more "discerning."—The *hâfiz* Abû 'l-Kâsim Ibn Asâkir says in his great History: "Abû Bakr Ibn al-Anbâri states that the following verses were recited to him "by his father as having been composed by Jamil Ibn Mamar, but they are also "attributed to other poets:

'I ceased not my search to find the tribe (*of my beloved*), and I followed their scat-'tered bands till I rode (*my camel*) up to the inmate of the palanquin (12). I approached 'her tent by stealth and entered by the secret passage; her smooth finger-tips, stained 'with *hinna*, were passed over my head that she might recognize me, and she said: '"By the life of my brother, and the kindness of my father! I shall awake the family 'unless thou withdrawest." Struck with fear at her words, I was retiring, when she 'smiled, and I knew that her oath would not be kept. I then took her by the ringlets 'and kissed her lips, with the pleasure that the man whose throat is parched with in-'toxication, drinks the cool water of a spring (13).'

172 The kâdi Harûn Ibn Abd Allah (14) says: "Jamil came to Egypt with the "intention of reciting to Abd al-Aziz Ibn Marwân (15) a poem composed by him "in his honour: this governor admitted him into his presence, and, after hear-"ing Jamîl's eulogistic verses and rewarding him generously, asked him con-"cerning his love for Buthaina, and was told of his ardent and painful passion. "He, on this, promised to unite him to her, and bid him stop in Misr, where "he assigned him a habitation and furnished him with all he required. But Jamil "died there very shortly after, in A.H. 82 (A.D. 701)."—Az-Zubair Ibn al-Bak-kâr says that the following anecdote was related to him by Abbâs Ibn Sahl as-

Sâidi: "When in *Syria*, I met one of my friends, who said to me: 'Would "you like to see Jamîl? he is sick; let us go and visit him.' On entering, we "found him near his last, and on seeing me he said: 'O Ibn Sahl! what sayest "thou of a man who never drank wine, nor committed fornication nor murder; "who never stole, and who beareth witness that there is no god but the only "God.' My answer was: 'I think that he has attained salvation, and hope that "he will enter paradise; who is that man?'—'It is I;' replied Jamîl.—'By "Allah!' said I, 'I do not think that thou wilt gain salvation after having cele-"brated, for the last twenty years, the charms of Buthaina.'—'May I be de-"prived of the intercession of Muhammad (*on the day of judgment*),' said he; "—I that am now entering into the first day of the life to come, and am in the "last day of my life in this world;—if I ever placed my hand on her with an "improper intention!' We did not quit him till he expired." It is stated, however, by Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Jaafar al-Ahwâzi, that he fell sick and died in *Egypt*; and that during his illness he was visited by Ibn Sahl as-Sâidi; he then relates the anecdote just given: God knows which statement is correct. The following relation is given in the *Kitâb al-Aghâni* on the authority of al-Asmâi: "A person who was present at the death of Jamîl in Egypt relates "that the poet called him and said: 'If I give you all I leave after me, will "you perform one thing which I shall enjoin you?'—'By Allah! yes,' said the "other.—'When I am dead,' said Jamîl, 'take this cloak of mine and put it "aside, but keep every thing else for yourself; then go to Buthaina's tribe, and "when you are near them, saddle this camel of mine and mount her; then put "on my cloak and rend it, and, mounting on a hill, shout out these verses:

> 'A messenger hath openly (16) proclaimed the death of Jamîl! He has now a dwell-'ing in Egypt from which he will never return. There was a time when, intoxicated 'with love, he trained his mantle proudly in the fields and palm-groves of Wâdi 'l-'Kura! Arise, Buthaina! and lament aloud; weep for the best of all thy lovers!'

"I did what Jamîl ordered, and had scarcely finished the verses, when Bu-"thaina came forth, beautiful as the moon when it appears from behind a cloud: "she was muffled in a cloak, and, on coming up to me, she said: 'Man! if "what thou sayest be true, thou hast killed me; if false, thou hast dishonoured "me!' I replied: 'By Allah! I only tell the truth;' and I showed her the cloak "which Jamîl had given me. On seeing it, she uttered a loud cry and beat

"her face, and the women of the tribe gathered around, weeping with her and "lamenting his death. Her force at length failed her, and she swooned away. "After some time she revived and said:

'Never for a single instant shall I feel consolation for the loss of Jamil; that time 'shall never come. Since thou art dead, O Jamil, son of Mamar! the pains of life and 'its pleasures are the same to me.'

(These verses have been already given (*see page* 87) in the life of the *hâfiz* as-Silafi.)—"I never saw man nor woman weep more than those I saw that day."

(1) Wâdi 'l-Kora is the name of a delicious valley near Medina, much celebrated by the poets.

(2) A celebrated companion of the Prophet. See page 235, note (7).

(3) Hudba Ibn Khashram belonged to the tribe of Aâmir Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Dubyân. He lived in the first century of Islamism, and was celebrated as one of the greatest poets among the Arabs. In a pilgrimage made by him to Mekka with some of his family, he had a dispute with Ziâda Ibn Zaid, one of his relations, and killed him. Said Ibn al-Aâsi, the governor of Medina, caused him to be arrested and sent before the khalif Moawia. His poetical reputation was so great that Moawia did all he could to save him, but the family of Ziâda would consent to no arrangement, and refused with disdain the legal ransom, though augmented to ten times its amount: they insisted that Hudba should be kept in prison till the majority of Ziâda's son, al-Miswâr, to whom, as the nearest heir, pertained the right of avenging Ziâda's blood, Hadba remained in prison for some years, and excited general sympathy by his conduct, but the family of his victim was implacable, and al-Miswâr, on coming of age, beheaded him in the presence of the inhabitants of Medina.—A very full and curious narrative of this event is given in the Hamâsa, p. 233 *et seq.*

(4) See page 209, note (18).

(5) This is one of the authors of the seven *Moallakas;* his son Kaab was outlawed by Muhammad, but received his pardon in the ninth year of the Hijra, after reciting to the Prophet the celebrated poem called the *Borda*. An account of his life is given by professor Freytag in his edition of that poem.

(6) See page 115, note (1).

(7) Taimâ is situated on the frontier between Arabia and Syria.

(8) Literally: When summer had cast anchor.—The nomadic tribes removed towards the north in summer, and Laila's family, which probably frequented Hijâz in the cool seasons, went to the neighbourhood of Taimâ, that they might feed their flocks in a more temperate region, when the heat had dried up the herbage in the station where they had passed the winter.

(9) See M. de Sacy's *Anthologie grammaticale*, p. 150.

(10) Literally: I keep *your* secret; that is, the secret of my love for *you.*

(11) Literally: My owl. See *Le Diwân d'Amro 'l-Kaïs*, p. 8; and M. de Sacy's *Anthologie*, p. 213.

(12) Literally: To the female brought up in the palanquin (*haudaj*). This may mean that she was accustomed, from her childhood, to travel in a *haudaj*, and that her parents were too careful of her to let her walk or expose her to the sun. The *haudaj* is a sort of covered chair, closed in front by a curtain and borne on a camel.

(13) Al-Yâfi speaks of Jamil in his annals and gives these verses, but he suppresses the last for its indecency, as he says.

(14) Harûn Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad, a descendant from the tribe of Koraish, and a native of Medina, was a jurisconsult of the sect of Mâlik. He entered Egypt, A. H. 217 (A. D. 832), where he filled the functions of kâdi till he was deposed, A. H. 227 (A. D. 841-2), after having administered for eight years and six months. He then retired to Irak, and settled at Sarr-man-raa, where he died in the month of Shâbân, A. H. 232 (A. D. 847).—(Al-Askalâni's *History of the kâdis of Egypt*, MS. No. 691.)

(15) Abû 'l-Asbâ Abd al-Azîz Ibn Marwân Ibn al-Hakam succeeded Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Okbâ as governor of Egypt, A. H. 65 (A. D. 684-5.) He died in office, A. H. 86 (A. D. 705), and had for successor Abd Allah Ibn Abd al-Malik.—(Al-Makrîzi's *Khitat;* Abû 'l-Mahâsin's *Nujûm.*)

(16) *Openly*, the Arabic says; without naming him by his surname. The same surname was often borne by many persons, and of course it would be difficult to know which of them was meant by it.

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## ABU OSAMA JUNADA.

Abû Osâma Junâda Ibn Muhammad al-Azdi al-Harawi *(belonging to the tribe of Azd and a native of Herât)*: this philologer possessed a most extensive acquaintance with pure Arabic, and transmitted much of that knowledge *(to his disciples)*; he knew what terms of the language had become obsolete and those which were still in general use, and during his lifetime he was without an equal in that science. A close intimacy and friendship subsisted between him, the *hâfiz* Abd al-Ghanî al-Misri, and Abû 'l-Hasan (1) Ali Ibn Sulaimân al-Antâki *(native of Antioch)*, who was a grammarian and a teacher of the reading of the Koran. They used to meet in the college (*Dar al-Ilm*) (2) and hold literary discussions, till two of them, Abû Osâma Junâda and Abû 'l-Hasan al-Antâki were put to death by al-Hâkim, lord of Egypt. They were executed in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 399 (July, A. D. 1109), and on the same day. The *hâfiz* Abd al-Ghanî concealed himself to avoid a similar fate. This is the account given by the emir al-Mukhtâr al-Musabbihi in his history *(of Egypt.)* —*Herât* is a large city in Khorasan.

(1) In another part of this work he is called Abû Ali, and in the *Nujûm* of Abû 'l-Mahâsin his name is written Abû Bakr al-Antâki.

(2) "And he (*al-Hâkim*) founded a college (*Dar al-Ilm*), which he furnished, and to which he sent books "of great value. In this college he placed two *sunnite* shaikhs, one of whom was named Abû Bakr al-An-"tâki. He gave them pelisses of honour, treated them with favour, and ordered them to come to his court. "He afterwards put them to death."—(*An-Nujûm az-Zâhira*, year 400. *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, t. I. p. 346.)

## AL-JUNAID.

173 Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Junaid Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Junaid al-Khazzâz al-Kawârizi, the celebrated ascetic (1), was born and bred in Irak, but his family was from Nahâwend. He was the *shaikh* (2) of his time, the pearl of his age, and his doctrine on *the truth* (3) is well known and carefully preserved (4). He studied jurisprudence under Abû Thaur, the disciple of the imam as-Shâfi, but it is said by some that, as a doctor of the law, he followed the system of Sofyân at-Thauri. He had for masters his maternal uncle as-Sari as-Sakati, al-Harith al-Muhâsibi and other great *shaikhs*. The shafite doctor, Abû 'l-Abbâs Ibn Suraij, had been his disciple, and used to say to his auditors, when they were in admiration at his discourses on the dogmatical and secondary points of the law: "Do you know from whom I had that? That is one of the blessed results "of my intercourse with Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Junaid."—Al-Junaid being asked who was he who knoweth, answered: "He who can tell what thy secret is, "although thou keepest silence." He used to say: "Our system of doctrine is "firmly bound with the dogmas of faith, and the Koran and the *sunna*." He was seen one day with a rosary (5) in his hand, and a person said to him: "How! you who have reached such an exalted degree of sanctity, you carry a "rosary?" To which he replied: "I quit not the way which led me to my "Lord." The following anecdote is related by al-Junaid: "My uncle, Sari "as-Sakati said to me: 'Give lectures (6);' but a feeling of diffidence prevented "me, for I had doubts whether I was worthy thereto; but one Friday eve, I "saw in a dream (7) the blessed Prophet, who said to me: 'Give lectures.' I "awoke immediately, and went to as-Sari's door before he had risen, and "having knocked, (*I related to him what had passed*). He answered: 'You "would not believe me till you were told to do so.' That morning I sat in the "mosque to teach, and the news spread among the people that al-Junaid was "lecturing, and a young Christian in disguise stood up before me and said: 'O "*shaikh!* what did the holy Prophet mean by these words: *Dread the physi-* "*ognomic talent of the true believer, for he seeth by means of God's light?* "I reflected with downcast eyes, and, raising then my head, I said: 'Become a "Moslim; the time of your conversion has arrived!' and the youth made pro-

"fession of Islamism (8)."—The *shaikh* al-Junaid said: "There is nothing "from which I drew so much profit as from some verses which I once heard." On being asked what they were, he answered: "As I passed through the *Derb* "*al-Karâtîs* (9), I listened to a slave-girl who was singing in a house, and I "heard her say:

> 'When I say to thee: "Departure hath given me the raiment of decay;" thou repliest: '"Were it not for departure, love had not been proved sincere." If I say: "This 174 'heart is burned by passion;" thou sayest: "The fires of passion ennoble the heart;" 'and if I say: "I am not in fault;" thou answerest: "Thy existence is a fault to which 'no fault can be compared!"'

"On this I uttered a loud cry and swooned away (10). When I was in that "state, the master of the house came out and said: 'What is this, sir?' and I "replied: 'The effect of what I heard;' on which he said: 'I take you to wit-"ness that I now make her a present to you;' and I answered: 'I accept her, "and declare her free before God.' I afterwards gave her to one of our com-"panions in the convent (11), and she had by him a fine boy, who grew up "well."—Al-Junaid made the pilgrimage (*to Mekka*) alone and on foot thirty times: his (*merits*) are numerous and celebrated (12). He died at Baghdad, A. H. 297 (A. D. 910), on a Sunday, which was the khalif's Newrûz (13); but some say that his death took place on a Friday, in the last hour of the day in A. H. 298: he was buried, on the Sunday following, in the Shûnîziya cemetery, near the grave of his maternal uncle Sari as-Sakati. Before his death he had just read over the entire Koran, and recommenced the surat of the *Cow*, of which he had read the first seventy verses when he died.—He was surnamed *al-Khazzâz* because he spun silk (*khazz*); and they gave him the name of *al-Kawârîzi*, because his father was a glass-blower (*kawârîzi*).—*Nahâwend*, or, according to as-Samâni, *Nuhâwend*, is a city in Persian Irak, said to have been built by Nûh (*Noah*), and named for that reason *Nûh awend*, that is, *Noah has built* (14); these words have been altered into Nahâwend to suit the genius of the Arabic language.—The *Shûnîzi* is a well-known (*burying*) place at Baghdad, on the west side of the river; it contains the tombs of a number of *shaikhs*.

(1) In the *Notices et Extraits*, tom. XII., M. de Sacy has given an account of the Sûfi doctrines and a translation of the life of al-Junaid by Jâmi.

(2) The word *shaikh* bears throughout this article the signification of *Sûfi doctor*.

(3) The word حقيقة *truth* denotes that knowledge which can only be acquired by spiritual exercises, and which is the object of Sufism. In following that *way* طريقة, the creature obtains, at last, a *true* knowledge of the Creator; and this knowledge, in the technology of mystic divines, is styled emphatically *the truth*.

(4) Carefully preserved مدون ; this word may also signify—Put in writing and collected into a book.

(5) The Moslim rosary is composed of ninety-nine beads, which is the number of the names, or attributes of God mentioned in the Koran.

(6) Literally: Speak in teaching the people.

(7) See note (7), page 46.

(8) According to al-Yâfi, this answer contained two proofs of al-Junaid's miraculous gifts; the first, that he discovered the religion of the youth notwithstanding his disguise; and the second, that he foretold his immediate conversion.

(9) *Derb al-Karâtis*, the paper street or bazar.

(10) Al-Junaid perceived a mystic meaning in these verses; for him, the beloved was God, and his own existence in this world was the *fault* or obstacle which prevented his union with the Divinity.

(11) The fraternities of Sûfis, or dervishes, lived in convents. Abû Hafs Omar as-Sahraurdi, in his *Awârif al-Maârif*, or treatise on Sûfism, has three chapters on the monastic life.—(See MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 375.)

(12) An eye-witness said that the *kâtibs* of Baghdad went to hear al-Junaid for his choice of words; the philosophers for the subtilty of his discourse; the poets for the elegance of his language, and the dogmatic theologians for his profound ideas. When he was a boy at play, his uncle as-Sakati asked him what was thankfulness (to God), and received this answer: "To act so that his favour may not conduce to disobedience "towards him."—(Al-Yâfi, A. H. 298.)

(13) *The khalif's Newrûz*; this is another name for the *Newrûz Khassa* (*new year's day proper*), in which it was customary to visit the sovereign and offer him presents. This festival was held on the sixth day of the month of Ferwardin (end of March). The old Persian custom of celebrating the *Newrûz* existed at Baghdad under the Abbaside khalifs.— (See page 203 of this work. See also, in one of the following volumes, an anecdote of Ahmad Ibn Yûsuf the *kâtib*, in the life of al-Mubarrad.)

(14) It is scarcely necessary to say that this derivation is absurd in every point.

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## THE KAID JAWHAR.

Al-Kâid (1) Abû 'l-Hasan (2) Jawhar Ibn Abd Allah, known also by the name of al-Kâtib ar-Rûmi (*the Greek scribe*) (3), was a client by enfranchisement of al-Moizz Ibn al-Mansûr Ibn al-Kâim Ibn al-Mahdi, lord of Ifrîkiya, who sent him, at the head of an army, to take possession of Egypt on the death of Kâfûr al-Ikhshîdi. He set out from Ifrîkiya on Sunday, 14th of the first Rabî, A. H. 358 (February, A. D. 969), and got Misr into his power on Tuesday, 16th Shâbân (July) of the same year. On Friday 19th Shâbân he mounted the pulpit and

pronounced the *khotba* with a prayer for his lord al-Moizz. In the middle of the month of Ramadân (beginning of August), the news of this conquest reached al-Moizz in Ifrikiya. Jawhar continued to govern Egypt with absolute power till the arrival of his master; he preserved his high rank, dignity, and authority till A. H. 364, when al-Moizz, on Friday 17th Muharram (October, 974), removed him from the presidency of the government offices, the collectorship of the revenue, and the control of affairs. The beneficence of Jawhar ceased only on his death; he expired at Misr on Thursday, 20th Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 381 (January, A. D. 992), and there was not a poet of the time but composed verses to deplore his loss and celebrate his liberality.—The motive which induced al-Moizz to send him to Egypt was this: On the death of the eunuch Kâfûr al-Ikhshîdi (whose life shall be given), the officers of the empire agreed to confer the supreme authority on Ahmad Ibn Ali Ibn al-Ikhshîd, who was still a boy, and that he should have for lieutenant the son of his father's uncle, Abû Muhammad al-Husain Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Toghj (4); the great officers and the troops were to be under the orders of Shamûl al-Ikhshîdi, and the administration of the public revenue was to be confided to the vizir Jaafar Ibn al-Furât. This arrangement took place on Tuesday, the 20th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 357 (April, A. D. 968). Prayers were offered up for Ahmad Ibn Ali, and then for al-Husain Ibn Abd Allah, from the pulpits of Misr, of the Egyptian and Syrian provinces, and of the two holy cities (*Mekka and Medîna*). Then, as we have already related in the life of Jaafar Ibn al-Furât, the troops became turbulent from the diminution of their pay and the cessation of the ordinary gratuities; this induced a number of persons who held a high rank (*in Misr*), to write to al-Moizz, who was then in Ifrikiya, inviting him to send a body of troops to Egypt and take possession of the capital. In consequence of this communication, he ordered the *kâid* Jawhar to hold the army in readiness to march, but this general fell so dangerously ill, that no hopes were entertained of his recovery. In this state, he was visited by his master al-Moizz, who declared that he would not only escape from death, but make the conquest of Misr. During his convalescence, the necessary supplies of money, arms, and men were furnished to him, and he advanced with upwards of one hundred thousand horse and more than twelve hundred chests of money, to a place named *ar-Rakkâda* (5). He was visited every day by al-Moizz, who conversed with him in private and gave him directions; he then

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received orders to set out, and the prince came to bid him adieu. During this meeting, Jaafar stood before al-Moizz, who leant down on his horse's neck and spoke to him in secret for some time. The prince then ordered his sons to dismount and give Jawhar the salutation of departure; this obliged the great officers of the kingdom to dismount also; then Jawhar kissed the hand of al-Moizz and the hoof of his horse; and having mounted on his own by order of his master, he put the army in march. When al-Moizz returned to his palace, he sent to Jawhar as a present all the clothes which he had on, retaining only his drawers and seal-ring, and he wrote orders to his slave Aflah, governor of Barka, that he should set out to meet Jawhar and kiss his hand. Aflah offered one hundred thousand dinars to avoid performing that ceremony, but he was obliged to submit. When the approach of Jawhar's troops was known at Misr, great agitation was caused by the news, and it was agreed on that the vizir Ibn al-Furât should write to obtain peace, and security for the lives and property of the inhabitants; they requested also Abû Jaafar Muslim Ibn Obaid Allah (6) al-Husaini to be their ambassador, and obtained his consent provided that a number of the citizens should accompany him. The vizir furnished them his conditions in writing, and on Monday, 18th Rajab, A. H. 358 (June, A. H. 969), they set out to meet Jawhar, who had halted at a village called Tarûja, near Alexandria. When the *sharif* Muslim and his companions arrived, they delivered their message to Jawhar, who granted every demand, and confirmed his promise by a written instrument; but the city of Misr (7) fell into the utmost agitation; the adherents of the Ikhshid family, the officers who had been in the service of Kâfûr, and a portion of the army prepared for battle; and after concealing the valuables which were in their houses, they encamped outside the city and rejected the peace which had been offered. When Jawhar was informed of their intentions, he marched against them, but the *sharif* had already arrived there on the 7th Shâbân with the written promise of protection (*amân*), and the vizir with the inhabitants had ridden to his house to meet him; the troops also had assembled around him. He then read the document, and handed to every person who had written to Jawhar for fiefs, money, or governments, a favorable answer to their demands; he delivered also to the vizir a letter in reply to his, and addressed to him as vizir. A considerable time elapsed in discussions and opposition, and the meeting separated without acceding to the proposals. Nahrîr as-Shoizâni (8) was chosen

by them as general, and the troops, having prepared for battle, marched to Jiza (Gizeh), where they took up their position and placed guards on the bridges (9). The *kâid* Jawhar arrived at Jiza and attacked them on the 11th of Shâbân; in this combat he made some prisoners and took from them a number of horses, after which he proceeded to Muniat as-Saiyâdin (*Fishermen's village*) and seized on the ford of Muniat Shalkân. A portion of the (*Egyptian*) troops then passed over to him in boats and surrendered, but the people of Misr placed a guard at the ford. Jawhar, on seeing this, said to Jaafar Ibn Falâh: "This is "the day for which al-Moizz required your services!" He then stripped to his trowsers and passed over in a boat (10), whilst his men forded (*the river*) and arrived at the other side, where they attacked and killed a great number of the Ikhshidites and their partisans. The rest fled during the night and entered Misr, which they evacuated in disorder after carrying off from their houses whatever they could. Their wives then went on foot to the *sharîf* Abû Jaafar and (*implored him*) to write to Jawhar, requesting him to ratify his former promise of protection. The *sharîf* wrote in consequence, and after congratulating him on his victory, solicited the renewal of the *amân*. The people remained with the *sharîf* until an answer was returned, confirming the promise of pardon and protection. An envoy arrived also from Jawhar, bearing a white flag and, during two days, he circulated through the people, proclaiming an amnisty and forbidding pillage. This re-established tranquillity in the city, so that the bazars were opened and all became as quiet as if no disturbance had taken place. Towards the latter part of the day, a messenger arrived with a letter from Jawhar to Abû Jaafar, ordering him to be ready to receive him on Tuesday the 17th of Shâbân, with a body of the *sharîfs*, learned men, and chief inhabitants of the city. (*The persons who had assembled at the sharîf Muslim's house*) then retired, and having made preparations for their visit to Jawhar, they set out from the city with the vizir Jaafar and a number of men eminent for their rank, and proceeded to Jiza, where they met the (*Fatimite*) general. Then by order of a herald, every person, except the *sharîf* and the vizir, dismounted and saluted successively Jawhar, who had placed the vizir on his left hand and the *sharîf* on his right. When this ceremony was concluded, they set out for the city, and the troops commenced making their entry, with arms and baggage, as the sun was declining towards the west. About four o'clock (11), Jawhar entered the

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city, preceded by his drums and flags; he wore a silk dress heavily embroidered with gold, and rode a cream-coloured horse. He passed through Misr to the place in which he designed to halt (12), and which is now the spot on which Cairo is situated. He then marked out the circumference of the new city, and when the people of Misr came the next morning to congratulate him on his success, they found that the foundations of the citadel had been dug during the night. He was at first displeased with some irregularities in the outline of the future city, but then declared that as the trenches had been excavated in a fortunate hour, he would allow no alterations to be made. On the Tuesday above mentioned and the six following days, his troops continued entering into Misr. Jawhar hastened to write a despatch to his master al-Moizz, informing him of the conquest, and he sent to him also the heads of the Egyptians slain in the action. He then ordered that the prayer for the Abbasides should cease to be offered up from the pulpits throughout Egypt, and that their name should be replaced on the coinage by these words: *Bismi mûlâi 'l-Moizz* (*in the name of my master al-Moizz.*) He forbid also the black livery of the Abbasides to be worn any longer (13), and directed the *khatîbs* (*preachers*) to wear white vestments. He then every Sunday held a court for the hearing of grievances (14); at which the vizir, the kâdi, and a number of the great doctors were present, whilst he himself gave judgment. On Friday, the 8th of Zû 'l-Kaada, he caused these words to be added at the end of the *khotba* (15): *O my God! bless Muhammad the chosen, Ali the accepted, Fâtima the pure, and al-Hasain and al-Husain, the two grandsons of the Apostle; them whom thou hast freed from stain and thoroughly purified. O my God! bless the pure imams, ancestors of the Commander of the believers.* On Friday, 18th of the second Rabi, A. H. 359, the *kâid* presided at public prayers in the mosque of Ibn Tûlûn; a great number of the military were present, and the preacher, Abd as-Sami Ibn Omar al-Abbâsi, made mention in the *khotba* of the *people of the house* (16) and their excellent merits; he prayed also for the *kâid* and pronounced aloud the *Bismillah* (17). He then, during the prayer, read the surats of the *Assembly* (18) and the *Hipocrites* (19), and in the *izân*, or call to prayer, he introduced these words: *Come to the excellent work* (20)! He was the first who did so in Egypt. This form was then adopted in the other mosques, and on Fridays the preacher pronounced the *konût* (21). In the month of the first Jumâda, the words *Come to*

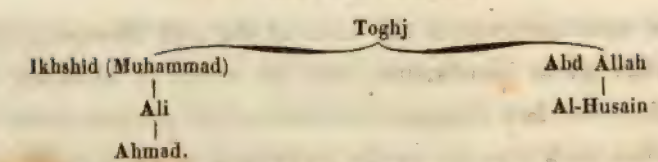
*the excellent work* were inserted in the *izân* at the Old Mosque, and all this gave the *kâid* Jawhar great satisfaction, and he wrote to al-Moizz with that pleasing intelligence. Jawhar disapproved however of prayers being made for himself, and said that such was not in the directions given him by his master. He then commenced the construction of the mosque at Cairo, and finished it on the 7th of Ramadân, A. H. 361 (June, A. D. 972); on the following Friday he celebrated in it public prayers.—I believe that this is the mosque which is called *al-Azhar* (*the splendid*) (22); and lies between the gate of al-Barkiya and that 177 of an-Nasr; for the other mosque of Cairo near the gate of an-Nasr is well known to have been founded by al-Hâkim (whose life we shall give).—Jawhar continued in the government of Egypt for four years and twenty days; al-Moizz then arrived at Cairo (as shall be related in his life), and Jawhar left the citadel to receive him, taking nothing with him of all he possessed except the clothes he had on. He did not afterwards return to the citadel, but took up his residence in his own house: we shall give other particulars of his history in the life of his master al-Moizz.—Jawhar had a son named al-Husain, who was *kâid al-Kuwwâd*, or general in chief to al-Hâkim, lord of Egypt: the conduct of this prince having inspired him with apprehensions for his personal safety, he fled with his son and his sister's husband, Abd al-Azîz Ibn an-Nomân; but al-Hâkim sent after them and brought them back; he then quieted their fears, and treated them with kindness for some time; but one day, when they went to the citadel to pay him their respects, he gave orders to Râshid al-Hakîki, the executioner (23), who took with him ten of the Turkish pages and put al-Husain to death along with his brother-in-law the kâdi: their heads were then brought to al-Hâkim. This took place in A. H. 401 (A. D. 1010-1).—Mention has been made of al-Husain in the life of Barjawân (24).

(1) The word *kâid* signifies *leader* or *chief*.

(2) The circumstance of Jawhar's having had a son named al-Hûsain, of whom mention is made at the end of this article, induced me to suppose that, in place of *Abû 'l-Hasan* (*father of al-Hasan*), it would be more correct to read *Abû 'l-Husain*. The best MSS. of Ibn Khallikân, and three MSS. of Abû 'l-Mahâsin's *Nujûm* confirm, however, the reading which I had adopted in the Arabic text.

(3) He was called *the Greek scribe*, because his father was a native of the Greek empire, and he himself was *scribe*, or secretary, to his master al-Moizz.

(4) Their relationship will be better understood from the inspection of the following table:




(5) Ar-Rakkâda lay at a short distance from Kairawan; it was the residence of the Aghlabite princes, and was taken by Abû Abd Allah the Shiite in the month of Rajab, A. H. 296. – (See M. de Sacy's *Exposé de l'histoire des Druzes*, t. I. p. 271.)

(6) In the Arabic text, *Abd Allah;* but it is a fault. Mention has been made of Abû Jaafar, p. 322.

(7) In the Arabic text, for البلاد read البلد.

(8) *As-Shoizâni;* in two manuscripts of Abû 'l-Mahâsin's *Nujûm*, this name is written ابن السوبرايى, without points; the third has ابن السوبرايى; its true pronunciation is therefore uncertain.

(9) The account of the conquest of Egypt given by Abû 'l-Mahâsin in his *Nujûm*, on the authority of more than one author (غير واحد), is nearly identical with Ibn Khallikân's. This sole passage, however, offers a remarkable difference, as it stands in the three MSS. of the *Nujûm*. We there read: "The troops marched towards *the isle*" (الجزيرة, and not *Jîza* الجيزة) "to combat Jawhar. They placed guards on the bridges جسور, and Jawhar, on arriving at *the isle*, attacked them; the combat continued for some time, and Jawhar then went to Muniat as-Saiyâdîn."—If this be correct, *the isle* is the isle of Rauda, in the Nile, between Fostât and Jîza. It was only in later times that it came to be known by the name of *al-Rauda;* before that, it was called simply *the isle*. (See *Chrestomathie*, t. I. p. 229.) A bridge of thirty boats united it to Fostât, and it communicated with Jîza by means of another bridge of thirty boats also. (Makrîzi's *Khitat*, MS. fonds St. Germain, No. 106, fol. 248 v.) The word جسور *bridges*, bears also in Egypt the signification of *dykes* or *mounds;* those *dykes* were raised to protect the edifices of the inhabitants against the inundations of the Nile, and during that period they served as roads; but they could have been of trifling importance as a means of communication at the period of Jawhar's combat with the Egyptians, as the Nile was only beginning to rise and did not overflow the country till six or seven weeks after. I am therefore inclined to believe that the word جسور here means *bridges* (probably the two above-mentioned), and that Ibn Khallikân's account is to be preferred. For it is evident that the intention of Jawhar in marching to Jîza, was to gain possession of the bridge of boats between Jîza and Misr (or Fostât); the resistance of the Egyptian troops frustrated this project, and he then took the bold determination of fording the Nile, which at that moment, the 5th of July, must have been very low.

(10) The MSS. of the *Nujûm* have في موكب (*at the head of a troop*), in place of في مركب (*in a vessel*); it is probably the right reading.

(11) Literally: *After the asr.* "The *'asr*, or afternoon; i. e., about mid-time between noon and night-"fall." (Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, vol. I. p. 82.)

(12) Literally: To his halting-place. In the *Nujûm* we read: "He stopped at المناخ al-Manâkh (*the halt-"ing-place*)." I am inclined, however, to give the preference throughout to Ibn Khallikân's account; Abû 'l-Mahâsin seems to have done nothing more than copy it; and in some cases, he appears to have misunderstood it.

(13) The black dress was worn, not only by members of the Abbaside family, but by the public officers in their service.

(14) In the court of *Inspection of Grievances* نظر في المظالم, it was the sovereign or one of his great officers who presided as judge. The establishment of this court was rendered necessary by the difficulty of

executing the decrees of the kâdi when the defendant was of high rank or employed in the service of government. None dared to disobey a citation before this court, and none were powerful enough to escape its severity.

(15) See page 174, note (2).

(16) The People of the House: Ali, Fatima, Hasan, and Hosain.—(See *Mishkât*, vol. II. p. 779.)

(17) The first surat of the Koran, entitled the *Fâtiha*, forms a portion of the Moslim canonical prayer: it begins with the *Bismillah* (*in the name of God the merciful, the clement*), which the Hanifites and Hanbalites pronounce in a low voice, because they do not consider it as a part of the Koran; but the Shafites, Malikites, and Shiites hold the contrary opinion, and pronounce it aloud. (See Zamakhshari's commentary on the *Fâtiha* in his *Kashshâf*, and M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, t. I. p. 161.)

(18) *Koran*, surat 62.

(19) *Ibid*, sur. 63.

(20) Those words are peculiar to the Shiite form of the *izân*.

(21) The *konût* consists in these words *Inna laka kânitûna* انا لك قانتون. (See *Chrestomathie*, t. I. p. 162, and Abû 'l-Fadâ's Annals, t. III. p. 151.)

(22) Al-Makrizi says it positively.

(23) In Arabic *Saiyâf an-Nikma* (*the swordsman of the* (sovereign's) *vengeance*). This seems to have been a peculiar title at the Fatimite court.

(24) See page 253.

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## JIHARKAS AS-SALAHI.

Abû 'l-Mansûr Jihârkas Ibn Abd Allah an-Nâsiri as-Salâhi (*attached to the service of al-Malik an-Nâsir Salâh ad-dîn*), and surnamed Fakhr ad-din (*pride of religion*), held a high rank as an emir in the empire founded by Salâh ad-din. He was a man of noble character, high influence, and a lofty spirit. It was he who built the great *Kaisâriya* (1) *of Jihârkas* at Cairo, which, as I am told by a number of merchants who visited different countries, is without an equal for beauty, size, and solidity. On the summit of this edifice he erected a large mosque and (*near it*) a *rabâ* (2) supported by arcades. He died at Damascus in the year 608 (A. D. 1211-2), and was buried at Mount Sâlihiya, where his tomb still attracts attention.—*Jihârkas* means *four persons;* it is a Persian word of which the Arabic equivalent is *Istâr* (*four in number*). The word *istâr* means also *four ounces:* he was also known by this appellation.

(1) *Kaisariya*, a bazar.—(See De Sacy's *Abdallatif*, p. 303.)

(2) The *raba* is a large house or hotel, capable of lodging ten or fifteen families, and constructed over shops or stores. (De Sacy's *Abd-Allatif*, pp. 303, 402; Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, vol. I. p. 23.)

## ABU TAMMAM AT-TAI.

Abû Tammâm Habib, the celebrated poet, was son of Aûs Ibn al-Hârith Ibn Kais Ibn al-Ashajj Ibn Yahya Ibn Marwân Ibn Morr Ibn Saad Ibn Kâhil Ibn Amr Ibn Adi Ibn Amr Ibn al-Ghauth Ibn Taî (the real name of Taî was Julhuma) Ibn Odad Ibn Zaid Ibn Kahlân Ibn Yashhob (1) Ibn Yarob Ibn Kahtân. But Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Hasan Ibn Bishr Ibn Yahya al-Amidi (2) says in his *Muwázina*, or Comparison between the two Taiites: "The general opinion respecting Abû Tammâm's descent is, that his father was a Christian named "Tadûs al-Attâr (*Thaddæus the druggist*) and native of a village near Damas-178 "cus called Jâsim. This name of Tadûs they changed into Aûs, and fabricated "a genealogy for Abû Tammâm, tracing up his descent to Taî. There is also "no Masûd to be found in the list of ancestors which they give him, and this "was an oversight in the person who forged it; besides, were it true that he descended from Taî, it would be impossible to admit that there were only ten "generations between them (3)." Al-Amidi makes these remarks when speaking of the following verse of Abû Tammâm's:

Did Masûd water their ruined dwellings with the torrents of his eyes, I should renounce Masûd (4).

But it must be observed that six generations have been omitted between Kais and Dafâka (5), and that Abû Tammâm's words, *I should renounce Masûd*, are not a proof that Masûd was one of his ancestors; this expression is analogous to the following: *I have nothing to do with such a one, such a one has nothing to say to me*, by which is expressed the idea of renunciation or contempt. Similar to this is the sentence uttered by the holy Prophet: *The child of fornication is not one of us, and Ali is one of us* (6). In the History of Baghdad by the Khatib, Abû Tammâm's genealogy is given in full with some slight differences from that inserted here; and as-Suli relates that some say of Abû Tammâm Habib, that his father Tadûs was a Christian, and that this name was changed into Aûs.—Abû Tammâm surpassed all his contemporaries in the purity of his style, the merit of his poetry, and his excellent manner of treating a subject (7). He is author of the *Hamása*, a compilation which is a standing

proof of his great talents, solid information, and good taste in making a selection. Another of his works is entitled *Fuhûl as-Shuarâ* (*first-rate poets*), and contains (*the history of*) a great number of poets, some of whom flourished in the times of paganism, and others when Islamism was introduced or at a later period. The *Ikhtiarât,* a third work of his, contains (*as its title implies*) selections from the poets. The number of pieces which he knew by heart was so great, that none ever attained his rank in that branch of knowledge: it is stated that, without counting *kasîdas* and fragments of poems, he knew by heart fourteen thousand verses of that class of compositions called *Rajaz* (8). He used to compose verses in honour of the khalifs, and was generously rewarded by them. In his travels, he visited different countries and proceeded to Basra, where the poet Abd as-Samad Ibn al-Muaddal (9) happened to be at the time. The latter was surrounded by his scholars (10) and followers when he received intelligence of Abû Tammâm's approach, and being apprehensive that the public would favour the new comer and neglect himself, he wrote these lines to Abû Tammâm, who had not yet entered the city:

> You appear before the public in two characters, each of which requires a flatterer's face (11). You are always soliciting the favour of a mistress or the gifts (*of a patron*). Can a blush of generous shame ever mantle on your cheeks (12), after submitting to the degraded state of a lover and a beggar?

When Abû Tammâm read these verses, he changed his mind and turned back, saying: "This man has drawn to himself the attention of all about him, so "they do not stand in need of me." (I have already mentioned some verses similar to these in the life of al-Mutanabbi (13) ). Abû Tammâm and Ibn al-Muaddal not being personally acquainted, the latter, on composing these lines, gave them to a copyist who was intimate with them both, and told him to deliver them to Abû Tammâm; the latter, having read them, wrote on the back of the paper:

> Is it on me that you make verses filled with falsehood and calumny? you who are less than zero! In your anger you have packed your heart full of hatred, (*plainly to be seen*) as the palpitation of the soul is seen in the body. Wretched man! you have exposed yourself to the danger of my satires, like the ass which from fear rushes towards the lion.

Abd as-Samad having read the first verse, said: "What an excellent logi-

" cian, to assert that a non-existence is capable of increase and diminution!" Of the second verse he said, that *packing* was the business of *Farrâshes* (14), and that such an idea could not be admitted in poetry; but on reading the third verse, he bit his lips. According to as-Sûli, this anecdote is related by Kushâ- 179 jim in his *Masâid wa 'l-Matârid*, after making the following observation: "Al- " Jâhiz, in speaking of certain animals which deliver themselves up to certain " beasts of prey, has forgotten to mention the ass which rushes on the lion when " it perceives his scent."—Abû Tammâm recited to Abû Dolaf al-Ijli the *kasîda* which contains this verse:

> At the sight of dwellings (*abandoned*) like these, and places of joyous meetings (*now deserted*), our tears, long treasured up, were shed in torrents!

He admired the piece and gave the poet fifty thousand *dirhems* (15), saying: " By Allah! it is less than your poem is worth; and that idea is only surpassed " in beauty by your elegy on the death of Muhammad Ibn Hamîd at-Tûsi (16)." —" Which," said Abû Tammâm, "does the emir mean?"—"Why," said Abû Dolaf, " your poem commencing thus:

> 'Now let misfortune do its worst, and time inflict its evils! There is no excuse for ' eyes which have not shed their tears.'

" I wish, by Allah! that this elegy had been composed by you on me." " Nay!" said the poet, "may I and my family die to save the emir, and may I " leave the world before you!" To this Abû Dolaf replied: "He whose death " is deplored in verses like those, is immortal."—The learned say that the tribe of Taî produced three men, each of whom attained excellence in their speciality, namely: Hâtim al-Taî (17), famous for his liberality; Dâwûd Ibn Nusair (18), for his self-mortification; and Abû Tammâm, for poetry.—The number of anecdotes related of Abû Tammâm is very great, and I find this one generally accredited: He was reciting to the khalif a *kasîda* composed in his praise and rhyming in *s*; when he came to these words:

> (*In you I see*) the prowess of Amr (19), the liberality of Hâtim, and the prudence of Ahnaf, joined with the keenness of Iyâs (20)!

The vizir said to him: "How! do you compare the Commander of the faith-

"ful with vile Arabs of the desert?" On which the poet kept silence a moment, and then looked up and said (*in the same rhyme and measure*):

> Take not offence at my comparing him with inferiors, persons whose names have gone abroad and are proverbial for liberality and bravery; for God has compared his light to a mean object, a candle in a niche (21).

The vizir then told the khalif to grant to Abû Tammâm whatever he should ask, as he foresaw that the poet could not live more than forty days; "for," said he, "I perceive that his eyes are suffused with blood from excessive thought, "and the person in whom such symptoms appear cannot survive longer than "that time." On this, the khalif asked Abû Tammâm what he would like to have, and being answered that he desired the government of Mosul, he appointed him to that place; Abû Tammâm proceeded thither and remained there till his death.—This anecdote is however totally devoid of truth, and is related differently by Abû Bakr as-Sûli in his History of Abû Tammâm. "This poet," says he, "when reciting the above *kasîda* to Ahmad, son of the khalif al-Motasim, "came to these words: *The prowess of Amr, etc.*; on which the philosopher "Abû Yûsuf Yakûb Ibn as-Sabbàh al-Kindi (22), who happened to be present, "observed that the emir was much above the persons to whom the poet compared "him; and Abû Tammâm, after a short silence, added the two other verses; "but, when he gave (*to the prince*) the copy of the *kasîda*, it was discovered "that these lines were not in it, and the audience were in admiration at the "promptitude of his genius and his presence of mind. When he withdrew, "al-Kindi, who was the philosopher of the Arabs, said: 'This youth will "soon die.'" Farther on, as-Sûli says: "This circumstance is related in a "different manner, but that account is totally ungrounded, and ours alone is "correct." I have examined into the reality of the fact that Abû Tammâm was governor of Mosul, and all I have found is, that al-Hasan Ibn Wahb (23) had appointed him master of the post-horse establishment (24) at Mosul, in which city he died. The exactness of the anecdote is also disproved by the fact that this *kasîda* was not composed in honour of any of the khalifs, but that it was addressed to Ahmad son of al-Motasim, or Ahmad son of al-Mâmûn, neither of whom became khalif. In one of the seven memorials in which (*the poet*) Hais Bais solicited the government of Bâkûba (25) from the khalif al-Mustarshid, he 180

states that the government of Mosul had been granted to a poet of the tribe of Taî. As for this assertion, Hais Bais must have either grounded it on hearsay, without examining into its truth, or advanced it in the idea that it would serve him as a means for obtaining the government of Bâkûba. Ibn Dihya has followed Hais Bais in the same error, and inserted it in his work called the *Nibrâs*. It is related by as-Sûli that Abû Tammâm recited to the vizir Ibn az-Zaiyât a poem which he had composed in his honour, and containing these two verses:

> (*His generosity is*) a constant rain, rushing with slackened bridle, and of which the succour is implored by the afflicted earth. Could a tract of country proceed towards another to pay it honour, each barren spot had gone towards the (*land which he inhabits*).

(*When*) Ibn az-Zaiyât (*heard these verses, he*) said: "O Abû Tammâm! your "poetry is adorned with the jewels of your words and the originality of your "ideas; with beauty, moreover, which surpasses the splendour of jewels on the "necks of handsome females. The most abundant remuneration which could "be treasured up for you is unequal to the merit of your poetry." A philosopher who was present then observed that the poet would die young, and being asked what induced him to believe so, he answered: "I saw in him sharpness of "wit, and penetration and intelligence, united to a refined taste and prompt genius; from this I knew that the mind would consume the body, as a sword of "Indian steel eats through its scabbard. And such was the fact, for he died at "somewhat more than thirty years of age (26)." This, however, does not accord with what we shall state lower down respecting the time of his birth and his death. The poetry of Abû Tammâm was put in order, for the first time, by Abû Bakr as-Sûli, who arranged it alphabetically (*according to the rhymes*), then Ali Ibn Hamza âl-Ispahâni classed it according to the subjects. Abû Tammâm was born at Jâsim, A. H. 190 (A. D. 805-6); other accounts say in A. H. 188, 172, or 192. Jâsim is a village situated in al-Jaidûr (27), a canton in the dependencies of Damascus, between that city and Tabariya (*Tiberias*). He passed his youth in Misr, where, it is said, he used to distribute water to the public out of a pitcher in the mosque (28); but some say that he worked in the service of a tailor at Damascus, where his father sold wine (29). Abû Tammâm was a tall man of a tawny colour, he spoke his language with elegance and sweet-

ness, but stammered in a slight degree. After studying and passing through different situations of life, he attained that eminence by which he is illustrious. His death took place at Mosul, as has been already said, in A. H. 231 (A. D. 845-6); but other dates are assigned to that event, such as the month of Zû 'l-Kaada or that of the first Jumâda, 228 or 229, and some say that he died in the month of Muharram, A. H. 232. It is stated by al-Bohtori that a canopy was built over his grave by Abû Nahshal Ibn Hamîd at-Tûsi (30), and I myself saw the tomb at Mosul, outside the Maidân Gate, on the edge of the ditch which surrounds the city; the common people call it the tomb of Tammâm the poet. It was related to me by Afîf ad-dîn Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Adlân al-Mausili, the grammarian and interpreter, that he asked Ibn Onain (whose life shall be given later) what he meant by this verse:

> May God shed genial showers on the groves of Ghûtatain (31), but of barren Mosul, may he refresh the tombs alone!

"For what reason," said Ibn Adlân, "when you exclude Mosul from the "benediction, do you except its tombs?" To which he replied, that it was in consideration of Abû Tammâm's. This verse belongs to a *kasîda* composed by Ibn Onain in praise of the sultan al-Malik al-Moazzam Sharaf ad-dîn Isa (whose 181 life shall be given later). It is a very fine poem and begins thus:

> You long to see the palaces of Alia (32) at Damascus, and the youths and dark-eyed maids in Nairabain (33).

The following lines were composed on the death of Abû Tammâm by al-Hasan Ibn Wahb:

> Poetry was in affliction at the death of the last of the poets; him who was the lake in the meadow of poetry—Habib at-Taî. He and it are now dead and sojourn together in one tomb; it was thus also that they were (*inseparable*) when alive.

Some persons say, however, that these verses were composed on his death by Dîk al-Jinn.—The following lines are taken from a *kasîda* in which his death was lamented by al-Hasan Ibn Wahb:

> That precious tomb at Mosul has been watered by clouds which deplored his loss. When they shed their dew upon it, that dew fell in copious showers (34). The lightnings beat (*the*) cheeks (*of the clouds in grief*), and the thunders tore open (*their*) bosoms. For the earth of that tomb contains Habîb (*a friend*), who was called my friend.

The verses which follow were made on his death by Ibn az-Zaiyât, who was then vizir to al-Motasim; but they are attributed also to the *kâtib* Abû 'z-Zibrikân Abd Allah, son of az-Zibrikân, an enfranchised slave of the Omaiyide family:

> It is most dreadful news which has reached our agitated hearts. Habîb, they say is dead; O, I implore you! let it not be him of Taî.

The names of the persons mentioned in Abû Tammâm's genealogy are so well known, that it is needless to mark their orthography.—*Al-Jaidûr* is a canton in the province of Damascus, near al-Haulân (35). — *At-Taî* means belonging to *Taî*, which is a famous tribe. This relative adjective is of irregular formation; analogy would have required it to be Taiî (36); but the formation of relative adjectives admits some variations; thus from *dahr* (*time*) is derived *duhri* (*temporal*), and from *sahl* (*a plain*), *suhli* (*plain, level*), etc.

(1) The *Kâmûs* says, *Yashjob*.

(2) Hajji Khalifa places the death of Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Amidi in A. H. 371 (A. D. 981-2). His work, entitled *Comparison between the two Taiites*, is a treatise on the parallel passages in the poems of Abû Tammâm and al-Bohtori, who were both of the tribe of Taî.

(3) It is clear from this, that al-Amidi had before him a genealogical list different from that given by Ibn Khallikân.

(4) Literally: I am not of Masûd.

(5) It would appear therefore that the name of Dafâka was in the list given by Ibn Khallikân, yet nothing like it is to be found in the MSS.

(6) The mistake committed by al-Amidi is singular enough; he does not understand a very common Arabic expression, and he takes Masûd, who was a brother of the poet Zû 'r-Rumma, for an ancestor to Abû Tammâm. Ibn Khallikân repeats his observations on this subject in his life of Zû 'r-Rumma.

(7) The original of this, if literally translated, would run thus: "He was the unique of his time in the "silk stuff of his word, and the wares of his poetry, and the goodness of his manner." In Arabic this is in very good style and perfectly intelligible.

(8) Short poems, the verses of which consist of but a few feet, are termed *Rajaz*. Each verse contains generally six مستفعلن or *epitriti tertii*.

(9) Abdessamad fils de Moadhdhel fils de Ghailan avait le prénom d'Aboulcacem; sa mère était une femme esclave nommée Zerca الزرقاء. C'est un poète de mérite qui florissait sous les Abbasides; son père Moadhdhel et son grand-père Ghailan étaient poètes aussi. Moadhdhel et Abbân-ellâheki ابان اللاحقى avaient fait des satyres l'un contre l'autre. Abdessamad était né et avait été élevé à Basra. Son frère Ahmad avait aussi du talent pour la poésie et y joignait un beau caractère, beaucoup de piété et diverses qualités qui lui donnaient un rang distingué parmi les *motazélé* et dans le monde. Abdessamad, qui était méchant, satyrique et très-médisant, portait envie à son frère et faisait contre lui des épigrammes. Il fut amoureux d'une femme

**nommée متيم, esclave d'un seigneur de Basra. Abdessamad se trouva un jour dans une société avec Abou Tammâm; ils s'écrivirent à l'instant l'un à l'autre des vers piquans. Abdessamad, qui composait avec plus de promptitude et avait la riposte plus vive qu'Abou Tammâm, eut sur lui quelque avantage en cette occasion.—(Aghâni, vol. III. f. 194 v°.— 200.) Note communicated by M. Caussin de Perceval.**

(10) *Scholars*; غلمان (*boys*).

(11) In place of مذال, as given in most MSS., it appears more natural to read, with the *Oiyûn al-Tawârikh* (year 231, where these verses are cited.) مدال or else مدالى.

(12) Literally: What water remains for your face. See note (15), page 108.

(13) See page 106; they begin with these words: *What merit, etc.*

(14) See note (8), page 275.

(15) About twelve hundred pounds sterling.

(16) Muhammad Ibn Hamid at-Tûsi, a son of one of al-Mâmûn's principal generals, was sent by that khalif at the head of an army against Bâbek al-Khurrami, who was desolating the province of Aderbijan. In the action which ensued, the Moslim troops were totally defeated, and Ibn Hamid, abandoned by all except one faithful officer, fought till he fell. This occurred in A. H. 214 (A. D. 829-30). He was renowned for his liberality, and his death gave great pain to al-Mâmûn.—(Ibn al-Athir's *Kâmil.*)

(17) See D'Herbelot and Rasmussen's *Additamenta ad Hist. Ar.* p. 19.

(18) Dâwûd Ibn Nusair نصير at-Tai, a doctor eminent for his knowledge of the law العلم, his piety and self-mortification, was one of Abû Hanifa's principal disciples: he was deeply learned in the Traditions. Died A. H. 165 (A. D. 781-2).—(*An-Nujûm az-Zâhira.*)

(19) The poet meant either Amr Ibn Mâdikarib, or Amr Ibn al-Mundir, surnamed Ibn Hind; his prowess was proverbial. (See Pocock's *Specimen Hist. Ar.* p. 73, and Rasmussen's *Additamenta ad Hist. Ar.* p. 50, 53.)

(20) See his life, page 232.

(21) See *Koran*, surat 24, verse 35.

(22) Abû Yûsuf Yakûb Ibn Ishak Ibn as-Sabbâh al-Kindi, *the philosopher of the Arabs*, was descended from the royal family of Kinda.—(See their genealogy and history in my *Diwân d'Amro 'l-Kais.*)—His father Ishak was emir of Kûfa under al-Mahdi and ar-Rashid; his great grandfather al-Ashâth الاشعث, was one of Muhammad's companions; Kais, the father of al-Ashâth and sovereign of all the tribe of Kinda, was celebrated in four *kasîdas* by the poet al-Asha.—(See M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, tom. II.)—Mâdi Karib, father of Kais, reigned in the province of Hadramaut over the Banû 'l-Harith al-Asghar, a branch of the tribe of Kinda. Moawia and his other ancestors ruled the tribe of Maad كانوا ملوكا على معد at al-Mushakkar (a fortress in Bahrain according to Abû 'l-Fadâ in his Geography), al-Yemâma and Bahrain.—I give this extract from the *Târîkh al-Hakamâ*, because it serves to confirm, if necessary, M. de Sacy's opinion that the philosopher al-Kindi was not of Jewish, but of Arabian extraction.—(See *Abd-Allatif*, page 487.)—Casiri, in his *Bibliotheca Arabica*, t. I. p. 353, has given a short notice on al-Kindi and a list of his works, all of which he took from the *Târîkh al-Hukamâ*, but he suppressed the passage cited above.

(23) See in the life of Sulaimân Ibn Wahb.

(24) The postmaster kept horses for the special use of government officers and messengers; he acted also as a spy on the conduct of the provincial governor, and he then corresponded directly with the khalif or the sultan.

(25) *Bâkûba*, a large town at two parasangs from Baghdad.—(Abû 'l-Fadâ's *Geography*.)

(26) It is not easy to explain how as-Sûli, in relating this anecdote, did not perceive that it was only another

version of the one which he had already given as the sole correct. Ibn Khallikân has perhaps mistaken the name of the author whom he cites.

(27) Al-Jaidûr is one of the dependencies of Damascus, to the north of al-Haurân. It is said, however, that al-Jaidûr and al-Haurân are the same place.—(*Marâsid al-Ittilâ.*)

(28) See Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, vol. II. p. 18.

(29) This would prove that his father was not a Moslim.

(30) This was probably the son of the Hamîd at-Tûsi mentioned in note (5), page 271.

(31) The *Ghûta*, or cultivated grounds which surround Damascus, are well known. The poets often call it *Ghûtatain* (*the two Ghûtas*), although there is in reality but one place which bears the name.—(*Marâsid*, under the word نيرب.)

(32) *Alia*; this is perhaps the river called at-Tawamat 'l-Alia التومة العليا, one of the streams which water Damascus.—(See *Oiyûn at-Tawârikh*, No. 638 fol. 93.)

(33) *Nairabain*, a delicious spot in the neighbourhood of Damascus. As *Nairabain* is the dual form of *Nairab*, it might be supposed that there were two places of the name, but such was not the case. It is by the poets that the dual was employed. —(*Marâsid.*)

(34) Literally: When they shed their dew on it, they shed on it the full of the water-bag of the dark cloud, which pours forth after theirs, another.

(35) Al-Haulân is the name of a village or of a hill near Damascus.—(*Marâsid.*)

(36) The difference between the two forms can be best understood from the inspection of the original text.

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## AL-HAJJAJ IBN YUSUF.

Abû Muhammad al-Hajjâj was son of Yûsuf Ibn al-Hakam Ibn Okail Ibn Masûd Ibn Aâmir Ibn Moattib Ibn Mâlik Ibn Kaab Ibn Amr Ibn Saad Ibn Aûf Ibn Kasi (called also Thakif): mention is made of Thakif in the following terms by Ibn al-Kalbi in his *Jamharat an-Nisab*: "Munabbih Ibn an-Nabit had a son called "Kasi, who is said to be the same person as Thakif. Such is the genealogy "given by those who state that Thakif was sprung from Iyâd (1); but some say "that he descended from Kais, and that Kasi was son of Munabbih Ibn Bakr "Ibn Hawâzin (2); and they state that Omaima, Kasi's mother, and daughter of "Saad Ibn Hudail, lived (*as wife*) with Munabbih Ibn Nabit, and being after-"wards married to Munabbih Ibn Bakr, she went to him, being then pregnant "with Kais by (*her former husband Ibn an-Nabit*) the Iyadite."—(*Al-Hajjâj*) ath-Thakefi (*the descendant of Thakif*) was governor of Irak and Khorasan for Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân, and on his death he was confirmed in his autho-182 rity by the new khalif al-Walid.—Al-Masûdi, in his *Murûj ad-Dahab*, narrates

as follows:—"Al-Fârigha, the mother of al-Hajjâj and daughter to Hammâm "Ibn Orwa Ibn Masûd of the tribe of Thakif, was wife to al-Harith Ibn Kalda, a "member of the same tribe and native of the town of Tâif: this Harith was judge "of the Arabs (3). Having gone into her apartment early one morning, he "found her picking her teeth, on which he sent her a sentence of divorce. And "she said to him: 'Why have you sent me my divorce? has my conduct given "you any cause for suspicion.'—'Yes,' said he, 'when I went in to you in "the morning, you were picking your teeth: if you had breakfasted before the "regular time, you are a glutton; and if you have passed the night with parti-"cles of meat sticking between your teeth, you are sluttish.' To this she re-"plied: 'It was neither one nor the other; but I was taking out a fragment of "the toothpick.' She then married Yûsuf Ibn Abi Okail ath-Thakefi, to whom "she bore al-Hajjâj, who came into the world incompletely formed, as he had an "imperforate *anus*. This defect was removed by an operation; and the child "refused the breast of its mother and every other person, so that they were at a "loss what to do, till, as it is said, Satan appeared to them in the form of al-"Harith Ibn Kalda and asked them what was the matter; they told him the cir-"cumstance, and he said: 'Kill a black kid and give its blood to the child to "drink; the next day do the same thing; the third day slay a black he-goat and "give the blood to be drunk by the child, then kill a snake and make the child "swallow the blood, and daub his face with some of it; if you do thus, the "child will take the breast on the fourth day.' They followed these directions, "and the effect of this first nourishment which he received was such, that he "could not refrain from shedding blood. He even said of himself, that his "greatest enjoyment was to shed blood and commit actions which no other "could (4)." Ibn Abd Rabbih says, in his *Ikd*, that al-Fârigha was wife to al-Moghaira Ibn Shôba, and that it was he who divorced her on account of the circumstance of the toothpick. He adds that al-Hajjâj and his father kept school at Tâif, and that the former attached himself to Rûh Ibn Zinbâ al-Judâmi (5), vizir of Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân, and entered into the *Shorta* (*police guards*) (6), of which Ruh was commander. Abd al-Malik, having remarked the indiscipline of his army, and that the soldiers never set out nor halted at the same time with himself, complained of it to Rûh Ibn Zinbâ, who told him that there was a man in the police guards, named al-Hajjâj

Ibn Yûsuf, who, if the Commander of the faithful gave him the command of the troops, would oblige them to march and to halt in conformity to his (*the khalif's*) movements. Abd al-Malik adopted this counsel and nominated al-Hajjâj commander of the army. The guards under Ibn Zinbâ's orders were the only troops dispensed with the obligation of marching and halting at the same time as the khalif, and one day, after the departure of the rest of the army, al-Hajjâj came upon them and found them at dinner: he asked them what had prevented them from setting out with the Commander of the faithful, and received this answer: "Dismount, you son of a slut (7)! and dine "with us." To this he gave a refusal, telling them that those times were gone by; and he ordered them to be flogged and paraded before the army; by his directions also, the tents belonging to Rûh Ibn Zinbâ were set on fire. Rûh complained bitterly of this to the khalif, who sent immediately for al-Hajjâj and said to him: "What induced you to do as you have done?"—"I have done nothing," replied al-Hajjâj.—"Who did it then?" said the khalif.—"You;" answered al-Hajjâj; "my hand is your hand; my whip is your whip; and what prevents the "Commander of the faithful from presenting Rûh with a double quantity of tents "and men (8), rather than break my commission after having given it your-"self?" The khalif, on this, indemnified Rûh for his loss and treated al-Hajjâj with increased favour. This was the first known proof which al-Hajjâj gave of his abilities. It was unheard of, what slaughter he committed, how much blood he shed, and what tortures he inflicted. It is said that Ziâd Ibn Abîh (9) wished to resemble the khalif Omar in firm authority, resolution, decision, and severity of administration, but that he carried this to an excess and passed bounds;
183 and al-Hajjâj, say they, took Ziâd for his model, and killed and destroyed. One day, he said in the course of a *khotba* (10) which he was pronouncing: "O men! God's prohibitions are easier to be borne with than his punish-"ments!" On which a man rose up and said: "Woe be to thee, O Hajjâj! "what an impudent face thou hast, and how little modesty!" Al-Hajjâj ordered him to sit down, and when he descended from the pulpit he called him forth: "Thou hast been presumptuous towards me!" said he.—"How?" replied the man, "thou art presumptuous towards God and dost not disapprove "of thine own conduct, and if we are presumptuous towards thee, thou disap-"provest of it!" Al-Hajjâj, on receiving this answer, let the man go.—Ibn

al-Jawsi says, in his *Talkîh*, that al-Fârigha, mother of al-Hajjâj, was the person who was surnamed *al-Mutamannia* (*the wish-maker*); when she made the wish, she was wife to al-Mughaira Ibn Shôba, and we shall here present an abridgment of the anecdote as related by this writer. Omar Ibn al-Khattâb happening to make his rounds one night in the city of Medina, heard a woman sing, from behind the curtain of her apartment, the following verse:

> Where shall I find wine that I may drink it? or else where shall I find Nasr Ibn Hajjâj?

On this, Omar said: "I shall not allow in the same city with myself, a man "whose beauty is celebrated by young females in the privacy of their apart-"ments; bring me Nasr Ibn Hajjâj!" When he was brought he was found to be the most beautiful of men in countenance and the handsomest in hair; and Omar said to him: "The Commander of the faithful's determination is, that "you shorten your hair." When this was done, his cheeks appeared (*fair*) as half-moons. "Now, put on a turban," said Omar. The turban was put on, and the youth still charmed the spectators with his eyes. Then Omar said: "Dwell not in any town where I may be."—"What is my crime, O Com-"mander of the faithful?" said Nasr. "It must be done as I told you," replied Omar; and he then sent him off to Basra. Such are the main points of the narration, and I suppress the sequel. This Nasr was son of Hajjâj Ibn Elât al-Sulami, one of Muhammad's companions. Some say, however, that *the Mutamannia* belonged to the tribe of Kinâna, and that she was al-Hajjâj's paternal grandmother.—It is related by Abû Ahmad al-Askari, in his *Kitâb at-Tashîf*, that the people passed upwards of forty years reading the Koran from Othman's copy (11), but, in the days of Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân, the erroneous readings had become numerous and had spread through Irâk; this obliged al-Hajjâj Ibn Yûsuf to have recourse to his *kâtibs* (12) for the purpose of putting distinctive marks on the words of uncertain pronunciation (13); and it is said that Nasr Ibn Aâsim undertook that duty and imagined single and double points (*nukat*), which he placed in different manners (14). The people then passed some time without making any copies of the Koran but with points, the usage of which did not, however, prevent some false readings from taking place, and for this reason they invented the *ijâm* (*points serving to distinguish the letters of a similar*

*form one from another*), and they (*the people*) thus placed the *ijâm* posteriorly to the *nukat*; but yet when, by neglect, a word (*of the Koran*) was not written with its full accompaniment (*of distinctive marks*), and was thus deprived of its requisites, erroneous readings occurred; for this they endeavoured in vain to find a remedy, and they were obliged to recur to oral tradition and learn (*the true readings*) from the mouths of men (15). On the whole, the anecdotes concerning al-Hajjâj are numerous and would take long to relate (16). It was he who founded the city of Wâsit; he commenced it A. H. 84 (A. D. 703) and finished it in 86. He named it *Wâsit* (*intermediate,*) because it lay between Basra and Kûfa, and might thus be said to lie between (*tawassat*) these two capitals. Ibn al-Jawzi states, however, in his historical annals, entitled *Shuzûr al-Okûd*, that al-Hajjâj began to build Wâsit in the year 75, and terminated it in 78.— When al-Hajjâj felt his death approach, he called in an astrologer and asked him if he knew of any prince who was to die (*at that time*), and the astrologer replied: "Yes, I do; but you are not the person."—"How know you that?" said al-Hajjâj.—"Because the name of him who is to die is Kulaib."—"It is I, by "Allah!" exclaimed al-Hajjâj; "for such was the name by which my mother "called me." He then made his will.—One thing puts in mind of another (17). This is like the words of the missionary (18) Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali as-Sulaihi (of whom mention will be made hereafter). A simple missionary in Yemen (19), he became sovereign of all that country, and held its princes in subjection till the period which God had assigned to his life had expired, when he 184 left Sanâa to make the pilgrimage to Mekka in A. H. 473 (A. D. 1081). On arriving at al-Mahjam (20), he encamped without the town, at a farm called Omm ad-Duhaim (21), or Bîr Omm Mâbad (*the well of Mâbad's mother*), and was there attacked unawares by Saîd al-Ahwal, son of Najâh. This Najâh was lord of the province of Tahâma, and had been deprived of his life and kingdom by as-Sulaihi, but Saîd and his other sons had escaped. Saîd arrived with a few partisans and entered the camp of as-Sulaihi, where they were mistaken for followers of the army; none discovered their real character but Abd Allah the brother of as-Sulaihi, who immediately got on horseback and said to his brother: "To horse! for, by Allah! here is al-Ahwal with his men, of whose "coming we were warned yesterday by the letter which Asaad Ibn Shihâb wrote "us from Zabîd."—"Calm your mind," replied as-Sulaihi; "it is only at

"ad-Duhaim and the well of Omm Mâbad that I am to die;" thinking that it was of that Omm Mâbad the Khuzâîite, at whose dwelling the blessed Prophet and Abû Bakr stopped on their retreat from Mekka (22): this place lies near Mekka, on the road from it to Medîna, and is in the neighbourhood of al-Juhfa (23)). On this, some of as-Sulaihi's companions called to him, saying: "Defend your life! for, by Allah! this is the well of ad-Duhaim Ibn Isa, and "this mosque is built on the spot where the tent of Omm Mâbad Ibn al-Harith "al-Absi was situated." On hearing these words, he was seized with terror, and, despairing of his life, he remained fixed to the spot, where he was immediately slain with his brother and his family. Saîd al-Ahwal then brought the army of as-Sulaihi under his own command and took possession of his kingdom. Saîd was brother of the illustrious and eminent prince Jaiyâsh; his father, the prince Najâh, had been a slave to the prince Marjân, who himself had been a slave to Husain Ibn Salâma; Husain had been enfranchised by Rushd al-Ustâd (24) the Abyssinian. These two, Husain, and Rushd before him, ruled the kingdom with absolute authority, although they were only ostensibly vizirs in the service of the last prince of the Ziâdite family, the sovereigns of Yemen. Their pupil was son to Abû 'l-Jaish Ishak Ibn Ibrahîm Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ziâd, and his name was Abd Allah; some say Ibrahîm or Ziâd. It was in his reign that the Ziâdite dynasty was overthrown by Kais, who had been a slave to the Marjàn above-mentioned. On the death of Abû 'l-Jaish, his child was confided to the care of its aunt and of Marjàn, the enfranchised slave of Abû 'l-Jaish: Marjân had two slaves, Abû Saîd Najàh and Kais, both of whom became independent of their master; Kais was governor of the capital (25), and Najàh ruled the provinces of al-Kadrâ, the town of al-Mahjam, and other places. A jealousy sprung up between these two, for they both aspired to the vizirat; Kais was a perverse and wicked man, Najâh was mild and just. The former, having suspected the aunt of the boy to be more favourably inclined to Najàh than to him, made complaints against her and her nephew to his master Marjân, who, in consequence, seized on them both and delivered them up to their enemy Kaîs, and he, heedless of their supplications, immured them alive and in an upright position. They thus perished in A. H. 407 (A. D. 1016-7). Najâh, on learning the circumstance, hastened to avenge their death. He waged war against Kais, who was defeated, lost his capital Zabîd, and subsequently his

life in a combat at the gate of that city; this was in A. H. 412 (A. D. 1021-2). Najâh, having thus obtained possession of the metropolis, said to Marjân: "What have you done with your and my master and mistress?"—"They are "in that wall," he replied. Najâh then had their bodies taken out, and prayed over them, and buried them in a chapel which he erected to receive them: as for Marjân, he immured him in their place till he died. Najâh was poisoned at al-Kadrâ in A. H. 452 (A. D. 1060), by the treachery of a female slave whom he had received as a present from as-Sulaihi. After the death of Najâh, as-Sulaihi wrote, in the year 453, to al-Mustansir, the lord of Egypt, demanding 185 authorisation to preach openly in favour of the Fatimite dynasty, and having received that permission, he proceeded (*to assert al-Mustansir's authority*). His subsequent adventures we may omit (26). Let us return to al-Hajjâj: during his last illness he used to repeat the following verses, which were composed by Obaid Ibn Sofyian al-Okli:

> O Lord! my enemies have sworn, nay sworn positively, that I am one of those who shall dwell in the fire (*of hell*). Is it (*not*) from blindness (*of heart*) that they swear? Unfortunate wretches! what opinion must they have of Him who has always shown mercy and forgiveness?

He wrote also a letter to al-Walîd Ibn Abd al-Malik, informing him of his illness, and concluded it with these lines:

> When I meet God and find favour with Him, therein shall be the joy of my soul. The eternity of God sufficeth me, and I therefore place not my hopes on mortals. Those who were before us have tasted of death, and after them we also shall taste it.

His malady was a cancer in the stomach, for which he called in a physician, who, having examined into his case, tied a bit of meat to a string and passed it down his throat; after a lapse of some time he drew it out, and found a swarm of worms adhering to it: God gave also a cold ague power over him, and although vases filled with lighted coals were placed around him so close as to scorch his skin, he felt them not. He complained of his sufferings to al-Hasan al-Basri, who made answer: "I forbade you to attack men of holiness, but you persisted!" "O Hasan," replied al-Hajjâj, "I ask you not to pray to God that he may deli- "ver me from my pains; beg of him only that he hasten to take my soul from "my body and terminate my tortures." Al-Hasan on this wept bitterly, and al-Hajjâj continued to suffer under his malady for fifteen days; he then expired,

in the month of Ramadân, A. H. 95 (May or June, A. D. 714), (some say in Shawwâl,) at the age of fifty-three, or (which is more correct) fifty-four years. At-Tabari says, in his great historical work, that al-Hajjâj died on Friday, 21st Ramadân, A. H. 95; and another historian relates that al-Hasan al-Basri, on learning his death, made a prostration in thanksgiving to God, saying: "O my "God! thou hast caused him to die; let also his example die from among us." Al-Hajjâj was buried at Wâsit, in which city he died; but his tomb was afterwards levelled to the ground and a current of water turned over it. May God pardon him!—He once dreamt that his eyes had been plucked out, and he therefore divorced his wives, Hind the daughter of al-Muhallab Ibn Abi Sufra, and Hind the daughter of Asmâ Ibn Khârija; he hoped by that to fulfil his dream; in a short time, however, he received news that his brother Muhammad had died in Yemen, and that, on the same day, his own son Muhammad had died also, on which he said: "This, by Allah! is the fulfilment of my dream; Mu-"hammad and Muhammad! in the same day! We belong to God and to him "we must return!" He then asked if there was any person who would recite him verses to console him, and al-Farazdak pronounced the following:

> This misfortune has no misfortune equal to it! to lose such persons as Muhammad and Muhammad! princes who have left the pulpits (27) vacant (*and desolate*)! Death has seized upon them unawares.

His brother Muhammad died some days after the beginning of the month of Rajab, A. H. 91 (May, A. D. 710); he was then governor of the province of Yemen. Al-Walid Ibn Abd al-Malik sent a letter to al-Hajjâj, consoling him on the loss of his brother, and al-Hajjâj wrote to him in reply: "Commander of the "faithful! I and Muhammad never met together during a long period but for 183 "one year; and in that absence I never had such hopes of seeing him soon, as I "now have of meeting him again in a mansion where two sincere Moslims shall "never be disunited."—*Thakefi* means *belonging to Thakîf*, a great and well-known tribe dwelling at Tâif (28).

(1) From this we must suppose that the descent of Munabbih from Iyâd was well established and generally known.

(2) See the seventh genealogical list, drawn up by Eichhorn after Ibn Kutaiba, in the *Monumenta antiquissima Historiæ Arabum*.

(3) Harith Ibn Kalda was one of Muhammad's companions.—(*Kâmûs*.)

(4) Some of the MSS. have يقدم in place of يقدر; if this reading be adopted, the sense is: *which no other dare to do.*

(5) Abû Zarâ (زرعة) Ruh Ibn Zinbâ al-Judâmi, the Syrian, was one of the *Tâbis* (*see note* (2), *page* 4), and highly respected by the people. Moawia was so apprehensive of his influence, that he resolved to put him to death, and had him arrested, but he afterwards set him at liberty. Rûh was the grandee (عظيم) of the empire of Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân. He was husband to (*the celebrated poetess*) Hind, daughter of an-Nomân, and he died A. H. 73 (A. D. 692-3).—(*An-Nujûm az-Zâhira.*)—Al-Makin (*page* 67) calls him Abd al-Malik's *kâtib*, or secretary of state.

(6) It may be observed that Ibn Khaldûn, as cited by M. de Hammer in his *Lænderverwaltung unter dem Khalifate* (page 154), says that the post of commander of the police guards was first established under the Abbasides: this seems in contradiction with Ibn Khallikân's statement.

(7) This form of compellation was very frequently used by the Arabs; it indicated either anger or familiarity.

(8) *Men*; the Arabic word *ghilmân* signifies *boys*, *pages*, *mamlûks*, etc.

(9) Ziâd Ibn Abîh; *Ziâd son of his father*, that is, *the bastard.* He was son of Abû Sofyian. His history may be collected from D'Herbelot and Abû 'l-Fadâ; *Annals*, years 44 and 53.

(10) See page 174, note (2).

(11) See Abû 'l-Fadâ's *Annals*, year 30.

(12) See page 26, note (7).

(13) The word حرف, in the plural حروف is employed by the *Koranists* to designate a group of letters (or word) which may be read in different manners. See, for instance, the marginal notes of the Koran printed at Casan.

(14) It is necessary for me to observe that the vowel-signs and diacritical points now in use, were invented, as is generally stated, by Khalil Ibn Ahmad, who died in the second century of the Hijra; and that they are totally different from those imagined by Zalim ad-Duali (see his life), and by the secretaries of al-Hajjâj. The points introduced by the latter were similar to those of the specimens given by M. de Sacy in his Arabic grammar, plate III. tom. I, and Dr. Pusey in the *Catal. Bib. Bod.*, tom. II. tab. I.

(15) M. de Sacy has given a translation of this passage in his *Mémoire sur la littérature des Arabes*; it may be observed that I differ totally with him respecting the meaning of the words *hurûf*, *nukat*, and *ijâm*.

(16) Consult D'Herbelot, Abû 'l-Fadâ, al-Makin, and Price's *Retrospect of Muhammadan History*, vol. I.

(17) Ibn Khallikân gives a second time the anecdote which follows; it will be found, with some slight difference, in the life of Ali as-Sulaihi; and this induces me to think that the author intended to suppress it here, where it is totally misplaced.

(18) Missionary; see page 26, note (9).

(19) Consult, on the events which follow, Abû 'l-Fadâ's *Annals*, years 203 and 412; Johannsen's *Historia Yemanæ*, pp. 121, 128 *et seq.* In the three relations, a number of differences will be observed, which it is needless to notice here.

(20) The town of al-Mahjam lay at the distance of three days' journey to the north-east of Zabid, and six days' journey from Sanâa.—(Abû 'l-Fadâ's Geography.)

(21) This name is sometimes written simply *ad-Duhaim*.

(22) Muhammad and Abû Bakr, on their *hijra* (*departure*, *emigration*) from Mekka to Medina, stopped at the tent of Omm Mabad Aatika عاتكة, and asked for food, but she had none to give them. On this, Mu-

hammad went to a sheep which was in the tent, and drew from it a great quantity of milk; this was the more extraordinary as that sheep was very old and had ceased to give any for some time before.—(*An-Nuwairi*, MS. of the Leyden library.)

(23) Al-Juhfa, a place situated to the north of Mecca, near the sea-coast, is the spot where the Syrian pilgrims put on the *ihrâm*, or pilgrim's dress.—(Abû 'l-Fadâ's Geography; *Mishkât al-Masâbîh*, vol. I. page 601.

(24) *Al-Ustâd* (*the master*); a title given to eunuchs and tutors of young princes.

(25) *The capital*, or *royal court* الحضرة; literally: The presence.

(26) Literally: *Et fuit ex eo quod fuit*, he became what he became.

(27) They were governors of provinces, and had therefore the right of saying the *khotba* from the pulpit.

(28) *Tâif*; a well-known town lying to the south-east of Mekka.

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## AL-MUHASIBI.

Abû Abd Allah al-Hârith Ibn Asad al-Muhâsabi, the famous ascetic and one of the *men of the truth* (1), drew his origin from a family which inhabited Basra. He was one of those who possessed both the *science of the exterior* and the *science of the interior* (2); he composed some ascetic and dogmatic treatises, and is author of the work (*on Sûfism*) entitled *ar-Riâya* (*contemplation*). Having inherited seventy thousand dirhems from his father, he refused, through religious scruples, to accept them; it is reported that his reason for this was, that his father professed the doctrine of man's free will, and that he made this observation: "The Tradition is authentic which informs us that Muhammad de- "clared: *Persons of different religions cannot inherit, one from the other;*" and he died in want, not possessing a single dirhem. It is related that when he stretched forth his hand to partake of food the purity of which was doubtful, he would be warned from touching it by a pulsation in his finger. Being asked what was intelligence, he answered: "The light of the natural sentiment (*ac- "companied*) with experience, and which is increased and fortified by science "and prudence." He used to say: "There are three things which we find "not; beauty with continence, fair words with honesty, and friendship with "sincerity." He died A. H. 243 (A. D. 857-8).—As-Samâni says that he was named *Muhâsibi*, because he frequently called himself to an account for his actions (*yuhâsib*). He says also that Ahmad Ibn Hanbal disliked him, and

banished him, on account of his speculations in scholastic theology and his works on that subject, he was therefore obliged to seek concealment from public (*indignation*), and on his death, four persons only attended his funeral service. The anecdotes related of what took place between him and al-Junaid are well known (3).

(1) *The men of the truth*, the Sûfis; see note (3), page 340.

(2) Reiske, in his *Annals* of Abû 'l-Fadâ, tom. II. p. 698, has translated the same passage; he renders it thus: "Qui simul conjuxxit et externi (civilis) et interni (spiritualis) scientiam." The *science of the interior* means *Sûfism*, and that of *the exterior*, the ordinary branches of learning.

(3) I have not been able to find any of these anecdotes in the manuscripts which I have consulted. They may probably be given in the *Hilyat al-Awlia*, but the copy of that work in the *Bib. du Roi* is incomplete.

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## ABU FARAS AL-HAMDANI.

Abû Farâs al-Hârith Ibn Abi 'l-Alâ Said Ibn Hamdân Ibn Hamdûn al-Hamdâni was an uncle's son to Nâsir ad-Dawlat and Saif ad-Dawlat, the sons of Hamdân: in the lives of these two princes, we shall give the rest of the genealogy. At-Thaâlibi, in speaking of Abû Farâs, says (1): "The pearl of his time, the "sun of his age in learning, talent, generosity, glory, eloquence, horsemanship, "and bravery; his poetry is celebrated and current (*throughout the world*); "it combines beauty, merit, ease, depth, softness, sublimity, and sweetness; "with him were the brightness of genius, the impress of elegant taste, and the "lustre of a princely race; qualities such as were never found before in any "poet except Abd Allah Ibn al-Motazz, but Abû Farâs is considered supe- "rior to him by persons of the profession and by critics. The *Sâhib* Ibn "Abbâd used to say: 'Poetry began with a prince and ended with one;' "meaning Amro 'l-Kais and Abû Farâs. Al-Mutanabbi bore testimony to "his superiority and pre-eminence; he avoided his contact (2), neither did he "proceed to cope with him nor dare to rival him; and his motive for omit- "ting his praises when he celebrated those of all the rest of the Hamdân family "was, to testify his respect for him and to honour him; his silence did not pro-

" ceed from forgetfulness or contempt. Saif ad-Dawlat highly admired the ex-
" cellent qualities of Abû Farâs, and distinguished him above the rest of the
" family by the honours he conferred on him, as he took him with him on
" military expeditions, or left him as his lieutenant over his provinces." – " In
" one of his engagements with the Greeks, Abû Farâs was wounded by an
" arrow, the head of which remained in his thigh, and he was made prisoner.
" They conducted him to Kharshana, and from that to Constantinople; this 187
" occurred in A. H. 348 (A. D. 959–60), and in the year 355 he was redeemed
" from captivity by Saif ad-Dawlat."— Such are the words of Abû 'l-Hasan Ali
Ibn az-Zarrâd ad-Dailami; but in this, it is said, he is mistaken, for Abû
Farâs was made a prisoner twice; the first time at Maghârat al-Kohl in the year
348, but he was then not taken farther than Kharshana, which is a fortress in
the country of the Greeks (*Asia Minor*) and situated on the Euphrates (3): it is
said that, when in that fortress, he mounted his horse and spurred him from the
top of the wall into the river; but God knows best: the second time that he was
made a prisoner by the Greeks was at Manbej in the month of Shawwâl, 351
(November, A. D. 962); they then took him to Constantinople, where he remained in captivity for four years. During his confinement, he composed a great
deal of poetry, which is still extant in the collection of his poems; he held the
town of Manbej in fief (*from his cousin Saif ad-Dawlat*). The following verses
are of his composition:

It was from your supply that I drew my force; you were to me a helping hand and an arm in the days of distress! But I since received from you the reverse of my hopes, and a man may be surfeited with fair promises (4).

By the same:

She was cruel (5); yet cruelty only increased my affection for that beloved object, who, despite her conduct, shall always be beloved. Her calumniators summed up to me her faults, but can a fair face ever be in fault?

By the same:

I am inebriated with her looks, not with wine; the grace of her motions has removed sleep from my eyes. I am not overcome by the pure liquor of the grape, but by the charms of her neck; it is her perfections which subdued me, not wine. When she turns her cheeks away, she makes my resolution yield, and that which her robes cover has ravished away my heart (6).

His poetry abounds with beauties. He was slain in a combat with some slaves belonging to his own family, in the year 357 (A. D. 967-8). I read in his *diwân,* the following piece which he addressed to his daughter when he was on the point of death :

> Grieve not, my dear girl! all mankind must depart (*this life*); lament me with sighs (*only*), and remain behind thy veil and the curtain of the (*harem*). Say to me, when I am too weak to answer: "The ornament of the youth, Abû Farâs, has not enjoyed "youth to the last!"

From this it would appear that he was not slain, or else that he lingered for some time of his wounds before he expired. It is related by Ibn Khâlawaih that Abû Farâs, on the death of Saif ad-Dawlat, resolved to take forcible possession of Emessa; but Saif ad-Dawlat's son, Abû 'l-Maâli, and his slave Karghawaih received information of his project and sent troops to oppose him; (*in the action which ensued*) he was taken prisoner, after receiving a number of sabre wounds, and he died on the way (*when they were bearing him off.*) I have read in a collection of loose notes (7) that Abû Farâs was slain on Wednesday, 8th of the latter Rabî, A. H. 357 (March, A. D. 968), at a farm called Sadad; and Thâbit Ibn 188 Sinân as-Sâbi says in his history: "On Sunday 2nd of the first Jumâda, 357, a "combat took place between Abû Farâs, who was then established at Emessa, "and Abû 'l-Maâli, son of Saif ad-Dawlat. The latter was victorious, and slew "Abû Farâs in the action; he carried away his head and left his body exposed "in the plain, till a Desert Arab came, and shrouded it and buried it." Abû Farâs was maternal uncle to Abû Maâli; when Sakhîna, the mother of Abû Farâs, was informed of his death, she tore out her eyes; by another account, it is stated that she struck her face with her hands, and then tore out her eyes. It is said that he was slain by Karghawaih without Abû Maâli's knowledge, and that the latter was greatly shocked on learning his death. By one statement, the birth of Abû Farâs is placed in A. H. 320 (A. D. 932), and by another, in 321 (8). His father Saîd was murdered at Mosul in the month of Rajab, A. H. 323, by his nephew Nâsir ad-Dawlat, who caused his testicles to be pressed till death ensued. The history of this business would be long to relate, but the main point of it is this: The government of Mosul and Diâr Bakr had been farmed out secretly to Saîd by the khalif ar-Râdi Billah; Saîd proceeded thither with fifty mamlûks (*Ghulâm*), but on arriving he was arrested and put to death by

Nâsir ad-Dawlat; and the khalif was highly displeased on learning the circumstance.—*Kharshana* is a city on the Syrian coast, belonging to the Greeks (9).—*Kostantíniya* (*Constantinople*) is one of the greatest cities belonging to the Greeks; it was built by *Kostantín* (*Constantine*), the first king of that nation who became a Christian.

(1) See the *Yatîma*, No. 1370, *fol.* 8.

(2) Literally: *His side.* This seems to be analogous to the French expression: *Il ne se frotta pas à lui.*

(3) Kharshana, the *Charsianum Castrum* of Cedrenus. A great portion of Cappadocia bore this name.—(See St. Martin's note in Lebeau's *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, t. XIII. p. 107.)

(4) Literally: A man may be choked with cool, or refreshing water. These verses were addressed to Saif ad-Dawlat; apparently from Constantinople, where the author was in prison.

(5) In this little piece and the one which follows, I have substituted the feminine pronoun for the masculine. See my observations on this subject in the Introduction.

(6) In the original language this piece is full of *jeux de mots;* which, in Arabic poetry and prose, are considered by rhetoricians as a great beauty.

(7) In Arabic, *tâlika.* This word signifies notes taken during the lectures of a professor.

(8) Some of the circumstances of Abû Farâs's life may be found more fully related in Freytag's *Selecta ex historiâ Halebi.* Some of his poems are given in the Yatîma; the most remarkable are his طردية or *hunting pieces*, and his روميّة or pieces composed in the land of the *Rûm*, or Greeks. The latter are full of complaints (like the *Tristia* of Ovid), and the author implores Saif ad-Dawlat, in the most pathetic terms, to pay his ransom and free him from captivity. The latter was not very prompt in acceding to the entreaties of Abû Farâs, and for this the poet is continually upbraiding him.

(9) This is not only in contradiction with what has been said above, but is also a gross mistake.

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## HARMALA.

Abû Abd Allah (1) Harmala Ibn Yahya Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Harmala Ibn Imrân Ibn Kurâd at-Tujîbi az-Zumaili, was a native of Misr. His ancestor Kurâd was a slave to Salama Ibn Makhrama, who enfranchised him. Harmala was one of as-Shâfi's disciples, and the other disciples of that imâm used to frequent him and profit by his knowledge. He was well informed in the Traditions and composed (*on that subject*) the works entitled the *Mabsût* (*extensive*) and the *Mukhtasir* (*abridgment*). Muslim Ibn al-Hajjâj cites his name very often in the *Sahîh* (2), and gives some Traditions on his authority. Born A. H. 166

(A. D. 782-3): died at Misr on the eve of Thursday, 20th Shawwâl, 243 (February, A. D. 858), or, it is said, 244.—*Tujîbi* is derived from *Tujîb,* which is the name of a woman: her children were surnamed Tujibi after her: *Zumaili* means *belonging to Zumail*, a branch of the tribe of Tujîb.—His great-grandfather Harmala Ibn Imrân was born A. H. 80 (A. D. 699), and died in the month of Safar, A. H. 160 (A. D. 776).

(1) Al-Yâfi surnames him Abû Hafs.
(2) This is a celebrated collection of Traditions.

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## AL-HASAN AL-BASRI.

Abû Said al-Hasan Ibn Abi 'l-Hasan Yasâr al-Basri (*belonging to Basra*) was one of the most eminent *Tâbis* (1); he possessed all the branches of science and was noted for self-mortification, fear of God, and devotion. His father was a slave who had been enfranchised by Zaid Ibn Thâbit al-Ansâri (2), and his mother Hîra was also a slave belonging to Omm Salama, one of the Prophet's wives. (*When he was a child*) it happened occasionally that his mother was kept away by some occupation, and Omm Salama would give him the breast to prevent him 189 crying and to quiet him till her return; to the blessed influence of that milk are attributed the wisdom and eloquence for which he was afterwards distinguished. Abû Amr Ibn al-Alâ having said that he never heard persons speak with more purity and elegance than al-Hasan al-Basri and al Hajjâj Ibn Yûsuf, he was asked by some person which of the two was the better speaker, and replied that it was al-Hasan. Al-Hasan was brought up at Wadi 'l-Kura (3), and he was the handsomest person in Basra till the accident which happened to his nose by a fall from a horse (4). Al-Asmâi relates that he heard his father say: "I never saw "a man with broader wrists than al-Hasan, their breadth was a span." One of al-Hasan al-Basri's words was: "I never saw a certainty of which there is no "doubt, bear a greater resemblance to a doubtful thing of which there is no certainty, than death does." When Omar Ibn Hubaira (5) al-Fazâri was appointed to the government of Irak in the reign of Yazid Ibn Abd al-Malik, A. H.

103 (A. D. 721-2), he called for al-Hasan al-Basri, Muhammad Ibn Sirin and as-Shâbi, to whom he said: "Yazîd is the khalif (*lieutenant*) of God, who has "chosen him as his lieutenant over his servants and has imposed on them the "obligation of obedience unto him; he has also received my promise that I will "hear and obey him; and he has now appointed me to what you see, and I "receive from him written orders: must I obey him in whatever order he takes "upon himself to give?" To this Ibn Sirin and as-Shâbi gave a cautious reply, but al-Hasan al-Basri, being asked his opinion, made this answer: "O Ibn Hubaira! God outweighs Yazid and Yazîd cannot outweigh God; "God can defend thee from Yazîd and Yazîd cannot defend thee from "God! He will soon send an angel to take thee from thy throne and send "thee from the width of thy palace into the narrowness of the tomb! "then thy deeds alone can save thee. (*Reflect,*) O Ibn Hubaira! if thou "ever actest in disobedience to God, that he hath only established this "*sultan* (*civil power*) for the protection of his religion and his worship-"pers. Confound not then the civil power established by God with his "religion; for no obedience is due to a creature which disobeys its cre-"ator." Ibn Hubaira then rewarded them, but bestowed a double recompence on al-Hasan al-Basri; upon which as-Shâbi said to Ibn Sirin: "We "gave him a poor answer, and he gave us a poor reward."—Al-Hasan saw one day a handsome man of fine appearance, and on asking about him, was informed that he was a jester to persons in high rank, and was favoured with their friendship; on which he observed that he was a clever fellow (6), and that he never saw any one but him seek to obtain fortune by means of a thing which resembled her (7)!—His mother was (*by profession*) a story-teller to the women; he went into her house one day and found her eating an onion which she had in her hand: "Throw away that nasty weed, mother!" said he. "O my son!" she replied, "you are old and advanced in years, and you dote sometimes." To which he retorted: "Mother, which of us is the elder?"—Most of his phrases were maxims of wisdom and models of elegance. His father was one of the prisoners taken at Maisân (8) in Irak. The birth of al-Hasan took place at Medina two years before the death of the khalif Omar Ibn al-Khattâb, and it is said that he was born a slave; he died at Basra on the 1st Rajab, 110 (October, A. D. 728). His funeral was most remarkable; Hamid at-Tawil (9) gives the follow-

ing account (*of it*): "Al-Hasan died on a Thursday evening; the next morn-
"ing, Friday, having finished the requisite ceremonies with the corpse, we
"bore it off, after the Friday prayer, and we buried it. All the people followed
"the funeral and were so taken up with it, that no afternoon prayer was said
"that day in the mosque, for none remained in it to pray; this, I believe, was
"till then unexampled in Islamism."—When al-Hasan was on the point of death, he had a fainting fit, and he said, on coming to himself: "You have
"awaked me out of *gardens and fountains and an honourable place* (10)."
Before the death of al-Hasan, a man related to Ibn Sîrîn that he had a dream in which he saw a bird carry away the finest pebble of the mosque. "Your dream
"is true," said Ibn Sîrîn, "it is al-Hasan who is to die;" and a very short time afterwards his death did occur. Ibn Sîrîn was not present at his funeral, on account of something which had passed between them; and he survived him one hundred days only.—As-Samâni says that *Maisân* is a village below Basra.

(1) See note (2), page 4.

(2) Abû Saad Zaid Ibn Thâbit Ibn al-Dahhâk al-Ansâri (*one of Muhammad's* Ansârs *or allies*) belonged to the tribe of Khazraj and was a native of Medina. He died in that city, A. H. 54 (A. D. 673-4). Muhammad said to his followers: "The most learned among you in the laws of heritage is Zaid." As-Shâbi relates that Ibn Abbâs once held the stirrup of Zaid Ibn Thâbit, who said to him: "How! you, who are the uncle of the "Blessed Prophet, hold my stirrup?"—"Yes," replied the other, "it is thus we do with the learned." The khalifs Omar and Othmân considered him without an equal as a judge, a jurisconsult, a calculator in the division of inheritances, and a reader of the Koran. Some of the chief *Tâbis* profited by his lessons. He was was one of those who wrote down the portions of the Koran dictated by Muhammad, and he acted afterwards as secretary to the khalifs Abû Bakr and Omar. When Omar made the pilgrimage, he left Zaid Ibn Thâbit as lieutenant, and Othmân did the same; he was guardian of the public treasury under Othmân. Great numbers of the *Companions* and *Tâbis* taught Traditions on his authority.—(*Tab. al-Fukahâ*, f. 3.)

(3) Wadi 'l-Kura, a celebrated valley often mentioned by poets, lies at a short distance to the north of Medina.

(4) Literally: From his beast; so it may have been either a horse, an ass, a mule, or a camel, which he was riding when he met with the accident. The precise nature of this accident I have not discovered.

(5) See M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, t. II. p. 293.

(6) Literally: His father belongs to God! A common mode of expressing admiration.

(7) He meant a fair face, which deceives expectation.

(8) "*Maisân*; an extensive tract of country covered with villages and date-trees, lying between Basra and "Wasit. Its chief town is Maisân."—(*Marâsid.*)—Maisân was taken by Khâlid Ibn al-Walîd, in the khalifat of Abû Bakr, A. H. 12.—Ad-Dahabi says, in his *Annals* under the year 12: "On the termination of the war "with the apostate Arabs, Abû Bakr sent Khâlid Ibn al-Walîd into the land of Basra, which was then called "the land of al-Hind (or *India*). Khâlid proceeded therefore with his troops from al-Yamâma, and having

"entered the land of Basra, he stormed al-Aika الايكة and then penetrated into Maisân, where he plundered "and carried off prisoners the people of the villages; he then went towards as-Sawâd, etc."—(MS. No. 626, fol. 117 verso.)—At-Tabari calls al-Hasan al-Basri's father, Habîb, and notices the circumstance of his capture. See Kosegarten's *Annals* of at-Tabari, tom. II. p. 21.

(9) See note (1), page 176.

(10) Koran; surat 26, verses 57 and 58.

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## ABU ALI AZ-ZAFARANI.

Abû Ali al-Hasan Ibn Muhammad Ibn as-Sabbâh az-Zâfarâni, was one of as-Shâfi's disciples. He attained an eminent rank as a doctor of the law and the Traditions, on which subjects he composed some works, and he acquired an extensive reputation. Having studied with assiduity under as-Shâfi, he became profoundly learned, and he used to say: "The Traditionists were sleeping till "as-Shâfi awoke them; and not a person wears an ink-horn but is under obli-"gations to as-Shâfi (1)!" His duty was (*at the school*) to read aloud the works of as-Shâfi in his presence (2). He learned Traditions from Sofyân Ibn Oyaina and others of the same epoch, such as Wakî Ibn al-Jarrâh (3), Amr Ibn al-Haitham, Yazid Ibn Harûn (4), *etc.* He was one of the four persons who handed down the *ancient sayings* (5) taught by as-Shâfi; the others were Abû Thaur, Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, and al-Karâbisi. The traditionists of the *modern sayings* were six, namely: al-Muzani, ar-Rabî Ibn Sulaimân al-Jîzi, ar-Rabî al-Murâdi, al-Bûwaiti, Harmala, and Yûnus Ibn Abd al-Ala; the lives of some of these doctors have been already given, and mention shall be made of the others hereafter. Al-Bokhari, in his *Sahîh*, gives some Traditions on the authority of az-Zâfarâni, and he is quoted also by Abû Dâwûd as-Sijestâni, at-Tirmidi, and others. He died on the last day of the month of Shâbân, A. H. 260 (June, A. D. 874), or in the month of Ramadân, according to Ibn Kâni (6); but as-Samâni, in his *Ansâb*, places his death in the month of the latter Rabî, 269.—*Zâfarâni* is derived from *az-Zâfarâniya* (*the saffron-field*), which is the name of a village near Baghdad. The Zâfarâni street, in that city, was so called because this doctor had dwelt in it: Abû Ishak as-Shirâzi says, in his *Tabakât al-Fukahâ*: "And there, in the Zâfarâni street, is the mosque of as-"Shâfi in which I formerly studied."

(1) These last words were said not by az-Zâfarâni, but by Ahmad Ibn Hanbal.

(2) This was very usual; the student who had made the most progress, read the book aloud, and, as he proceeded, the master made his observations and explained difficulties; these remarks were immediately written down by the rest of the class, and formed *tâlikas*.

(3) Abû Sofyân Wakî Ibn al-Jarrâh Ibn Adi Ibn Malih, a descendant from the tribe of Aâmir Ibn Sasâa, a skilful jurisconsult, a Traditionist, and a man of learning, was born in A. H. 129 (A. D. 746-7) at Kûfa, where his father was keeper of the public treasury. Abû Hanîfa was one of the masters under whom he studied; he profited greatly by that imâm's tuition, and followed his doctrines in giving *fatwas*, or opinions on points of law. He made the pilgrimage to Mekka seventy times, and on returning from the last, he died at Faid, a town in Arabia, half-way between Mekka and Kûfa, in A. H. 197 (A. D. 812-3). He was remarkable for his mildness and liberality.—(*Mirât az-Zamân*, MS. No. 640, *fol.* 18 *verso*.)

(4) Abû Khâlid Yazîd Ibn Harûn Ibn Dâwûd Ibn Thâbit al-Wâsiti (*belonging to Wâsit*) was descended from a native of Bukhâra, who had been a slave to the tribe of Sulaim and was afterwards enfranchised. Yazîd was a man of learning, merit, and piety; a *hâfiz*, a jurisconsult, and a Traditionist. It was at Baghdad that he taught the Traditions, of which he knew by heart thirty thousand. The esteem in which he was held may be judged from the fact, that through dread of his opposition, the khalif al-Mamûn hesitated for some time before asserting his favourite opinion, that the Korân was created; this heretical doctrine was strenuously opposed by Yazîd. He was born A. H. 118 (A. D. 736), and died in 206 (A. D. 821-2).—(*Mirât az-Zamân*, fol. 54.)

(5) Since writing the note on the *ancient sayings* taught by as-Shâfi (*see page* 6), I have observed that mention is made, in the *Tabakât al-Fukahâ*, of some works by him, apparently on the same subject. Al-Othmâni, the author of the *Tabakât*, says: "As-Shâfi composed in Irak his *ancient book* كتابه القديم, "which he entitled *al-Hujja* (*the proof*). He then went to Egypt, in A. H. 199, and composed there his *new* "or *modern* books." (MS. No. 755, fol. 24.) Of the latter, Hajji Khalifa does not speak, but from what he says of the Hujja, it was probably a work of jurisprudence; it may be, therefore, that those ancient sayings were decisions or sentences pronounced on points of law by the Companions of Muhammad, and the modern ones were similar decisions given by the succeeding imâms and *muftis*.—See the life of as-Shâfi in this work.

(6) The *hâfiz* Abû 'l-Husain Abd al-Bâkî Ibn Kâni Ibn Marzûk Ibn Wâthik, a client by enfranchisement of the Omaiyide family and a native of Baghdad, was born in the year 265 (A. D. 878-9). He learned the Traditions from the most eminent masters of that age, and composed a *Mojam as-Sahâbat*, or biographical list of Muhammad's companions. His exactitude was not, however, generally admitted, and ad-Dârakutni declares that, as a *hâfiz*, he committed frequent mistakes. In the last years of his life, his mental faculties were deranged. Died in the month of Shawwâl, A. H. 351 (Novem., A. D. 962).—(Ad-Dahabi's *Annals*, MS. No. 646.)—Ibn Khallikân cites occasionally an historical work by Ibn Kâni, drawn up in the form of Annals.

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## AL-ISTAKHRI.

Abû Saîd al-Hasan Ibn Ahmad Ibn Yazîd Ibn Isa Ibn al-Fadl al-Istakhri, a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, was a rival (*in talent*) to Abû 'l-Abbâs Ibn Suraij (1),

and a contemporary (*also*) of Ibn Abi Huraira. He is author of some good works on jurisprudence, among others, the *Kitâb al-Akdia* (*book of legal decisions*) (2). He was kâdi at Kumm (3), and he filled the office of *muhtasib* (4) at Baghdad. His piety and abstinence were great; having been appointed kâdi of Sijestan by (*the khalif*) al-Muktadir, he proceeded thither and examined into the marriages contracted by the people of that province; and on finding that, in most of them, the prohibited degrees of relationship had been neglected, he annulled them all. He was born A. H. 244 (A. D. 858-9), and died on Friday, 12th or 14th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 328 (March, A. D. 940); some say that his death took place in the month of Shâbân.—*Istakhri* means *native of Istakhar*, a town in Persia which has produced a number of men eminent for learning. It is stated also that the relative adjective derived from Istakhar assumes sometimes a final *z* and becomes *Istakharzi*; this is analogous to the formation of *Marwazi* and *Râzi*, derived from Marw and Rai.

(1) "Abû Ishak al-Marwazi said: 'When I entered Baghdad, there were none in that city worth studying "under, except Ibn Suraij and al-Istakhri."—(*Tab. as-Shaf.* fol. 9.)

(2) "Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi says, in his *Tabakât*, that al-Istakhri wrote a large volume on the duties of a "kâdi; a good work."—(*Tab. as-Shaf.*)

(3) *Kumm*, a town in Irak Ajami to the south of Teheran.

(4) The *Muhtasib* was the magistrate charged with the civil police of the city; he inspected the provisions, weights and measures, suppressed nuisances, etc. In M. de Hammer's *Lænderverwaltung*, page 148, will be found an excellent chapter on the subject.

## IBN ABI HURAIRA.

Abû Ali al-Hasan Ibn al-Husain Ibn Abi Huraira, a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, learned jurisprudence from Abû 'l-Abbâs Ibn Suraij and Abû Ishak al-Marwazi. (*In his lessons*) he explained al-Muzani's *Mukhtasir*, and this explanation was taken down in writing (1) by Abû Ali 't-Tabari. He composed some treatises on the secondary points of jurisprudence, and he gave lessons in Baghdad to a great number of students. He became the imâm (*or president*) of the Shâfites in Arabian and Persian Irak, and continued to be highly respected, both by princes and by subjects, till he died in the month of Rajab, A. H. 345 (A. D. 956-7). 191

(1) Or else: Was taken down in the form of a *tâlika*, etc. See page 55, note (2); and page 374, note (2).

## ABU ALI 'T-TABARI.

Abû Ali al-Hasan Ibn al-Kâsim at-Tabari, a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, learned jurisprudence from Ibn Abi Huraira (whose life has been just given), and drew up, from the remarks made by that master during his lessons, the work which is entitled *Talîkat at-Tabari* (1). He inhabited Baghdad, where he became professor on the death of Ibn Abi Huraira, and wrote a number of works, such as the *Muharrar fi 'n-Nazar* (*the written treatise on disquisition*), which was the first work composed on the science of controversy in the abstract; the *Ifsâh* (*exposition*), a treatise on law; a voluminous work on the *iddat* (2) in ten parts; a treatise on dialectics, and one on the main points of the law. He died at Baghdad, A. H. 305 (A. D. 917-8). — *Tabari* means *native of Tabarestân*, an extensive province containing a great number of towns, the largest of which is Amol: this country has produced many learned men. As for *Tabarâni*, it means *native of Tiberias*, a town in Syria: of this we shall speak again in its proper place. — I have found in some works containing lists of jurisconsults and their biographies, that the real name of Abû Ali 't-Tabari was *al-Hasan*, as here given, but I perceive that the Khatib, in his History of Baghdad, places him among the *Husains*.

(1) The meaning of the word *talîka* is explained in note (2), page 55, and note (2), page 374.

(2) The *iddat* denotes a certain period of time which must elapse before a widow or a divorced woman can legally contract a new marriage.—(See Hamilton's *Hedaya*, vol. I. p. 359, and D'Ohsson's *Emp. Othom.* tom. V. p. 238.)

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## ABU ALI 'L-FARIKI.

Abû Ali al-Hasan Ibn Ibrahîm Ibn Ali Ibn Barhûn (1) al-Fâriki (2) was a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi. He commenced his studies at Maiyafârikîn under Abû Abd Allah al-Kazrûni (1), on whose death he proceeded to Baghdad, where he took lessons from Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi, the author of the *Muhaddab*, and Abû Nasr Ibn as-Sabbâgh, the author of the *Shâmil*. He then filled the place

of kâdi in the city of Wâsit, and it is related by the *hâfiz* as-Silafi that when he was at Wâsit, he asked Khamîs Ibn Ali al-Hûzi (4) about a number of persons, and among the rest, Abû Ali 'l-Fâriki, and obtained this answer: "He is "pre-eminent as a jurisconsult and succeeded Abû Taglab as kâdi; his intelli-"gence, justice, and excellent administration surpassed every expectation." He learned Traditions from Abû Bakr the khatib and others of the same period, and led a mortified and devout life. He is author of a work entitled *al-Fawâid, etc. (notes on the Muhaddab)*, and Ibn Abi Asrûn was taught Traditions by him. He gave his lessons out of the *Shâmil*, and continued to do so till his death, which took place at Wâsit on Wednesday, 22nd Muharram, A.H. 528 (November, A.D. 1133). He was interred in the mosque where he taught. Born at Maiyafârikin in the latter Rabî, A. H. 433 (December, A.D. 1041).

(1) Not *Burhân*, as marked by error in the Arabic text.

(2) *Al-Fâriki* means *native of Maiyafârikin*.

(3) The imâm Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Baiyân al-Kazrûni, a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, studied under al-Mahâmili, and had afterwards for pupils Nasr al-Makdisi, Abû Bakr as-Shâshi, Abû Ali 'l-Fâriki, Abû 'l-Mahâsin ar-Ruyiâni and others. He composed a work on jurisprudence, entitled *al-Ibânat* and died A. H. 455 (A. D. 1063).—(*Tab. as-Shâf. Tab. al-Fok.*) In these works, his name is spelled *al-Kazrûni*, and not al-Kazrawâni as in the MSS. of Ibn Khallikân.

(4) Abû 'l-Karam Khamîs Ibn Ali Ibn Ahmad, a celebrated *hâfiz* and Traditionist of Wâsit, was a man of learning, veracity, and deep acquaintance with Arabic philology. Born A. H. 442 (A. D. 1050-1); died A. H. 501 (A. D. 1107-8).—(*Tabakât al-Huffâz.*)

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## IBN AL-MARZUBAN AL-KADI AS-SIRAFI.

Abû Saîd al-Hasan Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Marzubân as-Sîrâfi, surnamed al-Kâdi (*the kâdi*), was a grammarian and an inhabitant of Baghdad, where he acted as deputy to the kâdi Abû Muhammad Ibn Mârûf (1). He possessed a superior acquaintance with the system of grammar adopted by the learned men of Basra (2), and he made a very good commentary on the grammar of Sibûwaih; he composed also the following works: a treatise on the *alif* of union and the *alif* of

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separation (3); a history of the Basra grammarians; a work on the final pause and the commencement of phrases (4); a treatise on the art of poetry and eloquence; and a commentary on Ibn Duraid's *Maksûra*. He learned the reading of the Koran (5) from Abû Bakr Ibn Mujâhid, philology from Ibn Duraid, and grammar from Abû Bakr Ibn as-Sarrâj. He himself had many pupils and gave lessons on a variety of subjects, such as the Koran and its readings, the sciences connected with the Koran (6), grammar, philology, jurisprudence, the rules for the sharing of inherited property, arithmetic, metaphysics, poetry, prosody, and rhyme. He was retired and holy in his life, virtuous in his conduct, and gifted with the noblest qualities of mind. In his religious opinions he was a Motazelite, but did not let it appear, and he supported himself wholly by the labour of his hands, copying books for his livelihood. His father was a Magian and his real name was Behzâd, but the son changed it into Abd Allah. He used often to recite these lines in the presence of his assembled auditors:

> Seek a calm retreat where you may taste of joy; time passes away, and you will remain companionless. You place your hopes on to-morrow, but to-morrow is like an animal in pregnancy; none know what it may bring forth.

He and Abû'l-Faraj al-Ispahâni, the author of the *Aghâni*, were on ill terms through jealousy, as is usually the case with men of talent; and Abû 'l-Faraj composed on him the following verses:

> You hold not the first rank, neither did the masters under whom you studied; and useless is the stinted flow of your learning. May God curse such grammar, poetry, and prosody as comes from Sîrâf.

He died at Baghdad on Monday, 2nd of Rajab, A. H. 368 (February, A. D. 979), at the age of eighty-four years, and was buried in the cemetery of al-Khaizurân. The following statement was made by his son Abû Muhammad Yûsuf: "My father's family inhabited Sîrâf; he was born in that city, and it was there he "commenced his studies. He was under twenty years of age when he went to "Omân, where he applied his mind to jurisprudence. He then returned to "Sîrâf and afterwards proceeded to Askar Mukram, where he stopped with "Abû Muhammad Ibn Omar the (*Motazelite*) metaphysician, who gave him an "honourable reception and showed him a marked preference above his other "disciples. He then went to Baghdad and acted as deputy to the kâdi Abû

" Muhammad Ibn Mârûf, first in that part of the city which lies on the east " bank of the Tigris, and afterwards in both divisions."—*Sîrâfi* is derived from *Sîrâf*, the name of a city on the sea-coast of Persia, near Kerman; this city has produced a number of learned men. In the life of Yûsuf, the son of as-Sirâfi, we shall give some additional information respecting Sirâf.

(1) Abû Muhammad Obaid Allah Ibn Ahmad Ibn Mârûf was *kâdi 'l-kudât* (*grand-kâdi*) of Baghdad. He died in the month of Safar, A. H. 381 (A. D. 991).—(MS. No. 634, fol. 127.)

(2) On the conquest of Syria and Persia by the Moslims, a number of Muhammad's companions settled at Kûfa, Basra, Madâin, and other cities in those countries: imbued with the doctrines of Islamism and accustomed to the practical application of the law under the direction of the Prophet, they were considered as the surest guides in the interpretation of the Koran. That book, composed avowedly in the purest Arabic, offered many difficulties to those who were not acquainted with the idiom of the Desert Arabs, a race who alone spoke the language in its perfection. The study of the ancient poets was therefore considered as necessary for the intelligence of the Koran; and their poems, often obscure from the intricacy of their construction and their obsolete terms, required the assistance of grammatical analysis and philology to render them comprehensible. It was particularly at Basra and Kûfa that the culture of these incidental branches of islamic knowledge was pursued with success, and led to the development, in each city, of a system of Koranic reading and interpretation, and grammatical analysis, differing in some points from that taught in the other. They varied even in their manner of reading the ancient poems, and the suppressions, additions, and variations peculiar to each school produced two distinct editions of all the anteislamic poets.

(3) See M. de Sacy's *Grammaire arabe*, t. I. p. 66.

(4) See *Grammaire*, t. I. p. 74.

(5) See page 152, note (1).

(6) See Flügel's *Hajji Khalifa*, t. I. p. 37.

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## ABU ALI 'L-FARISI.

Abû Ali al-Hasan Ibn Ahmad Ibn Abd al-Ghaffâr Ibn Muhammad Ibn Sulaimân Ibn Abân al-Fârisi, the first grammarian of his time, was born in the town of Fasa and went, in the year 307 (A. D. 919-20), to Baghdad, where he made his studies. He travelled over many countries and stopped for some time with Saif ad-Dawlat Ibn Hamdân at Aleppo, to whom he had been presented in A. H. 341 (A. D. 952-3): he had there some conferences with al-Mutanabbi. From that, he proceeded to Fars, where he was admitted into the society of Adad ad-Dawlat Ibn Buwaih, and gained his favour and esteem to a high degree; so 193

much so, that Adad ad-Dawlat said: "In grammar I am the humble servant of "Abû Ali 'l-Fasawi." Abû Ali composed for that prince his grammatical works, the *Idâh* (*illustration*) and the *Takmila* (*supplement*); the history of this circumstance is well known (1). It is related that he was one day playing at mall (2) with Adad ad-Dawlat in the Maidân (*hippodrome*) of Shirâz, and was asked by him why the *exception* is put in the accusative in this expression: *The people came except Zaid* (*venit populus si non Zeidum*)? To which he replied: "It is governed in the accusative by a verb understood."—"How," said Adad ad-Dawlat, "is the ellipsis to be filled up?"—"Thus," replied Abû Ali: "*I except Zaid.*"—"Why not put it in the nominative," observed the prince, "and fill the ellipsis thus: *Zaid kept back* (*abstinuit Zeidus*)?" Abû Ali was silenced by this remark, and at last said: "This is a game of give and take (3)." When he returned home, he composed on this subject a treatise, which obtained Adad ad-Dawlat's approbation; and he mentions, in his *Idâh*, that the exception is governed in the accusative by the verb which precedes (*by the verb* came), in consequence of its corroboration by the word *except*.—It is related by Abû 'l-Kâsim Ibn Ahmad al-Andalusi (*native of Spain*), that (*at a society*) where he and Abû Ali were present, the conversation fell upon poetry, and Abû Ali said: "I envy you the faculty of making verses; as for me, my genius is not "favourable to it, although I am well acquainted with all the sciences which "form the basis of poetry." A person then asked him if he had never com-"posed verses, to which he replied: "I know of three verses only made by me; "they were composed on gray hairs, and run thus:

> I dyed my gray hairs because they were a subject of reproach; but it is rather the dyeing of gray hairs which should deserve reproaches. I did it not through apprehension of being abandoned by my beloved, and it was not censure or reproaches which I dreaded; but because gray hairs are blamable, I dyed them as a punishment.

Abû Ali cites the following verse of Abû Tammâm's as an example of a rule given by him in his *Idâh*, in the chapter which treats of the verb كان (*to be*):

> He, of whose resolutions and intentions the meadow of vain desire is the pasture-ground, will ever remain poor.

On this it has been remarked that he did not cite the verse because Abû Tammâm was an author whose compositions might be quoted as authorities, but

because Adad ad-Dawlat liked it and was fond of repeating it. Abû Ali 'l-Fârisi is author of the following works: The *Tazkira* (*remembrancer*), a large volume; a treatise on the short and the long *Alif* (4); the *Hujja* (*proof*) on the readings of the Koran (5); the *Aghfâl* (*negligences*), treating of the omissions made by az-Zajjâj in his *Maâni*; the Hundred Agents (*or governing parts of speech*); Questions discussed at Aleppo, Baghdad, Shirâz, and Basra, each forming a separate work; Questions discussed at Conferences, etc.—In the year 648 (A. D. 1250-1), I was at Cairo, and I had a dream (6) in which, methought, I went out to the village of Kalyûb and there entered a funeral chapel. I found it to be an old building discoloured with (*the*) dust (*of age*), and in it I met three persons who were stopping there from religious motives (7). As I admired the beauty of the edifice and the solidity of its construction, I said to them: "By "whom was this erected (8)?" but they could not inform me, and afterwards one of them said that the *shaikh* Abû Ali 'l-Fârisi had sojourned in that chapel for many years; we then had a conversation about him, in the course of which, the person with whom I was speaking said: "And with his other talents, "he possessed that of poetry;" to which I replied: "I never met any of his "poetry."—"I shall recite you some of it;" said he, and he then, with a sweet voice, pronounced three verses. When he had ended, I awoke, and the charming sound of his voice still rung in my ears, but the last verse alone remained in my recollection; it was as follows:

People in prosperity are pleased with no one; what must they be when they suffer affliction or afflict others?

To conclude, his merits are too well known to be mentioned or enumerated, (*but*) he was suspected of being a *Motazelite* (9). He was born A. H. 288 (A. D. 901), and died at Baghdad on Sunday, the 17th of the latter Rabi (some say of the first), A. H. 377 (August, A. D. 987): he was interred in the cemetery called the *Shûnîzi*.—*Fasawi* is derived from *Fasa*, which is the name of a city in the province of Fars; we have already spoken of it in the life of al-Basâsiri (10).—*Kalyûb* is a little village with numerous gardens, at two or three parasangs' distance from Cairo.

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(1) I have not as yet found any relation of it.

(2) Literally: *Racing*.

(3) Literally: That answer is hippodromic. He meant that, as the advantages of each adversary are alternate in a well-played game of mall, so it was in this grammatical contest.

(4) See M. de Sacy's *Grammaire arabe*, t. I. pp. 60, 64.

(5) See page 152, note (1).

(6) See page 46, note (7).

(7) In Arabic, *Mujâwirûn;* the *Mujâwirat* means a religious retreat or residence at a mosque or a chapel built over the tomb of a holy man.

(8) Literally: *Vide* (aut *quæso*), *cujus constructio* (est) *hæc?*

(9) See Pocock's *Specimen Hist. Arab.*

(10) See page 173.

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## ABU AHMAD AL-ASKARI.

Abû Ahmad al-Hasan Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Saîd al-Askari, one of the great masters in general literature and a *hâfiz* (1) of the first rank, was a narrator of historical facts and anecdotes; he taught also from memory a great quantity of ancient poetry. Among the instructive works composed by him, is the voluminous compilation entitled the *Kitâb at-Tashîf* (*book of logogriphes*) (2). The *Sâhib* Ibn Abbâd wished to see him, and not finding any other means of meeting him, he represented to Muwaiyad ad-Dawlat Ibn Buwaih, the prince in whose service he acted as vizir, that the affairs of Askar Mukram had got into disorder, and that his (*the vizir's*) presence was necessary to set them right; and by this statement, he obtained his sovereign's authorisation to proceed to that city. He had hoped that (*on his arrival*) Abû Ahmad would wait upon him, but, being disappointed in this expectation, he wrote him the following lines:

> When you refused to visit us and said: "I am weak and cannot bear the trot of the "camel;" we came from a distant land to visit you, and many were the nights we halted, at stations of which some had been already frequented, and others never before. We now ask you if there be good cheer for your guest: we mean not well-filled dishes; we wish only to fill our eyes (*with your presence*).

To those verses were joined some lines in prose, and Abû Ahmad, in his answer, replied to the prose with prose and to the poetry with this well-known verse:

> I resolve on doing a determined act, had I force enough; but the wild ass is prevented from making his spring (3).

When the *Sâhib* read the answer, he was astonished at the appropriateness of the verse to his own case (4), and exclaimed: "By Allah! had I known that he "would have thought of this verse, I should have written those I sent to him "in a different rhyme."—The verse itself is by Sakhr Ibn Amr Ibn as-Sharîd, brother of (*the poetess*) al-Khansâ, and belongs to a celebrated piece composed by him under the following circumstances: He was present at a combat against the tribe of Asad, and received a spear-wound from Rabîa Ibn Thaur al-Asadi, and some of the rings which formed his coat of mail were driven into his side by the force of the blow; during the space of a year he continued most dangerously ill, and was attended by his mother and his wife Sulaima. Sulaima, however, got tired of him, and said to a woman who asked her how her husband was: "He is not alive, so as to give hopes; neither is he dead, so as to be "forgotten." These words were overheard by Sakhr, who said:

I see that the mother of Sakhr is not fatigued with attending me, but Sulaima dislikes my couch and my presence. I had never apprehended being irksome to thee, (*O Sulaima!*) but who has (*not*) been deceived by fortune! By my life! you have awakened one that slept, and caused one to hear that had two ears. Is there a man who showed his wife the same affection which he showed his mother? that man must have led a life of misery and contempt. I resolve on doing a determined act, had I force enough; but the wild ass is prevented from making his spring (5). Death is better than a life of (*of suffering*), in which the couch of the chieftain is (*painful*) as the point of the spear (6). 195

Abû Ahmad al-Askari was born on Thursday, 16th Shawwâl, 293 (August, A. D. 906), and died on Friday, the 7th of Zû 'l-Hijja, 382 (February, A. D. 993). He studied under Ibn Duraid, and composed the following works: *al-Mukhtalif wa 'l-Mûtalif* (*the dissimilar and similar*) (7); a treatise on the the Science of Logic; Maxims, and Proverbs; on Auguries, etc. — *Askari* is derived from *Askar;* there are a number of places bearing this name, but the best known is Askar Mukram (*Mukram's camp*), a city in the province of Ahwâz: the Mukram whose name it bears is Mukrâm al-Bâhili, its founder (8). Abû Ahmad was a native of this place.—In another part of this work we shall notice the relative adjective *Askari* with a different derivation.

(1) See page 57, note (1).

(2) Flügel's *Hajji Khalifa*, t. II. p. 301.

(3) The poem from which this verse is taken, is in the same measure and rhyme as the lines written by the *Sâhib*.

(4) This verse was often cited sarcastically to persons who met with a disappointment when they least expected it.

(5) He intended to kill his wife, but was unable to rise. See Freytag's *Meidani*, vol. II. p. 251.

(6) Literally: Than a life like the *bivouac* of a chieftain on the head of a lance. A similar idea is expressed by Amro 'l-Kais in one of his poems; see *Diwân d'Amro 'l-Kais*, p. 28, line 7.

(7) This appears to be a sort of gazetteer, in which are indicated the different places bearing the same name.

(8) See page 137.

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## IBN RASHIK AL-KAIRAWANI.

Abû Ali al-Hasan Ibn Rashîk, surnamed al-Kairawâni (*the native of Kairawân* (1)), was a writer distinguished for his talents and eloquence, and the author of the following fine works: The *Omda*, or *column*, on the art of poetry, and poetical criticism; the *Anmûdaj* (*specimen*) (2), and a collection of elegant epistles and poetry. Ibn Bassâm says of him, in the *Dakhîra*: "I have been "informed that he was born at Masîla, where he studied for a short time, and "then, in A. H. 406, removed to Kairawan."—Another historian says that he was born in 390 (A. D. 1000), at Mahdiya, and that his father was a Greek *mamlûk* (*white slave*), a client of the tribe of Azd. Ibn Rashîk died A. H. 463 (A. D. 1070-1); his father was a goldsmith in the town of Muhammadiya (3), and instructed him in the same art. After studying belles-lettres at Muhammadiya, he began to compose poetry, and conceived a strong desire to augment that talent and meet with literary men; he, in consequence, proceeded to Kairawan, where he got into reputation, and composed poems in honour of the ruling prince (*al-Moizz Ibn Bâdîs*), who attached him to his service. He continued in that city till it was carried and destroyed by the Arabs, and its inhabitants massacred (4); on which he passed over to Sicily and settled at Mâzar (*Mazzara*), where he died. In a note written by one of the learned, I find his death placed in 456 (A. D. 1064), but the date previously given is the correct one.—*Mâzar* is a town in the island of Sicily; we shall mention it again in the life of al-Mâzari.—According to another statement, he died on the eve of Sunday, the 1st of Zû 'l-Kaada, 456, at Mâzar.—The following are specimens of his poetry:

**I love my brother, though I turn away from him, and though my words rarely strike his ear. At the sight of his face I frown with pleasure, as you frown at the aspect of generous wine. Frowns do not always proceed from hatred, and secret hatred is often concealed by smiles.**

O Lord! I am not able to repel this evil, and to thee do I apply for succour against this feeble worker of evil. Why hast thou sent against me a thousand gnats, whilst thou didst send only one against Nimrod (5)? 196

According to Ibn Bassâm's statement in the *Dakhîra*, he is the author of this piece:

Love for your Sulaimân has delivered me up to a passion of which the slightest pains are mortal. When the host of his charms appears, they say to us in the words of the ant: "Enter into your abodes, lest he crush you with (*the magic power of*) his large " dark eyes (6)."

When he was advanced in age and faultered in his gait, he composed the following lines, which express an original thought:

When I wish to be light and gay as in the days of my youth, five and forty (*years*) refuse their consent. My steps faulter, not with age, but with the years which I train after me.

By the same:

She said: "What means that melancholy and sickly air?" To which I returned the answer which is made by a captivated admirer: "Love (*for you*) came to me; he was a " guest whom I cherished, and I gave him my flesh as nourishment and my blood as " drink."

Another of his productions is the *Kurâdat ad-Dahab* (*grains of gold*), a work small in compass, but highly instructive (7); he composed also a philological treatise, entitled *as-Shudûd*, containing a list of those words which are employed with a *rare* or exceptional signification. Were concision not our object, we should give an account of his altercations and adventures with Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Abi Saîd Ibn Ahmad, surnamed Ibn Sharaf al-Kairawâni.—Mention has been already made of *Masîla* (8).

(1) He was probably so named to distinguish him from Ibn Rashîk *al-Kâtib*, Abû 'l-Abbâs Ahmad, who studied at Cordova, and attained eminence by his knowledge of general literature, jurisprudence, and Traditions. He was highly patronised by Abû 'l-Jaish Mujâhid Ibn Abd Allah al-Aâmiri, who appointed him governor of the isle of Majorca, in which place he acted with exemplary justice. He died at an advanced age.

a short time posterior to A. H. 440 (A. D. 1049). His epistles were collected and published. —(*Al-Hillat as-Siyarâ*, p. 69.)

(2) This is a philological work; see Flügel's *Hajji Khalifa*, No. 1392. He composed also a history of Kairowân, often quoted by historians; this work is also noticed by Hajji Khalifa, see No. 2285.

(3) The city of Masila was rebuilt, A. H. 315 (A. D. 927-8), by al-Kâim Billah, the Fâtimite, who then named it Muhammadiya.—(Abû 'l-Fedâ's Geography.)

(4) This occurred in A. H. 449 (A. D. 1057-8). See Abû 'l-Fedâ's Annals, year 443.

(5) According to the Moslim tradition, Nimrod was killed by a gnat which entered into his brain. See Sale's note on the subject in the Koran, surat 21, v. 70.

(6) An allusion to the Koran, surat 27, v. 18: "O ants! enter into your abodes, lest Sulaimân (*Solomon*) " and his troops crush you, and perceive it not."

(7) This is a collection of ancient poetry.—(*Hajji Khalifa.*)

(8) See page 326.

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## AL-MUJID AL-ASKALANI.

Abû Ali al-Hasan Ibn Abd as-Samad Ibn as-Shakhnâ al-Askalâni (*native of Askalon*) (1), surnamed *as-Shaikh al-Mujîd* (*the talented* (2) *shaikh*), is author of the *khotbas* (3) which are so celebrated, and of the epistles so remarkable for their elegance. He was a most distinguished prose-writer, and displayed superior talents in that species of composition (4). It is related that al-Kâdi al-Fâdil exerted all his efforts in acquiring a perfect knowledge of his phraseology, and was able to recall nearly the whole of it to memory. The *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn speaks of him in the *Kharîda* in these terms: "*Al-Mujîd* (*the* " *talented*) was really talented, as his surname implies; and capable of com- " posing with originality, and shaping language (*to the just expressing of his* " *thoughts*) (5); he is the author of the admirable *khotbas*, and of the inge- " nious beauties (*by which his compositions are adorned*)." Ibn Bassâm also makes mention of him in the *Dakhîra*, and cites the following verses of his composition, which are a fragment of a long poem:

> Time ceases not to choose (*and essay*) the princes it produces, till at length it finds the excellent, the chosen one. Bid those who governed mankind and held exalted rank in days of old come forth and see the latest (*of princes*); they will find him nobler (6) in rule than they were, and more fortunate in the results of his enterprises. If advice be needed, let them take counsel from him, they will find him an Ahnaf (7); if they meet him hand to hand, they will find him an Antar in bravery. He fasts, yet

the book of his actions is (*already*) filled with pious deeds; even in the times he fasts not, his (*abstemiousness*) is like fasting. (*Prince!*) the enemy essayed to daunt thee; he thought he could compel fate to withdraw its decrees. When you sent not against him (*coursers*) sleek and fleet, you sent hidden policy to meet him. When your policy goeth forth, your men bear not the sword, neither are your warriors shrouded in coats of mail. The enemies hastened to you, but they hastened to their fate; and you ordered your sword to vibrate among them. They were amazed how your mildness was changed into aggression, and how the sweetness of your nature had (*for them*) become bitter. Tenderness joined to firmness should not, however, seem a subject of wonder; fire can be produced by a green reed (8).

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Not to be prolix, I shall confine myself to this citation. He was put to death in the *Khazânat al-Bunûd* (9), a prison at Cairo, in the year 482 (A. D. 1089). —The following verses are also attributed to him (10):

O thou who art a sword to assist me when the sword (*of the enemy*) is red (*with blood* (11)) ! thou who art a springtide-shower for my country when the rain-clouds are withheld! why doth thy clear and exalted mind entertain the vile calumnies of (*my*) traducers? that mind which is so pure! No falsehood can lie concealed in thy thoughts, for thou art pellucid as the crystal of the rock.

I found also, in the collection of his poetical works, these two well-known verses:

The curtain (*of the audience-chamber which debars solicitors*), the pride (*of the patron*), the excess of (*his*) haughtiness, and the (*humiliation of*) stretching an eager hand towards a superior (12), (*such are the pains which await him who courts the great*). Did these obstacles debar (*us*) from (*a man of*) talent, we should think lightly of them (13), but (*here*) they are (*placed*) before (*a man of*) incapacity.

*Askalâni* is derived from *Askalân* (*Ascalon*), a well-known city on the coast (*of Syria*).

(1) A rather incomplete note on this poet has been given by inadvertence at page 231.

(2) The word *Mujîd*, here rendered by *talented*, means, more exactly, *one who executes well whatever he undertakes.*

(3) See page 174, note (2).

(4) Literally: He was a cavalier in praise, and in it he had (*was*) an able hand.

(5) Literally: Capable of originality in language and of carving it out.—This is the usual style of Imâd addîn, who, in his works, seldom deigned to write a phrase of plain intelligible prose.

(6) Literally: Ampler in breast.

(7) Al-Ahnaf was famed for his prudence; his life is given in this work.

(8) An allusion to the mode of producing fire by means of two pieces of wood, one hard and the other soft, rubbed together. The poem from which these verses were taken, was probably composed in honour of the Fatimite khalif al-Mustansir.

(9) The *Khazânat al-Bunûd* (*magazine of standards* or *flags*) was founded by the Fatimite khalif az-Zâhir. In this establishment, three thousand skilful workmen were employed in the fabrication of arms, military machines, etc.—(Al-Makrizi's *Khitat.*)

(10) This is evidently a later addition.

(11) The word بانع is pointed differently in each of my manuscripts, but none of the readings is plausible. That adopted in the Arabic text is not satisfactory, and if conjectures were permitted, I should be inclined to replace it by ثالم *blunted, broken.*

(12) Literally: Towards exalted rank.

(13) Literally: We should excuse.

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## IBN ZULAK AL-MISRI.

Abû Muhammad al-Hasan Ibn Ibrahîm Ibn al-Husain Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Khuld Ibn Râshid Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Sulaimân Ibn Zûlâk, a native of Egypt, was descended from a slave affiliated, by enfranchisement, to the tribe of Laith. He was eminent for his knowledge of history, on which subject he composed an excellent work (1); he is also author of a *Khitat*, or topographical description (*of old Cairo*), in which he fully treated the subject; another of his works is the history of the kâdis of Misr, designed by him as a continuation to a book of the same title composed by Abû Omar Muhammad Ibn Yûsuf Ibn Yâkûb al-Kindi (2), and which reaches to the year 246 of the Hijra. Ibn Zûlâk completed the work (*of al-Kindi*) by a supplement, which commences with the life of Bakkâr Ibn Kutaiba, and finishes with that of Muhammâd Ibn an-Nomân. He gives the history of the latter down to the month of Rajab in the year 386 (July, A. D. 996). Al-Hasan Ibn Ali, great-grandfather to Abû Muhammad Ibn Zûlâk, was eminent for his learning. He died (I mean Abû Muhammad) on Tuesday, 25th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 387 (November, A. D. 997). I have read in his history of the kâdis of Egypt, in the life of Abû Obaid (*Ibn Harbawaih*), that Mansûr Ibn Ismaîl ad-Darîr died in the month of the first Jumâda, A. H. 306 (October, A. D. 918), "about three months," 198 says he, "before I was born." On admitting this as exact, Ibn Zûlâk's birth took place in the month of Shâbân, 306 (January, A. D. 919). He gave some Traditions on the authority of at-Tahâwi.—*Laith* Ibn Kinâna is the name of a

great (*Arabian*) tribe. Ibn Yûnus al-Misri says that Ibn Zûlâk belonged to that tribe by enfranchisement.

(1) Most probably the second continuation of Abd ar-Rahmân as-Sûfi's history of Egypt mentioned by Hajji Khalifa, t. II. p. 148.

(2) According to as-Soyûti (*Husn al-Muhâdira*, MS. No. 652, fol. 147 *verso*), al-Kindi (who appears to have been a grandson of Yakûb al-Kindi, the celebrated philosopher,) composed also a work on the excellence of Egypt, entitled *Faddâil Misr*, and was contemporary with Kâfûr.—Hajji Khâlifa, after al-Makrizi, places his death in A. H. 246 (A. D. 860-1). - (Flügel's edition, No. 2312.)

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## ABU NIZAR IBN SAFI MALIK AN-NUHAT.

Abû Nizâr al-Hasan Ibn Abi 'l-Hasan Sâfi Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Nizâr Ibn Abi 'l-Hasan, the grammarian, was surnamed *Malik an-Nuhât* (*the prince of grammarians*); the *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn speaks of him, in the *Kharîda*, as a man of eminent merit, and gives the correspondence which passed between Abû Nizâr and himself when at Damascus (1). He became the ablest grammarian of his time, and was intelligent, eloquent, and acute, but vain and proud: he assumed the title of *prince of grammarians*, and if any other name but this was given to him when addressed, he would fly into a passion. At a period later than the year 520 (A. D. 1126), he proceeded from Baghdad to Wâsit, where he took up his residence for a time, and communicated his copious philological information to the people of that city, who profited greatly by his talents and learning. Ibn al-Mustawfi says of him in his History of Arbela: "He visited Arbela and "then went to Baghdad, where he learned the Traditions and studied the imâm "as-Shâfi's system of jurisprudence and the science of dogmatic theology under "Abû Abd Allah al-Kairawâni; in controversy he had for master Asaad al-"Mihani; in the fundamentals of jurisprudence, Abû 'l-Fath Ibn Barhân, the "author of the *Wajîz* and the *Wasît*, works which treat on that subject; he "studied grammar under al-Fasîhi, who himself had learned it from Abd al-"Kâhir al-Jurjâni (2), the author of the lesser *Mujmil* (3)." Abû Nizâr then travelled to Khorasan, Kerman, and Ghazna, whence he returned to Sy-

ria, and settled at Damascus, where he died on Tuesday, 8th Shawwâl, A. H. 568 (May, A. D. 1173), aged upwards of eighty years. He was interred the next day, Wednesday, in the cemetery at the city-gate called *Bâb as-Saghîr.* He is author of many works on jurisprudence and its fundamentals, on the dogmas of religion and on grammar. He composed some poetry, which has been collected into a *diwân;* one of his *kasîdas,* made in honour of the Prophet, contains these lines:

> Praise be to God! I am cured of my passion, and I think of her no more: love calls me towards her, but I answer not to its seductions; and yet I rejoice not if an affliction befal her, neither am I pleased with the traducer who defames her.

He composed many fine passages, and possessed the greatest talents (4).

(1) Arabic epistles generally contain some passages in verse; and it is a few extracts of this kind which Imâd ad-dîn gives. See the *Kharîda,* No. 1447, fol. 36.

(2) Abû Bakr Abd al-Kâhir Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân al-Jurjâni (*native of Jurjân*), a celebrated grammarian and a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, was eminent for his piety and talents. He composed the following works: the *Mujmil* (or *collector*), a philological work; a commentary on it, entitled the *Talkhîs* (*comprehensive view*); the *Kitâb al-Amd* العمد (*the supporter*), treating on grammatical inflexions; the *Miftâh* (*key*), a commentary on the first surat of the Koran; the *Moghni* (*sufficient*), a commentary, in thirty volumes, on the *Idâh* of Abû Ali 'l-Fârisi, etc. He made his grammatical studies at Jurjân, under Abû 'l-Husain Muhammad al-Farisi, sister's son to Abû Ali. In dogmatical theology, he followed the doctrine of al-Ashâri. Died A. H. 461 (A. D. 1068-9), or 464.

(3) The greater *Mujmil* was composed by Ibn Fâris ar-Râzi.

(4) Literally: He was a collection of talents.

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## THE IMAM AL-HASAN AL-ASKARI.

Abû Muhammad al-Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali ar-Rida Ibn Mûsa Ibn Jaafar as-Sâdik Ibn Muhammad al-Bâkir Ibn Ali Zain al-Aâbidîn Ibn al-Husain Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib, was, as his father also, one of the twelve persons who are considered as *imâms* by the Imâmites (*or Shîites*). He was the father of (*Muhammad*) al-Muntazir (*the expected*), called also *Sâhib as-Sirdâb* (*he of the cavern*), and was surnamed al-Askari, which title was borne also by his father Ali: we shall speak hereafter of him and the

other *imâms*. Al-Hasan was born on a Thursday in the year 231 (A. D. 845-6); on the sixth of the month of the first Rabî, it is said; but, according to another account, towards the end of the year 232. He died at Sarr-man-râa, on Friday (or Thursday), 8th of the first Rabî (or of the first Jumâda), A. H. 260 (January, A. D. 874), and was interred at the side of his father's 199 tomb.—*Askari* means *belonging to, or native of Sarr-man-râa*, which place was called *al-Askar* (*the camp* or *the troops*), when the khalif al-Motasim, who built it, removed thither his troops (*Askar*). Al-Hasan and his father Ali were both denominated al-Askari, because the latter had been sent to Sarr-man-râa, by the khalif al-Mutawakkil, and resided there for twenty years and nine months.

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## ABU NUWAS IBN HANI.

Abû Ali al-Hasan Ibn Hâni Ibn Abd al-Awwal Ibn as-Sabâh al-Hakami, surnamed Abû Nuwâs, was a poet of great celebrity. His (*great*) grandfather was an enfranchised slave and client of al-Jarrâh Ibn Abd Allah al-Hakami, governor of Khorasan, and for this reason he bore the title of al-Hakami. Muhammad Ibn Dâwûd Ibn al-Jarrah relates, in his *Kitâb al-Warakat*, that Abû Nuwâs was born and brought up at Basra, and that he accompanied Wâliba Ibn al-Hubâb (1) to Kufa, and from thence went to Baghdad. Another historian says that he was born at al-Ahwâz, and was removed thence at the age of two years: his mother Julabân was of that city; his father, who was a native of Damascus and a soldier in the service of Marwân Ibn Muhammad, the last of the Omaiyide dynasty, had been sent to keep garrison at al-Ahwâz, and he there espoused Julabân, by whom he had many children and, amongst the rest, Abû Muâd and Abû Nuwâs. The latter was confided by his mother to a druggist, and (*when in this employment*) he was seen by Abû Osâma Wâliba, who was pleased with his disposition, and said to him: "I see in you presages (*of success*) which, I "am sure, you will not belie; you are to cultivate poetry; be therefore my dis-"ciple; I will conduct you to eminence."—"And who are you?" said Abû Nuwâs.—"I am Abû Osâma Wâliba Ibn al-Hubâb;" replied he.—"I accept,"

said Abû Nuwâs; "and I had already the intention of going to Kufa, that I "might receive instruction from you and learn from you your poetical works." He then accompanied him to Baghdad.—Abû Nuwâs was a boy when he composed these, his first and well-known verses:

> He who bears the weight of love is soon fatigued; he is agitated with joy, but weeping would be fitter for him; his occupation is not a trifling sport. And you (*my fair mistress!*) laugh in wantonness whilst your lover sighs; you marvel at my illness, but my health would be a marvel.

Al-Khasib, the chief of the revenue-office in Egypt, once asked Abû Nuwâs from what family he came; "My talents," replied Abû Nuwâs, "stand me "in stead of noble birth." Al-Khasib asked him no more questions after that. Ismail Ibn Nûbakht said: "I never saw a man of more extensive learning "than Abû Nuwâs, nor one who, with a memory so richly furnished, pos- "sessed so few books; after his decease we searched his house, and could only "find one book-cover, containing a quire of paper (2), in which was a collec- "tion of rare expressions and grammatical observations." He was a *muwallad* (3) of the first class, and in the ten different species of poetry which he composed, he displayed equal abilities. A number of eminent men have occupied themselves with making a collection of his poetical works; amongst them were Abû Bakr as-Sûli, Ali Ibn Hamza, and Ibrahim Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad at-Tabari, surnamed Tûzûn: it is for this reason that discrepancies are observable in the collections of his poetry. His compositions are sufficiently known to preclude the necessity of citing any of them (4). I read in some book that (*the khalif*) al-Mâmûn said: "Were Fortune to describe herself, she "could not produce a description equal to the following by Abû Nuwâs:

> 'Is not each living creature mortal, and sprung from a mortal? Is not (*the tree of*) 'its descent deeply rooted in the dead? When Fortune wishes to prove the sage, it 'appears to him as an enemy in the disguise of a friend.'"

The first of these verses is a reminiscence of an idea thus expressed by Amro 'l-Kais (5):

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> Woman, reproach me less! my experience and the recollection of my ancestors are for me admonitions sufficient. The roots of my (*family-tree*) are interwoven with the root of the earth (6); but here comes death to strip me of the robe (*of youth*).

In the life of al-Hasan al-Basri may be found an idea analogous to this (7).—

What a favourable opinion Abû Nuwâs must have entertained of his Creator's indulgence, may be learned from the following verses:

> Multiply thy sins to the utmost, for thou art to meet an indulgent Lord. When thou comest before Him, thou shalt behold mercy, and meet the great, the powerful King. Then thou shalt gnaw thy hands with regret, for the pleasures which you avoided through fear of hell.

It is a very fine and original thought (8).—The anecdotes related of Abû Nuwâs are numerous; one of his best pieces is the *kasîda* rhyming in *m*, which excited Abû Tammâm's jealousy to such a point, that he composed one in the same rhyme and measure; Abû Tammâm's commences thus:

> (*The lover*) approached (*after a long journey, the abode of his mistress*), and greeted ruins (9)! How often does such an approach break the firm knot of the lover's endurance.

As for the poem of Abû Nuwâs, it was in honour of al-Amîn Muhammad Ibn Harûn ar-Rashîd, and composed during his khalifat.—It begins with this verse:

> O (*deserted*) mansion! what has the lapse of days wrought upon thee? No longer can we hope to find in thee a smiling face.

It contains also the following description of the camel mounted by the poet:

> She encountered with me the terrors of the desert,—a slender camel, ardent and mettlesome. She outstrips her fellows, (*and they follow her motions*) as a row of worshippers behind their imâm (*follow his*). When our camels shall have borne us to Muhammad, let their backs be ever kept sacred from riders!

In the life of the celebrated poet Zû 'r-Rumma Ghailân, we shall mention an observation which has been made on this last verse. The same verse reminds me of a circumstance which passed between me and a talented friend of mine, Jamâl ad-dîn Mahmûd Ibn Abd, a native of Arbela, who was also a good scholar and an excellent singer: I was at a sitting of the council of state at Cairo, in I forget what month of the year 645, when Ibn Abd came to look for me, and he sat down near me for a while, there being a crowd of persons present on account of the great quantity of business to be transacted at the time; he then rose up and withdrew, nor was I aware of his absence, till his boy entered and handed me a note, in which the following lines were inscribed:

> O noble patron, by whose existence Fortune manifests to us her favour! I went on a pilgrimage to thy (*place of*) station,—a pilgrimage of desire, not of obligation; and

I left the conveyance which bore me, near the noble sanctuary (*of justice*), but it went astray and was carried off by the people. Whilst I looked for it, I recited this verse of one who is a model in poetry: *When our conveyances shall have borne us to Muhammad, let their backs be ever kept sacred from riders.*

Having read the note, I asked the boy what was the matter, and he informed me that his master, on leaving me, perceived that some person had stolen his 201 shoes (10); on which I admired the aptness of the quotation, (*as*) the Arabs of the Desert compare shoes to beasts of burden. Examples of this may be found in the poetry both of the ancients and the moderns; the same idea has also been employed by al-Mutanabbi in different places of his poems. Some time after, I was visited by Jamâl ad-dîn Ibn Abd, and as we happened to speak of these verses, I observed to him that my name was Ahmad, not Muhammad; to which he answered that he knew it, but Ahmad and Muhammad were equivalent (11). Indeed, be the name what it might, the introduction of the verse was skilfully managed.—The khalif al-Amîn Muhammad, having been irritated against Abû Nuwâs on account of something which passed between them, threatened him with death and had him put in prison; the poet, in his confinement, wrote to him these verses:

I seek shelter from death under your protection; to you I fly for refuge to avoid your vengeance. I swear by your life (12) that I shall never commit the like again! I swear it by your life! If you kill your Abû Nuwâs, where will you find another?

He had numerous adventures with the khalif Amîn. In the life of Ibn Darrâj al-Kastalli (*see page* 121), we have given an extract from a *kasîda* by Abû Nuwâs, called the *Râiya*, because it rhymes in *r*. The *khatîb* Abû Bakr makes mention of him in the history of Baghdad, and says that he was born in A. H. 145 (A. D. 762-3), (some say 136), and that he died A. H. 195 (A. D. 810-1), or 196, or 198, at Baghdad, where he was buried in the *Shûnîzi* cemetery. He was surnamed *Abû Nuwâs* from two locks of hair which hung down (*tanûs*) on his shoulders. — *Hakami* means *belonging to Hakam Ibn Saad al-Ashîra*, a great tribe of Yemen, from which al-Jarrâh Ibn Abd Allah al-Hakami was descended. Al-Jarrâh was governor of Khorasan, and it has been already said that Abû Nuwâs was one of his *mawlas* (13), and was therefore denominated after him.—We have spoken of *Saad al-Ashîra* in the life of al-Mutanabbi (*see page* 106). As for *Sûli*, this name shall be noticed in the

life of Abû Bakr Muhammad as-Sûli (14). I have never met with a notice on Ali Ibn Hamza (15). *Tûzûn* studied belles-lettres under Abû Omar az-Zâhid (*al-Mutarriz*), and became eminent in that branch; he resided at Baghdad, where he died A. H. 355, the month of the first Jumâda (May, A. D. 966).

(1) Abû Osâma Wâliba Ibn al-Hubâb, a native of Kûfa and a celebrated poet, was in great favour at the court of al-Mansûr and other Abbâside princes; in praise and satire he displayed abilities of the highest order. It was by him that Abû Nuwâs was presented to the Barmekides, and these generous patrons of literature bestowed ample rewards on the rising poet. In the enjoyment of his good fortune, Abû Nuwâs disdained to recognise the friend to whom he had been indebted for his success in the world, and Wâliba had often reason to regret the service which he had rendered to his ungrateful disciple. Wâliba inhabited Baghdad, and most of his poems are consecrated to the praises of wine and of beauty. He composed also some satires against Bashshar Ibn Burd and Abû 'l-Atâhiya, but being vanquished by them with the same weapon, he withdrew from public life, and sought to conceal the confusion of his defeat by retiring to obscurity in his native town.—(*Masâlik al-Absâr*, MS. No. 1371. *Kitâb al-Aghâni*, t. IV. fol. 63 *verso*.)

(2) The word جراز is probably synonymous with كراس.

(3) See note (11), page 209.

(4) The MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 1348, is called the *Diwân of Abû Nuwâs*, but this is inexact; the compiler of the catalogue, a man of very little instruction in Arabic literature, was deceived by a false title affixed to the work.

(5) See *le Diwân d'Amro 'l-Kais*, page 50.

(6) The *root of the earth* is supposed by the commentators to mean Adam or Ismail; the poet means that his descent could be traced up to Adam; as for Ismail, it is well known that Amro 'l-Kais's family, the Kindites, were not descended from him, but from Kahtân.

(7) The author alludes perhaps to the passage in page 370, line 26, of this volume.

(8) It is not, however, in strict accordance with Moslim morality.

(9) The word دمن signifies the dung of camels and sheep. When a family of nomadic Arabs removed their dwelling, the spot which they abandoned might be easily recognised afterwards by these marks. The idea is of constant recurrence in the *kasidas* of the early Arabic poets.

(10) Which had been taken off on entering.

(11) *Ahmad* means *praiseworthy*, and *Muhammad*, *deserving of high praise*, or *highly praised*.

(12) Literally: By the life of thy head.

(13) *Mawla* means a manumitted slave, or a person sprung from one. It might be translated *client*, and the reciprocal duties of such clients and their patrons form an important chapter of Moslim law. *Mawla* signifies also *patron*.

(14) This is an oversight of the author's: he has already given the derivation of *Sûli*, in the life of Ibrahîm as-Sûli (page 23); and in the life of Muhammad as-Sûli he merely refers the reader to it.

(15) He must not of course be confounded with Ali Ibn Hamza al-Kisâi, whose life is given by our author.

## IBN WAKI AT-TINNISI.

Abû Muhammad al-Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Khalf Ibn Haiyân Ibn Sadaka Ibn Ziâd ad-Dubbi (*member of the tribe of Dubb*) at-Tinnisi, surnamed Ibn Wakî, a celebrated poet, came of a Baghdad family, but was born at Tinnîs. He is spoken of in the following terms by ath-Thâlibi in the *Yatîma*: "An eminent poet and a learned compiler; he surpassed every per-"son of his time, and was outdone by none of his contemporaries; his vast "originality of thought charmed the reader's mind and captivated his ima-"gination." He then mentions his poems in the form of four-hemistich couplets, which certainly are very good, and he quotes passages from his other productions. His *diwân* is made up of excellent poetry, and another of his works, the *Munsif*, or *impartial*, contains an exposition of al-Mutanabbi's plagiarisms. He had an impediment in his speech, and was (*for that reason*) called *al-Aâtis* (*the sneezer*). The following verses are by him:

> My heart, once enamoured, is now delivered from thy love, and feels for thee neither inclination nor desire. Thy cruelty reconciled me to thy loss; a parent can cease to regret the death of a froward child.

By the same:

> Though the time of our meeting may be distant, our affection shall endure, and we
> 202 shall be true lovers despite of absence. How many have broken the bonds of love, and yet full confidence had been placed in the sincerity of their attachment! How many faithful lovers who have suffered from suspicion!

By the same:

> I rejoiced at the sufferings of my heart;—may God never grant it relief! How often have I blamed it for loving, and it replied: "I cannot help it."

Another poet has come near to this idea in the following verses:

> How inconsistent that resolution which inspired my heart with indifference and insensibility towards my beloved. It came to me and, a moment after, it became like my heart and said: "I must submit."

Similar to this are the verses of Osâma Ibn Munkid:

> Assume not a borrowed insensibility when abandoned by those you love; for your

force will fail under their protracted aversion. Know that thy heart will return to them, either of its own accord or despite its reluctance.

It is related by a certain jurisconsult, that he repeated the following verses of Ibn Waki's to the *shaikh* Murtada 'd-dîn Abû 'l-Fath Nasr Ibn Muhammad Ibn Mukallad al-Kudâî, a native of Shaizar and professor at the chapel built over the tomb of as-Shâfi in the Karâfa:

An obscure position satisfies my wishes, and they are turned away from exalted rank. And yet they are not ignorant how sweet is the taste of greatness, but to that they prefer health.

On this, Murtada 'd-dîn pronounced extempore these verses:

The fall is in proportion to the ascent; avoid therefore exalted rank. Remain in a place where, if you fall, your legs will escape uninjured (1).

By Ibn Waki:

The censor of my conduct saw my beloved for the first time and said: "If you "loved one like her, no person would blame your passion. Say! towards whom is "your heart turned, that you neglect her, the sole creature worthy of love?" He continued thus, unwittingly, to incite to love, one whom he had commanded to abstain from it.

I once repeated the above verses to the doctor Shihâb ad-dîn Muhammad, father of Ibn al-Khaimi, and he immediately recited to me the following line of his composition:

Did my monitor see the face of my beloved, he would quarrel with me for that pretty face (2).

This verse forms part of a poem; it is well turned and the double meaning is prettily imagined.—Every fine idea has been expressed by Ibn Waki: he died on Tuesday, 23rd of the first Jumâda, A.H. 393 (March, A.D. 1003), in the city of Tinnis, and was interred in the chapel built to receive him in the Greater Cemetery.—*Waki* was the surname given to his great-grandfather, Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Khalf, who was deputy to Abdân al-Jawâliki, kâdi of al-Ahwâz; he was gifted with talents, capacity, and eloquence; learned in the reading of the Koran, in jurisprudence, in grammar, and in history. He composed many works, amongst others the *Kitâb at-Tarîk* (*book of the path*); the *Kitâb as-Sharîf* (*book of the noble*) (3); a treatise on the number of verses contained in

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the Koran and on the conflicting opinions held on the subject; a treatise on archery; another on weights and measures, etc. He is author of some poetry, such as learned men generally compose. Died at Baghdad on Sunday, 23rd of the first Rabi, 306 (September, A. D. 918). According to Ibn Kâni, the death of Abdân al-Ahwâzi took place in 307 (A. D. 919-20), at Askar Mukram (4).—*Tinnîsi* is derived from *Tinnîs,* the name of a town in Egypt near Damietta; it was so called after its founder, Tinnîs, son of Ham, son of Noah.—Al-Murtada 's-Shaizari died A. H. 598 (A. D. 1201-2), and was interred in the cemetery at the foot of Mount Mukattam (*near Cairo*).

(1) In the original Arabic, these verses rhyme with the preceding, and are terminated by the same words.

(2) This is the real meaning of the verse, but the last hemistich seems, at first sight, to signify: We should separate in an amicable manner.

(3) These titles are so vague, that it is impossible to say what were the subjects treated of in these two works. Hajji Khalifa does not mention them.

(4) The *hâfiz* Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Ahmad Ibn Mûsa Ibn Ziâd al-Ahwâzi al-Jawâliki, surnamed Abdân (a contraction of Abd Allah), visited various countries and learned the Traditions from a great number of persons. As a *hâfiz*, he was noted for his exactness. Ibn Kâni taught the Traditions on his authority. He composed a number of works, and died A. H. 306 (A. D. 918-9), aged ninety years and some months.—(Ad-Dahabi's *Târîkh al-Islâm*, MS. No. 646, fol. 28.)

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## ABU BAKR IBN AL-ALLAF.

Abû Bakr al-Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Ahmad Ibn Bashshâr Ibn Ziâd, surnamed Ibn al-Allâf (*son of the fodder-seller*) ad-Darîr (*the blind*), a celebrated and able poet, was a native of Nahrawân. He learned the Traditions from Abû Omar ad-Dûri (1), the *reader* of the Koran, Humaid Ibn Masada al-Basri, Nasr Ibn Ali al-Jahdami (2) and Muhammad Ibn Ismaîl al-Hisâbi; and Traditions have been given on his authority by Abd Allah Ibn al-Hasan an-Nahhâs, the kâdi Abû 'l-Hasan al-Khirâji, Hafs Ibn Shâhîn (3), and others. He was one of the khalif al-Motadid's social companions, and he relates (*of him*) the following anecdote: "I had passed a night at the palace of al-Motadid with a number of his other "companions, when a eunuch came to us and said: 'The Commander of the "faithful sends to tell you that, after you withdrew, he did not feel inclined "to sleep, and composed this verse:

'When the vision (*of my mistress*), fleeting through the shades of night, awoke me,
'behold! my chamber was deserted, and far off was the place of (*our*) meeting.'

" 'He says also,' continued the eunuch, 'that he cannot complete the piece,
" and will give a rich present to any one who adds to it a second couplet to his
" satisfaction.' Those who were present failed in accomplishing the task,
" although they were all poets of talent, on which I hastened to pronounce the
" following verse:

'On this I said to my eyes: Sleep again; perhaps the vision, in its night visits, may
'return to me!'

"The eunuch then retired, and having come back, said: 'The Commander
" of the faithful declares that your verse is perfect, and he has ordered you a
" present.' "—This Abû Bakr had a pet cat, which used to enter into the neighbours' pigeon-houses and eat the young. As this occurred frequently, the owners of the pigeons caught the cat and killed it; and Abû Bakr lamented its fate in the following poem. Some say, however, that the poem was composed on the death of Abd Allah Ibn al-Motazz (of whom we shall give a biographical notice), and that the poet's apprehension of the khalif al-Muktadir's vengeance prevented him from openly expressing his ideas in this *kasîda*, and for that reason, he pretended that it was made on his cat; and he alludes to the cat in some passages. He and Ibn al-Motazz were intimate friends. Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik al-Hamadâni, in his lesser history, entitled *al-Maârif al-Mutaâkhira* (*later information*), says in the life of the vizir Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn al-Furât: "The *sâhib* Abû 'l-Kasim Ibn Abbâd said: 'Abû 'l-Hasan the
" son of Abû Bakr al-Allâf, (surnamed *al-Akûl* (*the great eater*), because he
" was remarkable for the quantity which he ate at the parties given by princes
" and great men), recited to me the poems composed by his father on the cat,
" and told me that by the cat, he meant al-Muhassin, son of the vizir Ibn
" al-Furât, and that he did not dare, during the disasters of that family, to
" lament al-Muhassin's fate or pronounce his name.' "—The history of this event will be found in the life of Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn al-Furât.—The philologer Sâed says, in his *Kitâb al-Fusûs*: "It was related to me by Abû 'l-Hasan al-Mar-
" zobâni, that a slave girl belonging to Ali Ibn Isa loved a youth in the service
" of Abû Bakr Ibn al-Allâf; but having been discovered, they were both put

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"to death and their skins stuffed with straw; then Abû Bakr, the *mâwla* or "patron of the youth, composed this poem to deplore his loss, and it is he "whom he meant by the cat." God knows best the truth! This fine and original poem is composed of sixty-five verses, and its length prevents us from giving the entire; but we shall cite the prettiest passages and the verses containing moral reflexions (4); it begins thus:

You have left us, Puss! and will never return! You who were to me as a child! How can we cease to love you? you, who were for us a sure defence. You drove evil away from us, and guarded us, in our absence, from serpent and from cricket. You drove the mice from their hiding-places, and pursued them from their hole to the hall-door. In meeting them in the house, you found food, and without assistance you went against them. Flocks of them could not escape from you, not even one of the flock. You feared not the mid-day heat of summer, neither did you dread the frost of winter. Your order was uncontrolled in our house, and they could offer no resistance. (*Thus it was*) till you devised evil against our neighbours and thought that you were not working harm. To do them wrong, you turned around death; but the (*bird*) which hovers round a pond must drink thereof. My heart trembled for you, but you glided forth without fear, and entered the pigeon-house with slow and stealthy step, but you were not slow in eating the young. You threw about the feathers on the path (*of the masters*), and you greedily swallowed the flesh. A wrong action fed you with their flesh, but their masters judged that slaying you was a right action. They plotted long against you and exerted their efforts; success crowns the stratagems of him who exerts his efforts. For a long time they used wiles against you, but you fell not (*into the snare*); how often did you, without using any wiles, escape from theirs; but when, with perfidious diligence, you went openly to steal, (and were then badly directed,) they caught you, in their angry mood, and inflicted vengeance on you, adding: "He "that hunts is caught in his turn!" Then, with a sharp steel, they cured their hatred towards thee, and hearkened to the intercession of none.

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From the same piece:

You ceased not lurking for the pigeons till death surprised you with an ambuscade (5). They had no compassion on your plaintive cries, as you had none on those of the pigeons. Their master made you taste of death as you made their young ones to taste of it; it was simply retaliation (6). The cord which his kindness placed round your neck (7), to strangle you, must have been made of the fibres of the palm-tree. Methinks I see you struggling in the noose and foaming at the mouth. You sought means to escape, but no stratagem could avail, neither could you find one. Now that you are no more, we never heard of such a death, or of a life so fatal to others. You lived like a glutton led away by his avidity, and you died a violent death without an avenger (8). O you whom the love of young pigeons brought to your fall! why were you not satisfied with a piece of camel's fat? Did you not fear that fate would spring upon you, when you sprung like a lion into the pigeon-house? The punishment due to crime sleeps not, though it delay for a time. Ah! you would eat young birds and feared not that misfortune, like a ravenous beast, would eat you?

That were far from being just, and you were strangely mistaken as to the nearness and the distance (*of punishment*). May God refuse his blessing to meat, since the belly is the destruction of lives! How often has a sweet bit entered a greedy stomach, and expelled the soul from the body! The possession of Paradise would not have sufficed to turn you from clambering up to the pigeon-house.

From the same *kasida:*

The powerful Lord, the Giver of safety, the Eternal had granted you luxurious ease; you ate at will of the mice in our house;—(but where are those who are grateful for the comforts of life?)—you scattered their bands from time to time, but they met after their dispersion and spared neither cloth nor felted stuff in the house. They emptied it to the bottom, and left not even what our hands had suspended to the walls with hooks; they crumbled the bread in the baskets, and how often did they annoy the family (9)! They tore our new dresses, and all of us were undergoing fresh misfortunes.

We shall confine ourselves to these citations, which are the cream of the piece.—Ibn al-Allâf died A. H. 318 (A. D. 930), or 319, aged one hundred years (10).—*Nahrawâni* means *belonging to Nahrawân*, an ancient village near Baghdad; as-Samâni pronounces it *Nahrowân*, but that is not exact. 206

(1) Abû Omar Hafs Ibn al-Azîz Ibn Suhbân صهبان *ad-Dûri*, a native of Baghdad and a member of the tribe of Azd, was a grammarian and a Koranic reader of the first celebrity in Irak. He inhabited Sarr-man-râa. It is stated that he was the first who collected together the different *readings* of the Koran (see page 152, note (1) ). Men of the first talent flocked from all countries to his lectures, on account of his extensive learning and the high authority of the traditionary information which he transmitted to them. He was a good and pious man. Towards the end of his life, he lost his sight. Died in the month of Shawwâl, 246 (beginning of A. D. 861).—*Dûri* means *belonging to ad-Dûr*, a well known quarter of Baghdad on the east bank of the Tigris.—(Abridged from the *Tabakât al-Kurrâ*, MS. No. 742, fol. 51.)

(2) Nasr Ibn Ali al-Jahdami died A. H. 250 (A. D. 864).—(*Nujûm*.)

(3) Abû Hafs Omar Ibn Shâhîn, a celebrated *hâfiz*, preacher and commentator on the Koran, was a native of Baghdad. Mention has been already made of him in page 324, note (2).

(4) This piece is remarkable for its verbal quibbles and far-fetched allusions; the little merit it possesses is lost in the translation.

(5) Literally: Till you were made to drink of death by the liers in ambush.

(6) Literally: Hand for hand.

(7) This piece is full of puns and quibbles, impossible to be translated. To place a cord round the neck, signifies figuratively, to lay a person under obligations. The word *cord* is often employed with the sense of *obligation* or *favour*.

(8) Literally: *By a murderer*, or *victim of an assassin*.

(9) Literally: How often did they *break in pieces the liver* of the family.

(10) That is, one hundred lunar years, equivalent to about ninety-six solar.

## ABU 'L JUWAIZ AL-WAṢITI.

Abû 'l-Juwâiz al-Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Bâri al-Wâsiti (*native of Wâsit*) the *kâtib*, was a man of eminent talent. He inhabited Baghdad for a long period, and is spoken of by the *Khatîb* in his history of that city. "I "wrote under his dictation," says this author, "different historical relations, "anecdotes, pieces of verse, and philological observations, which, as he de- "clared, were taught to him by Ibn Sukkara al-Hâshimi (1) and others; but "his statements do not merit full confidence (2), for he told me that he heard "the lessons of Ibn Sukkara, which could not be, as he must have been then "too young. He was well informed in literature and composed some good "poetry, particularly eulogiums and descriptions. Among the verses of his "composition which he recited to me, were the following:

'Renounce all mankind and turn your friendship from them, if you cannot have 'indulgence for human nature.' The stream of time is evidently a troubled current; 'hope not then to find pureness and sincerity in (*men*,) the children of time; for their 'dispositions resist correction (3). Two things are not to be found on earth, a dir- 'hem gained honestly, and a friend really sincere.'"

Abû 'l-Jawâiz is author of some good works; his handwriting was elegant, and his poetry charming; I have met with many of his pieces, but I never saw a complete collection of them, neither do I know if such a collection was ever formed. The following verses of his are currently cited:

Love has worn me down as a piece of wood is thinned with a knife; and your aversion has melted me away, so that I am become a greater nonentity than the day which is gone by. I am not visible till I see you, for atoms of dust do not appear but in the rays of the sun.

In the piece which follows he has subjected himself to certain rules of composition not at all necessary in poetry (4):

Oh! what sadness was mine when she said: "He has been false in the promises he "made me, and has sported (*with my feelings*)." By the existence of Him who created me to live for her alone (5)! when her image crosses my mind, I am plunged in despair (6).

He died A.H. 460 (A.D. 1067-8). The *Khatîb* says: "I heard Abû 'l-Jawâiz "mention that he was born A. H. 382 (A. D. 992-3), and, after the year 460, I

"never heard more of him." It is certain, however, that he died, as we have said, in 460; the *Khatib*, it is true, does not declare it expressly; he only notices the epoch at which he ceased to hear of him.

(1) Abû 'l-Hasan Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah, surnamed Ibn Sukkara, a celebrated philologist and poet, was descended from Ali, son of the Abbaside khalif al-Mahdi, for which reason he was entitled al-Abbâsi. He was also named al-Hâshimi, being descended, as all the Abbasides, from Hâshim, great-grandfather of Muhammad. His collected poetical works form a mass of fifty thousand verses, the prevailing character of which is gaiety and humour. He and his contemporary Ibn Hajjâj were, by their rivalry, the Jarir and Farazdak of the epoch. He died A. H. 385 (A. D. 996).—(Al-Yâfi's Annals. *Yatîma*, No. 1370, fol. 206. Specimens of his poetry may be found in both works.)

(2) Literally: He was not a *thikat;* see note (5), page 102.

(3) I have been obliged to paraphrase this verse, so as to render the author's idea.

(4) Literally: In this piece is strict observance of what is not obligatory: *luzûm ma la yalzum*. See note (3), page 97.

(5) Literally: Who made me a *wakf* (*settled*) on her and for her (*use*). See note (7), page 49.

(6) Literally: It clothes me with despair.

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## ALAM AD-DIN AS-SHATANI.

Abû Ali al-Hasan Ibn Saîd Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Bundâr Ibn Ibrahîm as-Shâtâni, surnamed Alam ad-dîn (*the signal of religion*), was a jurisconsult, but the cultivation of poetry became his dominant passion, and by his compositions, in which he displayed great talent, he became known as a poet: he then had already left his native town and settled at Mosul, from whence he went occasionally to Baghdad. The vizir Abû 'l-Muzaffar Ibn Hubaira treated him with great deference and favour. The *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn mentions him in the *Kharîda*, and then gives some of his poetry. "He celebrated," says he, "the praises of "Salâh ad-dîn in a poem which begins thus:

'I see victory attached to your yellow standard; proceed then, and conquer the 207 'world, for you are worthy of its possession.'"

The same poem contains this verse:

Fortune is in your right hand and wealth in your left; joy then to him who hopes for their favours! joy be to him!

This poet was born A. H. 510 (A. D. 1116-7); he died in the month of Shâbân, 599 (April, or May, A. D. 1203), at Mosul. Ibn ad-Dubaithi mentions him with praise in his supplement (*to the literary history of Baghdad*) (1).—*Shâtân* is the name of a town (2) in Diâr Bakr.

(1) Ibn ad-Dubaithi's literary history of Baghdad; MS. No. 745, fol. 163.
(2) Ibn ad-Dubaithi says, a castle, قلعة.

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## NASIR AD-DAWLAT IBN HAMDAN.

Abû Muhammad al-Hasan, surnamed *Nâsir ad-Dawlat* (*champion of the empire*), was descended from Taghlib (*the progenitor of an ancient and illustrious Arabic tribe*); his genealogy is as follows: Al-Hasan son of Abû 'l-Haijâ Abd Allah Ibn Hamdân Ibn Hamdûn Ibn al-Hârith Ibn Lokmân Ibn Râshid Ibn al-Mathna Ibn Râfi Ibn al-Hârith Ibn Ghatif Ibn Mihraba Ibn Hâritha Ibn Mâlik Ibn Obaid Ibn Adi Ibn Osâma Ibn Mâlik Ibn Bakr Ibn Habib Ibn Amr Ibn Ghanm Ibn Taghlib. He acted as lieutenant to his father in the government of Mosul, and after passing through many vicissitudes of fortune, he became lord of that city and its dependencies. On this occasion he was honoured with the title of *Nâsir ad-Dawlat,* by the khalif al-Muttaki Lillah, who granted also to his brother, on the same day, the title of *Saif ad-Dawlat* (*sword of the empire*). This was on the first of the month of Shâbân, A. H. 330 (April, A. D. 942). Their influence then became very great. Abd Allah Ibn Hamdân, their father, had been appointed governor of Mosul and its dependencies, A. H. 292 (A. D. 904-5), by the khalif al-Muktafi Billah, and he made his entry into the city towards the beginning of the year 293. Nâsir ad-Dawlat was older than his brother Saif ad-Dawlat and in higher favour with the khalifs. The two brothers made the greater part of their literary studies together, and a coolness having once taken place between them, Saif ad-Dawlat addressed these verses to Nàsir ad-Dawlat:

> Though suffering from your harshness, I shall not act unkindly; neither shall I neglect my duty, in whatever state I may be. You are (*to me as*) a parent, and a parent's severity is best repaid with patience and resignation.

Another time, he wrote to him these verses, which are mentioned by ath-Thâlibi in his *Yatîma*:

> I concede to you exalted rank, although I am worthy of it; and I say to (*my advisers*): "There is a difference between me and my brother." I have no aversion for rank, 'tis true; but I forego my rights, so that you (*my brother!*) may enjoy the plenitude of yours. (*But yet in the race of honours*) I must surely hold the second place, if I consent to yield you up the first.

On the death of Saif ad-Dawlat (an event of which we shall give the date in his life), a great change was produced in the character and disposition of his brother Nâsir ad-Dawlat, who loved him dearly; his intellectual faculties became so weak, that his children and domestics no longer retained for him any respect, and he was at length arrested at Mosul by his son Abû Taghlib Fadl Allah, surnamed Oddat ad-Dawlat (*strength of the empire*), and commonly called *al-Ghadanfer* (*the lion*). Fadl Allah, who in this action was seconded by the approbation of his brothers, sent his father to the castle of as-Salâma in the fortress of Ardumusht (1). (My professor Ibn al-Athîr says, in his History, that this fortress is now called Kawâshi.) This event took place on Tuesday, the 24th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 356 (May, A. D. 967). Nâsir ad-Dawlat remained 208 in confinement till his death, which happened on the afternoon of Friday, the second of the first Rabî, 358 (January, A. D. 969). His corpse was borne to Mosul, and interred at Tall Tauba (2), a hill on the east side of the city. Some say that he died in 357. Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Mâlik al-Hamadâni (3) says, in his *Onwân as-Siar*, towards the end of the life of Nâsir ad-Dawlat: "He "continued to govern the provinces of Mosul and other places, till the year "356, when he was arrested by his son al-Ghadanfer; he had been emir over "those countries for thirty-two years. He died on Friday, 12th of the first "Rabî, 357 (February, A. D. 968)." His father Abû 'l-Haijâ Abd Allah was slain at Baghdad on the 17th Muharram, A. H. 317 (March, A. D. 929), whilst protecting the khalif al-Kâhir Billah. The history of this event is well known (4).—When Adad ad-Dawlat Ibn Bûwaih slew his cousin Bakhtyar and took possession of Baghdad, Abû Taghlib al-Ghadanfer, who had fought on the side of the latter, was embroiled in an affair with the conqueror, the circumstances of which would be too long to relate; we shall only state in a summary manner, that Adad ad-Dawlat went to attack him at Mosul, from which al-Gha-

danfer retreated and encamped outside of Damascus, which was in the possession of Kassâm al-Aiyâr (5). (*Al-Ghadanfer*) then wrote to the sovereign of Egypt, al-Azîz Ibn al-Moizz, soliciting the government of Syria, to which al-Aziz gave ostensibly his consent, but secretly opposed obstacles to the fulfilment of his promise. After this, al-Ghadanfer proceeded to Ramla, in the month of Muharram, A. H. 369 (August, A. D. 979) (6); but as that place was in the hands of al-Mufrij Ibn al-Jarrâh al-Badwi at-Tâi (7), he retreated from it, and collected fresh troops to attack the place. He then returned and gave al-Mufrij battle, at the gate of the city, on Monday, 1st of Safar; but his partisans having been defeated, he was made prisoner and put to death on Tuesday, 2nd of the month of Safar of that year (September, A. D. 979). His birth took place on Tuesday, 11th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 328 (August, A. D. 940).—I have given the genealogy of this family on the authority of the vizir Abû 'l-Kâsim Ibn al-Maghribi, who has inserted it in his work entitled *Adab al-Khawâss*.—The genealogist Muhammad Ibn Asad al-Asadi says: "Taghlib (*the progenitor of the tribe so called*) was named Dithâr, but "he obtained the surname of Taghlib for the following reason: His father "Wâil was beset in his dwelling by (*the tribes of*) Yemen, who had the in- "tention of making his family prisoners, but he called aloud on his people and "companions, and with their assistance he defeated them of Yemen. Taghlib "was then a child, and his father prognosticated well of him and said: "'This "is *Taghlib*,' (*thou shalt conquer*,) and such was the name by which he was "called ever after."

(1) "*Ardumusht*, a strong fortress near *Jazîrat Ibn Omar*, on mount Jûdi or Ararat, to the east of the Tigris. "Below the fortress lies another fortress, Dair az-Zafarân (*saffron convent*), which is also called *Lawâshi* "لواشى. It is one of the dependencies of Mosul."—(*Marâsid*). In the MS. of Ibn al-Athîr, the name of this place is written *Kawâshi* كواشى; see t. II. f. 21, *verso*, and f. 23, *v.*

(2) "*Tall Tauba* تل توبة (*the hill of repentance*) lies opposite to Mosul on the Nineva side (*of the river* "*Tigris*); a chapel is there which is visited by the pious. This place was so named, it is said, because the "people of Nineva went out to it and repented when Jonas threatened them with God's vengeance."—(*Marâsid*.)

(3) This writer died A. H. 521 (A. D. 1127).—(Ibn al-Athîr; Hajji Khalifa.)

(4) The khalif al-Muktadir had been deposed by Mûnis the eunuch, Nâzûk نازوك, chief of the police guards (*Sâhib as-Shorta*), and Abû 'l-Haijâ Ibn Hamdân, who had come from the province of al-Jabal with a large body of troops to assist the conspirators. On the accession of the new khâlif, al-Kâhir, the imperial

guards الرجالة المصافية came in arms to demand the customary donation and an additional year's pay. As they did not obtain immediately what they required, they reinstated al-Muktadir on the throne, after massacring Nâzûk and Abû 'l-Haijâ. A full relation of this event is given by Ibn al-Athîr in his Annals, from which Abû 'l-Fedâ has extracted his abridged account of the same revolution.

(5) This Kassâm had succeeded Iftikîn as governor of Damascus. He acknowledged the authority of the Fatimite khalif al-Azîz, and had prayers said for him in the mosques of that city. — (Ibn al-Athîr, year 368.)

(6) The MSS. of Ibn Khallikân have 367, سبع for تسع; but this is a fault, probably of an early copyist The facts are fully related and the true dates given in Abû 'l-Fedâ and Ibn al-Athîr.

(7) This was the phylarch of the Bedwin Arabs. He and his family resided at Ramla, and were devoted to the Fatimite dynasty of Egypt. Ibn Khaldûn, in his notice on the Arabian tribes which settled in Africa, gives the history of this family.

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## RUKN AD-DAWLAT IBN BUWAIH.

Abû Ali al-Hasan Ibn Buwaih Ibn Fannâkhosrû ad-Dailami, surnamed Rukn ad-Dawlat (*pillar of the state*): the rest of his genealogy has been already given in the life of his brother, Moizz ad-Dawlat Ahmad (*page* 155). He was lord of Ispahan, Rai, Hamadan, and all Persian Irak, and father of the three princes, Adad ad-Dawlat Fannâkhosrû, Muwaiyad ad-Dawlat Abû Mansûr Bûwaih, and Fakhr ad-Dawlat Abû 'l-Hasan Ali. Rukn ad-Dawlat was a powerful and aspiring prince; he had for vizir Ibn al-Amîd (1), on whose death he appointed Abû 'l-Fath Ali, the son of Ibn al-Amîd, to the same situation. The Sâhib Ibn Abbâd was vizir to his son Muwaiyad ad-Dawlat, and, on that sovereign's death, to Fakhr ad-Dawlat; this circumstance we have already mentioned in the life of the Sâhib (*page* 213). Rukn ad-Dawlat reigned prosperously, and was favoured by fortune in possessing three such sons; it was between them that he shared his possessions, and they governed with the greatest ability. He had two brothers; Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Imâd ad-Dawlat, who was older than himself, and Abû 'l-Husain Ahmad Moizz ad-Dawlat, who was younger. The life of the latter has been already given (*page* 155). Rukn ad-Dawlat died at Rai on Friday night, 18th of the month of Muharram, A. H. 366 (September, A. D. 976), and was buried in the mausoleum which bears his name. "His birth is placed, by conjecture, in the year 284 (A. D. 897);" such are the words of Abû Ishak as-Sâbi. He reigned forty-four years, one month, and nine days, and was succeeded by his son Muwaiyad ad-Dawlat.

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(1) The life of Ibn al-Amid is given in this work. In the preceding pages I have written the name *Omaid*, in consequence of having misunderstood a grammatical observation made by Ibn Khallikân.

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## AL-HASAN IBN SAHL THE VIZIR.

Abû Muhammad al-Hasan Ibn Sahl Ibn Abd Allah as-Sarakhsi succeeded his brother al-Fadl Zû 'r-Riâsatain as vizir to al-Mamûn, whose favour he thenceforward enjoyed to a high degree. We have already made mention (*page* 268) of his daughter Bûrân, of her marriage with al-Mâmûn, and of the heavy expense to which her father al-Hasan went on that occasion; we shall therefore abstain from repeating the same account here. Al-Mâmûn gave him the government of all the provinces conquered by Tâhir Ibn al-Husain, as we shall mention in the life of the latter. Al-Hasan was of a noble disposition and very generous in his donations to poets and other (*literary*) men: a poet once went to him and recited in his presence these verses:

> When my wife (1) saw me saddle my camels, although I had just ungirthed them, she said: "Can a distant journey await camels, now that al-Fadl (2) is no more?"—"Yes," I replied, "they must (*bear me*) to al-Hasan Ibn Sahl."

For this piece the poet received a rich present.—He went forth, one day, to accompany to some distance al-Mâmûn, who was setting out on a journey; and when they were about separating, al-Mâmûn said to him: "Abû Muhammad! "do you desire any thing?"—"Yes, Commander of the faithful;" replied al-Hasan, "that you preserve towards me those favourable feelings of your heart, "the possession of which I cannot ensure to myself but with your concurrence." —One of those (*who knew him*) relates the following anecdote: "I was present "at an audience given by al-Hasan Ibn Sahl, and a person came to thank him "for a letter of recommendation which he had written in his favour; on this, the "vizir replied: 'Why thank me? I consider (*the duty of*) intercession as the "legal alms (*which render the capital*) of my honourable feelings (*acceptable* "*to God*) (3)."—The same narrator says: "I was present, one day, whilst he "dictated (*to his secretary*) a letter of recommendation, and he himself wrote at "the end of it these words: 'I have been told that, on the day of judgment, a man

"will be questioned respecting the use he made of the influence given him by "his rank in the world, in the same manner as he will be questioned respect- "ing the use he made of the superfluity of his wealth (4).'—He said to his sons: "'My sons! learn the use of language; it is by it that man holds his pre-emi- "nence over other animals; the higher the skill which you attain in the use of "language, the nearer you approach to the ideal of human nature.'"—Al-Hasan continued to act as vizir to al-Mâmûn till he had an attack of *black bile (melancholy)*, caused by excessive grief on learning the murder of his brother al-Fadl; (we shall narrate this event in the life of the latter.) His melancholy overcame him so far, that he had to be confined to his house, and was unable to fulfil the duties of his office. "In the year 203 (A. D. 818-9)," says at-Tabari in his History, "Al-Hasan Ibn Sahl was overcome by black bile, occa- "sioned by a fit of sickness; this sickness impaired his reason to such a degree, "that it was necessary to chain him and confine him in a chamber. Al-Mâmûn "then took for his vizir Ahmad Ibn Abi Khâlid." Al-Hasan died at Sarakhs, on the first of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 236 (June, A. D. 851), (some say 235).—The following verses were made in his praise by Yûsuf al-Jawhari:

> Could Zohair see Hasan and the manner in which his generosity employs his wealth, Zohair would say, at the sight: "It is he who is the liberal man despite of misfortunes, "and not Harim!"

Towards the end of this work, in the life of Yahya Ibn Isa Ibn Matrûh, we shall give the anecdote of Zohair and Harim Ibn Sinân (5).—In the life of Abû Bakr Muhammad al-Khowârezmi mention is made of al-Hasan Ibn Sahl.—*Sarakhsi* means *belonging to Sarakhs,* which is a city in Khorasan. 210

(1) Notwithstanding the authority of the MSS. I read حليلى, not خليلى.

(2) That is: Why undertake a long journey to solicit favours, now that the best of patrons, the vizir al-Fadl Ibn Sahl is no more?

(3) By the Moslim law, property is liable to a yearly tax of 2 1/2 *per cent.* This tax is called *Zakat (alms)*, and the payment of it is necessary to render the possession and use of the remaining capital agreeable to God. In Hamilton's *Hedaya*, vol. I., will be found an account of this tax and its primitive object.

(4) This phrase in the original Arabic is expressed with singular concision, and is yet perfectly clear.

(5) Some time anterior to Islamism, a destructive warfare existed between the tribes of Abs and Dubyân, but the feud was at length appeased by Harim Ibn Sinân and al-Hârith Ibn Aûf, who generously paid *the price of blood* to the relations of those who had fallen in the contest. For this, Zohair Ibn Abi Sulma praises them both in his celebrated Moallaka.

## AL-WAZIR AL-MUHALLABI.

Abû Muhammad al-Hasan Ibn Muhammad Ibn Harûn Ibn Ibrahîm Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Yazîd Ibn Hâtim Ibn Kabîsa Ibn al-Muhallab Ibn Abi Sufra al-Azdi al-Muhallabi al-Wazîr (*the vizir descended from al-Muhallab and member of the tribe cf Azd,*) was appointed vizir by Moizz ad-Dawlat Ibn Bûwaih (see his life, *page* 155) on Monday, 27th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 339 (November, A. D. 950); his powerful influence, generous disposition, lofty spirit, and firm administration have rendered him celebrated, whilst his acquaintance with literature and his friendship for men of learning reached to an extreme. Previously to the period at which he was attached to the service of Moizz ad-Dawlat, he had suffered greatly from want and distress: in one of his journeys, after undergoing severe fatigue, he had a longing for flesh-meat, and not being able to procure any, he recited extempore the following verses:

> Where is death sold, that I may buy it? for this life is devoid of good. Oh! let death, whose taste (*to me*) is sweet, come and free me from a detested life! When I see a tomb from afar, I wish to be its inhabitant. May the Being who granteth tranquillity, have compassion on the soul of the generous man who will bestow death, as a charity, upon one of his brethren!

These verses were heard by a person, who was travelling (*in the same caravan*) with him, and whose name was Abd Allah as-Sûfi, or, by another account, Abû 'l-Hasan al-Askalâni; this man bought for him a dirhim's worth of meat, and cooked it, and gave it to him to eat. They then separated, and al-Muhallabi having experienced a change of fortune, became vizir to Moizz ad-Dawlat at Baghdad, while the person who had travelled with him and purchased the meat for him, was reduced to poverty; having then learned that al-Muhallabi was a vizir, he set out to find him and wrote to him these lines:

> Repeat to the vizir, for whose life I would sacrifice my own—repeat to him the words of one who reminds him of what he has forgotten. "Do you remember when, in a life of misery, you said: *Where is death sold, that I may buy it?*"

The vizir, on reading the note, recollected the circumstance, and, moved with the joy of doing a generous action, he ordered seven hundred dirhims to be given to the writer, and inscribed these words on the paper: *The similitude*

*of those who lay out their substance in the service of God, is as a grain of corn which has produced seven ears and in every ear a hundred grains; for God giveth many-fold to whom he pleaseth* (1). He then prayed God's blessing on him and clothed him in a robe of honour, and appointed him to a place under government, so that he might live in easy circumstances.—Al-Muhallabi, on being raised from penury to the vizirat, composed these lines:

Fortune pitied (*me*) for my misery, and lamented the length of the sufferings which consumed me; she has granted me what I hoped for, and delivered (*me*) from what I apprehended. I shall therefore pardon her former wrongs, and even the crime of turning my hair to gray.

By the same:

In the haste of our separation, whilst my heart was enflamed (*with anguish*), the person whom I loved said to me: "What will you do on the way after (*leaving*) me?" And I replied: "I shall weep for your (*loss*) the length of the way."

Among the verses said to have been composed by him in the time of his poverty and addressed to a person in high authority, are the following, which some, however, attribute to Abû Nuwâs: 211

If I asked you to increase my afflictions, such an augmentation would be beyond your power. Were a life such as I have led offered to the dead, they would refuse it.

Abû Ishak as-Sâbi, the author of the epistles (2), says: "I was one day with "the vizir al-Muhallabi, and he took a sheet of paper to write, on which I said "extempore:

'He has a hand of surpassing liberality by its gifts, and a discourse of which he 'scatters the pearls upon the paper. Hâtim is concealed in his hand (3), and Sah-'bân in his fingers (4).'"

Moizz ad-Dawlat had a Turkish mamlûk of singular beauty, named Tikin al-Jamdâr (5); he was extremely fond of him and sent him as the commander of a military expedition against one of the Hamdân family. On this, the following lines were made by the vizir al-Muhallabi, who found the youth handsome enough to adorn a court (6), but not suited to sustain the toils of war:

(*There is*) a child with the waters (*of youth*) mantling in his face, and the wood of his (*body*) yet tender; he is so like a girl, that his bosom might be expected soon to swell;

yet to his slender waist they have hung a sword, and tied around it a belt which hurts him; they have made him chief of an army, but the troop and the leader of it will both perish.

And so it really was, the mamlûk being unsuccessful in his expedition.—A singularly sentimental line of his is the following:

(*My*) eyelids parted when you parted with me, and they met not again but over a flowing tear.

The traits of his generous character abound. He was born at Basra on Monday night, 26th Muharram, A. H. 291 (December, A. D. 903), and he died on Saturday, 26th Shàbân, A. H. 352 (September, A. D. 963), whilst making a journey to Wâsit. His body was borne to Baghdad, where it arrived on Wednesday night, 5th Ramadân of the same year, and was interred in that part of the *Nûbakhtiya* cemetery which is called the burial-ground of the Koraish.—*Muhallabi* means *descended from al-Muhallab,* of whom we shall give the life. On the death of this vizir, the following elegy was composed by the poet al-Husain Ibn al-Hajjâj (whose life will be found farther on):

People of poets! (*hear*) the cry of one afflicted; of one for whom the joy of consolation can no more be hoped. Give solace to poetry for the loss of the vizir; poetry weeps blood over him after (*exhausting*) its tears. He is dead! the man behind whom praise toiled ineffectually, and before whom proceeded clemency (*like*) the clemency of God. In his death, fortune has overthrown the fortress to which we retired for protection against fortune's wrongs. Let the sons of Buwaih know, that the days (*of their prosperity*) are now crossed by affliction.

(1) Koran, surat 2, verse 263.

(2) See page 31.

(3) The generosity of Hâtim is well known.

(4) Sahbân was an ancient Arab celebrated for his eloquence.—(*Al-Hariri,* p. 42; Rasmussen's *Additamenta,* p. 74.)

(5) *Jamdâr;* officer of the wardrobe.—(De Sacy's *Chrestomathie,* t. I. p. 135; t. II. p. 186.)

(6) The Arabic scholar will perceive that a modification is here made in the sense of the original text.

## THE VIZIR NIZAM AL-MULK.

The vizir Abû Ali al-Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Ishak Ibn al-Abbâs at-Tûsi (*native of* 212 *Tûs*) was surnamed Nizâm al-Mulk, Kawwâm ad-dîn (*the regulator* (1) *of the state, upholder of religion*). As-Samâni says in his *Kitâb al-Ansâb:* "RAD-"KAN: a small village near Tûs; it is said that Nizâm al-Mulk was from its "neighbourhood." He was son to a *dihkân* (2), and, after studying the Traditions and jurisprudence, he entered as *kâtib* (3) into the service of Ali Ibn Shâdân, governor of the city of Balkh; but as heavy sums were extorted from him every year by his employer, he abandoned his post and fled to Dâwûd Ibn Mikâil as-Saljûki, the father of Alp Arslân. This prince received from him such proofs of fidelity and attachment, that he gave him over to his son, Alp Arslân, saying: "Consider him as a parent, and disobey not his counsels." When Alp Arslân succeeded to the empire, Nizâm al-Mulk took the direction of affairs, and administered with great talent; he remained in Alp Arslân's service ten years. On the death of that prince, his sons pressed forward to seize on the empire, but Nizâm al-Mulk secured it to Malak Shah, son of Alp Arslân. From that period and during twenty years, all the power was concentrated in the hands of the vizir, whilst the sultan had nothing more to do than show himself on the throne and enjoy the pleasures of the chase. The khalif al-Muktadi Billah, having received a visit from Nizâm al-Mulk, allowed him to be seated in his presence, and addressed him in these terms: "O Hasan! may God be pleased with "thee in as much as the Commander of the faithful is pleased with thee." The court of the vizir Nizâm al-Mulk was greatly frequented by doctors of the law and sûfis, towards the latter of whom he was very beneficent. Being asked the reason of the favour which he showed them, he answered: "I was in the service of a "certain emir, when a sûfi came to me and made me a pious exhortation, and "said: 'Serve Him whose service will be useful to you, and be not taken up with "one whom dogs will eat to-morrow.' I did not understand his meaning; "but the emir used to drink from morning to evening, and had some dogs "which were ferocious like beasts of prey, and devoured strangers at night; "now, it happened that being once overcome with intoxication, he went "out alone, and was torn to pieces by the dogs, which did not recognize

"him. I then knew that this sûfi had received a revelation on the subject, "and I therefore treat these people with respect, in hopes that I may obtain a "similar grace." — On hearing the call to prayers, he immediately abandoned whatever occupation he might be engaged in; and when the Imâm al-Haramain Abû 'l-Maâli, and the author of the Epistle (4), Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Kushairi, came to visit him, he treated them with the utmost respect and made them sit down on the same sofa with himself. He built a number of colleges, convents, and mosques in different provinces. He was the first who set the example of founding a college (5), and he commenced, A. H. 457 (A. D. 1065), the construction of that of Damascus; in the year 459, it was agreed on by every class of persons that Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi should teach therein; but he did not present himself, and Abû Nasr Ibn as-Sabbâgh, the author of the *Shâmil*, taught for twenty days in his place, after which, Abû Ishâk accepted (6). We shall give the full details of this circumstance in the life of Ibn as-Sabbâgh, which see. At the hour of prayer, Abû Ishak used to quit the college and perform his devotions in a mosque; "Because," said he, "I have been informed that the "greater part of the materials employed in the construction of the college has "been procured illegally."—Nizâm al-Mulk learned and taught the Traditions, and he used to say: "I am conscious of not deserving that honour, but I "wish to establish myself in the series (7) of persons who have transmitted the "sayings of the Prophet."—The following verses are declared to be his:

After four-score, strength exists not; and the alacrity of youth is departed. With staff in hand I resemble Moses, but have not the gift of prophecy.

Some persons say, however, that these verses are by Muhammad Ibn Abi 's-Sakr, whose life shall be given farther on.—Nizâm al-Mulk was born on 213 Friday, 21st of Zû'l-Kaada, A. H. 408 (April, A. D. 1018), at Nawkân, one of the two cities of which Tûs is composed (8). In A. H. 485, he set out with Malak Shah for Ispahân, and on Friday night, 10th of Ramadân (October, A. D. 1092), he broke his fast and mounted in his palanquin; on reaching a village called Sahna, near Nahâwend, he remarked that a great number of the Companions of the Prophet had been slain at that place in the time of the khalif Omar Ibn al-Khattâb (9), "and happy," said he, "is the man who is with them!" He was then accosted by a boy of the province of Dailam, in the dress of a sûfi, who

called to him to receive a memorial, and when the vizir reached out his hand to take it, he stabbed him to the heart with a dagger. Nizâm al-Mulk was borne to his pavilion, where he expired, and the murderer took to flight, but having stumbled over a tent-rope, he fell and was immediately taken and put to death. The sultan rode forth without delay to tranquillize the army and console them. The body of the vizir was transported to Ispahan, and there interred. It is said that the assassin was suborned against him by Malak Shah, who was fatigued to see him live so long, and coveted the numerous fiefs which he held in his possession. The sultan survived him for thirty-five days only. This vizir was the ornament of the age in which he lived; his son-in-law, Shibl ad-Dawlat Mukâtil al-Bakri, whose life will be found farther on, lamented his death in an elegiac poem containing the following passage:

> Nizâm al-Mulk was a precious pearl, formed of pure nobleness by the merciful God: it was so fine that the age knew not its worth, and the Maker, jealous for its honour, restored it to its shell.

The assassination of Nizâm al-Mulk has been attributed also to Tâj al-Mulk Abû 'l-Ghanâim al-Marzubân Ibn Khosrû Fîrûz, surnamed Ibn Dârest; he was an enemy of the vizir and in high favour with his sovereign Malak Shah, who, on the death of Nizâm al-Mulk, appointed him to fill the place of vizir. Ibn Dârest was himself slain on Monday night, 12th Muharram, 486 (February, A. D. 1093); having been attacked and cut to pieces by the young mamlûks belonging to the household of Nizâm al-Mulk. He was aged forty-seven years: the tomb over the grave of the shaikh Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi was erected by him.

(1) The word *nizâm*, here rendered by *regulator*, means the thread or string of a pearl necklace. This title indicated that the existence of the vizir was as necessary for the maintenance of order in the state, as the string of a necklace is, to hold the pearls together.

(2) See page 77, note (4).

(3) He appears to have been director of the revenue office, or collector of taxes.

(4) This Epistle is a treatise on sûfism.

(5) This, as may be seen in the introduction, is not exact.

(6) Literally: Sat.

(7) In the Arabic text, for اقفال read قفال.

(8) See page 80.

(9) The battle of Nahâwend was fought A. H. 21 (A. D. 642). See Price's *Retrospect*, vol. I.

## FAKHR AL-KUTTAB AL-JUWAINI.

Abû Ali al-Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Ibrahîm al-Juwaini, surnamed Fakhr al-Kuttâb (*pride of the kâtibs*), was a native of Juwain, but his family came from Baghdad. This celebrated *kâtib* (*scribe*) wrote a great deal, and copied books which are now found in the hands of the public, and for which a high price is asked, on account of the beauty of the writing and the eagerness of purchasers. Imâd ad-dîn praises him highly in the *Kharîda*, and then says: "He was one of the "convivial companions of the *atâbek* Zinki when that prince was in Syria, and "afterwards remained under a shelter of honour near his son Nûr ad-dîn Mah- "mûd. He then travelled to Egypt during the administration of Ibn Ruzzik, "and he dwells there till this day. There is not at present, in Misr, a person "who writes like him." Imâd ad-dîn then cites some passages of a poem addressed by him to al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil, which, were it not so long, we should give here. Fakhr al-Kuttâb died at Kairo, A. H. 584 (A. D. 1118-9), or 586.— *Juwaini* means *belonging to Juwain*, which is a large region near Naisapûr: a great number of learned men bore this patronymic. — The following verses, composed by a native of Irak, were often recited by Fakhr al-Kuttâb:

Men feel regret when unable to accomplish their desires, and you see them rejoice and look gay when they succeed, (*although their projects are then*) as if they had never been fulfilled (1). Projects and the dreams of sleep are, in my opinion, nearly related.

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(1) He means probably that when a project is executed, it is no longer a project. The verse is very obscure, and I may perhaps be mistaken.

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## AL-KARABISI.

Abû Ali al-Husain Ibn Ali Ibn Yazîd al-Karâbîsi was a native of Baghdad, and one of the imâm as-Shâfi's most distinguished disciples, having replaced him occasionally at his course of lectures, and possessing a most extensive knowledge of his doctrines. He composed many works on the main principles of jurispru-

dence and its particular applications; he was skilled in dogmatic theology, and learned in the Traditions. He wrote works on that branch of science which is called *al-Jarh wa 't-Tádil* (*impeachment and justification*) (1), and on other subjects. A great number of persons were instructed by him in jurisprudence. He died A. H. 245, or, according to a statement which appears more correct, in 248 (A. D. 862-3).—*Karâbîsi* is formed from *karâbîs*, which word designates clothes made of a sort of coarse cloth; the singular is *kirbâs*: it is a Persian word, altered in its pronunciation to suit the genius of the Arabic language (2). This doctor sold cloth of that sort, and was therefore called *al-Karâbîsi* (*the clothier*).

(1) The science of *al-Jarh wa 't-Tádîl* treats of the credibility of Traditionists.—See Hajji Khalifa. No. 4009. This term serves also to designate the inquest made by the kâdi into the character of witnesses. See Hamilton's *Hedaya*, vol. II. p. 672.—In the Arabic text of Ibn Khallikân, for الحرج read الجرح. I was led into this mistake by a note of Reiske's, in the Annals of Abû 'l-Fedâ, vol. II. p. 691, and by a passage in M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, t. I p. 39. They are both in the wrong.

(2) The original Persian word is *Kirpâs*.

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## ABU ALI IBN KHAIRAN.

Abû Ali al-Husain Ibn Sâlih Ibn Khairân was a jurisconsult of the sect of as-Shâfi and most eminent for his piety; he was also one of their most talented teachers. The place of kâdi at Baghdad was offered to him in the khalifat of al-Muktadir, and on his refusal to accept it, he was kept under arrest (1) in his house by order of the vizir Ali Ibn Isa, who, when remonstrated with on the subject, answered: "My sole intention was to have it said of our epoch, that "there existed in it one who was kept under arrest in his house, in order that "he might be constrained to accept the place of kâdi." Ibn Khairân reproached Ibn Suraij his acceptance of that office, and told him that such a thing was not fitted for persons of their sect, but for those of Abû Hanifa's (2). According to Abû 'l-Alâ Ibn al-Askari, this doctor died on Tuesday, 16th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 320 (December, A. D. 932); but the *hâfiz* Abû 'l-Hasan ad-Dârakutni

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places his death in the year 310; this statement is declared by the Khatib to be correct, and he pronounces Abû 'l-Alâ's erroneous.

(1) The word ترسيم signifies, *to put under arrest*. This meaning, though perfectly certain, is not given in the dictionaries.

(2) The Shafite doctors frequently reproached those of the sect of Abû Hanîfa with meddling in worldly matters and accepting places under government.

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## THE KADI HUSAIN.

Abû Ali al-Husain Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al-Marwarrûdi, a jurisconsult of the Shafite sect and known by the title of *the kâdi* (1), was a doctor of high authority and author of the treatise on law, entitled *at-Tâlîka* (*notes*). In treating some points of doctrine, he followed a system peculiar to himself, and when the Imâm al-Haramain and al-Ghazzâli say (the former in his *Nihâyat al-Matlab,* and the latter in his *Basît* and *Tawsît*), "*The kâdi says,*" it is he whom they mean and no other. He learned jurisprudence from al-Kaffâl al-Marwazi (whose life will be found among those of the Abd Allahs), and he composed works on the main principles of jurisprudence, on its particular applications, and on controverted subjects. He continued (*till his death*) to act as judge, professor, and *mufti,* and he taught the science of the law to a number of eminent men, amongst whom were al-Farrâ al-Baghawi, the author of the *Tahdîb,* the commentary on the *Sunna,* and other works. The *kâdi* Husain died A. H. 462 (A. D. 1069-70), at Marwarrûd, of which place we have already spoken (*see page* 50).

(1) "When the Shafites speak of *the kâdi*, they mean the Husain here mentioned, but in treating of the "principles of jurisprudence اصول, this denomination is given by the learned in the *Sunna* to Abû Bakr "al-Bâkilâni. When the *two kâdis* are spoken of, it is the latter and Abd al-Jabbâr al-Motazili who are "meant; and the *shaikh* is either Abû 'l-Hasan al-Ashâri or Abû Muhammad al-Juwaini; the word *imâm* "designates either the Imâm al-Haramain or Fakhr ad-dîn ar-Râzi."—(Al-Yâfi.)

## ABU ALI AS-SINJI.

Abû Ali al-Husain Ibn Shoaib Ibn Muhammad as-Sinji, a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi and one of their most eminent imâms, studied jurisprudence in Khorasan under al-Kaffâl al-Marwazi; he had for condisciples the *kadi* Husain, (see the preceding article,) and Abû Muhammad al-Juwaini, the father of the Imâm al-Haramain (whose lives we shall give later). He wrote a commentary on Abû Bakr Ibn al-Haddâd al-Misri's *Forû (or development of the Shafite doctrines)*; this commentary has not been equalled, although many others have been composed on the same work, one of which is by his own professor al-Kaffâl, and another by the kâdi Abû 't-Taiyb at-Tabari. He is also author of a great commentary on the *Talkhis* of Abû 'l-Abbâs Ibn al-Kâss; this work is rare. Another of his productions is the *Majmû* or *collection (containing an exposition of the Shafite doctrines* (1) ). He is cited by Abû Hamîd al-Ghazzâli in the *Wasît*. As-Sinji was the first who possessed an equal acquaintance with the system of jurisprudence followed in Irâk and that practised in Khorasan. The people of Marw, at that period, considered him as their chief jurisconsult. He died some time after the four hundred and thirtieth year of the Hijra (A. D. 1038-9).—*Sinji* means *belonging to Sinj*, a large village near Marw.

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(1) Hajji Khalifa.

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## AL-FARRA AL-BAGHAWI.

Abû Muhammad al-Husain Ibn Masûd Ibn Muhammad, more generally known by the title of al-Farrâ al-Baghawi, was a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, a Traditionist and a commentator on the Korân: in the different sciences he was a sea of knowledge. He learned jurisprudence from the *kâdi* Husain (*see his life, page* 418), and composed a commentary on the Word of God (*the Koran*), and an explanation of the obscurities in the sayings of the Prophet (*the Sunna*); he taught the Traditions and professed (*jurisprudence*), in which he never gave lessons but in a state of legal purity (1). He is author of many works, such as

the *Tahdîb* (*arrangement*) treating of jurisprudence; an explanation of the *Sunna* or Traditions; the *Maâlim at-Tanzîl* (*marks of revelation*), which is a commentary on the *Koran;* the *Masâbîh* (*lights*) (2); the *Jamû bain as-Sahîhain* (*the conjunction of the two Sahîhs*) (3), etc. He died in the month of Shawwâl, A. H. 510 (February, A. D. 1117), at Marwarrûd, and was interred in the cemetery of Tâlakân, close by the grave of his master the *kâdi* Husain. His tomb is famous among the people of that country. I have read (*however*) in a work compiled by the *shaikh* Abd al-Azîm al-Mundiri, and entitled *al-Fuwâid as-Safariya* (*travelling notes?*), that al-Farrâ al-Baghawi died A. H. 516 (A. D. 1122-3): this I found written in his own hand. He relates also: "A wife of "this doctor died, and he refused to accept any portion of the inheritance left "by her: he used also to live on dry bread, but having been blamed for this (*as "an affectation of abstinence*), he ate his bread with olive oil."—*Farrâ* means a preparer or seller of *furs*.—As-Samâni says in his *Kitâb al-Ansâb:* "*Baghawi* "is the relative adjective derived from *Bagh* or *Baghshûr*, which is the name "of a town in Khorasan, lying between Marw and Herat; this adjective is "formed irregularly."

(1) See the *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, tom. II. p. 7.

(2) This is the work which was remodelled by the shaikh Wali ad-dîn Mahmûd, and entitled by him *Mishkât-al-Masâbîh (the niche for the lights)*. The *Mishkât* has been translated into English by Capt. Matthews.

(3) That is: The *union* of the Traditions found in *Sahîh* of al-Bokhâri and in that of Muslim.

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## AL-HALIMI.

Abû Abd Allah al-Husain Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Muhammad Ibn Halîm, a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi and known by the name of al-Halîmi, was born in Jurjân, A. H. 338 (A. D. 949-50), whence he was carried (*when yet a child*) to Bokhâra. He wrote down the Traditions under the dictation of Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Habib and other masters. After studying jurisprudence under Abû Bakr al-Udani and al-Kaffâl as-Shâshi, he became an *imâm* of high consideration and authority in Transoxianâ. He had an excellent manner of

treating points of the Shafite doctrine. When at Naisapûr, he taught the Traditions, and al-Hâfiz al-Hâkim (*Ibn al-Baiyi*) and others gave Traditions on his authority. His death took place on the first Jumâda (some say on the first Rabî), 216 A. H. 403 (end of A. D. 1012).—*Halîmi* is derived from *Halîm*, which was the name of his great-grandfather.

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## AL-WANNI AL-FARADI.

Abû Abd Allah al-Husain Ibn Muhammad al-Wanni al-Faradi (1) was a skilful accountant, a doctor of the highest authority in the science of partitions, and a composer of many excellent works. He learned the Traditions from the disciples of Abû Ali as-Saffâr and others, and taught them to the Khatîb at-Tabrizi, to Abû Hakîm al-Khabri (2), the author of the *Talkhis fi 'l-Hisâb* (*treatise on arithmetic*), and others. He was al-Khabri's master in arithmetic and the science of partitions. His instructions and his books were profitable to great numbers. He died a martyr at Baghdad in the month of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 451 (January, A. D. 1060), having been slain in the troubles caused by al-Basâsîri (*see page* 173).—*Wanni* means *belonging to Wann*, a village in one of the cantons of Kûhestan; I imagine that it was his native place.

(1) *Al-Faradi; learned in the science of Partitions* (*Furûd*); by which term is designated that branch of knowledge which is requisite for the solution of questions relative to the partition of inherited property amongst heirs. Those nearest related to the deceased are entitled to a larger share than the others, and the amount of each share depends upon the degree of relationship. As it therefore frequently happened that such questions could not be resolved but by the aid of the arithmetic of fractions and the *first principles of algebra*, there were then but few doctors capable of treating them, and when they possessed that talent, the honourable title of *al-Faradi* was conferred on them by their contemporaries. The science of partitions is coeval with Islamism.

(2) Abû Hakîm Abd Allah Ibn Ibrahîm al-Faradi al-Khabri (*native of Khabr, a place in or near Naisapûr*) studied jurisprudence under the shaikh Abû Ishak as-Shirâzi, but he became eminent as an arithmetician and a doctor in the science of partitions, on which he wrote some works. He was well acquainted with pure Arabic and composed a commentary on the *Hamâsa* and another on the poems of al-Mutanabbi. He had learned a great number of the Traditions, and was a man of holy life. His writing was beautiful and correct. He died suddenly, A. H. 476 (A. D. 1084).—(*Tabâkat as-Shâfyîn.*)

## IBN KHAMIS AL-JUHANI.

Abû Abd Allah al-Husain Ibn Nasr Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Husain Ibn al-Kâsim Ibn Khamîs Ibn Aâmir al-Kaabi al-Juhani was a native of Mosul, and is generally known by the name of Ibn Khamîs. This doctor, who belonged to the sect of as-Shâfi and bore the titles of Tâj al-Islâm (*crown of Islamism*) and Majd ad-dîn (*glory of religion*), studied jurisprudence at Baghdad under Abû Hâmid al-Ghazzâli and other masters; he (*then*) became kâdi of Rahabat Mâlik Ibn Tauk (1), and afterwards returned to Mosul, where he settled. He composed many works, such as the *Manâkib al-Abrâr* (*merits of the saints*), written in the style of al-Kushairi's Epistle (2); the *Manâsik al-Hajj* (*rites of the pilgrimage*); and the *Akhbâr al-Manâmât* (*accounts of dreams*). He is mentioned with commendation by Abû Saad as-Samâni in his History. He died in the month of the second Rabî, A. H. 552 (May, A. D. 1157).—*Khamîs* was the name of his great-grandfather's grandfather.—*Juhani* means *belonging to Juhaina,* a village near Mosul and in the proximity of that other village in which is the celebrated well called *Aîn al-Kaiyâra,* the waters of which, when taken in baths, are salutary in cases of palsy and scrofula (3); it lies in the flat country of Mosul, and lower down than that city, from which it is farther off than Juhaina. *Juhani* is also the relative adjective derived from *Juhaina,* the name of a great tribe descended from Kodâa.—*Kaabi* means *belonging to Kaab;* there are four tribes of this name, but I do not know to which Ibn Khamis belonged.

(1) This town, called also ar-Rahaba, was situated on the Euphrates, between ar-Rakka and Aana. It is mentioned in the Geography of Abû 'l-Fedâ.

(2) The Epistle (*risâla*) of Abd al-Karîm al-Kushairi treats of sûfism; it is divided into three sections and contains fifty-four chapters. It is considered a work of the highest authority on the subject. A number of doctors have composed commentaries upon it.—(Hajji Khalifa.)—A list of the chapters contained in this celebrated *risâla* is given by M. de Hammer, in the Catalogue of his oriental manuscripts, under the No. 201.

(3) *Scrofula,* so I have translated by conjecture the words *ar-riâh al-bârida,* which signify literally *cold winds,* or perhaps *cold humours.*

## AL-HALLAJ.

Abû Mughîth al-Husain Ibn Mansûr al-Hallâj, a celebrated ascetic, was a native of al-Baida, a town in the province of Fars, but he passed his youth in Wâsit and Irak. He was a disciple of Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Junaid, and people are still at variance respecting his true character; some extolling him to the utmost, whilst others treat him as an infidel. I read in Abû Hâmid al-Ghazzâli's *Mishkât al-Anwâr* a long chapter on him, justifying the singular expressions which he uttered, such as *I am the Truth; there is nought in Paradise but God*, and assertions of a similar nature, the very mention of which is shocking to the ears (1). Al-Ghazzâli places all these expressions in a good light, and gives them an interpretation (*by which their impiety is removed*); he says also that he was led into them from excessive love (*towards God*) and extreme desire (*to enjoy his presence*), and that these expressions may be assimilated to the following:

> I am he whom I love, and he whom I love is I; we are two souls dwelling in one body. When thou seest me, thou seest him; and when thou seest him, thou seest us.

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Among the verses attributed to al-Hallâj, and containing allusions expressed in the mystical style of the sûfis, are the following (which, however, are said to have been written by Abû 'l-Kâsim Samnûn Ibn Hamza the ascetic (2) to a person who wrote to inquire from him how he was):

> Thou didst send to ask how I was, and what care and sadness I felt in thy absence (3). I had not been, did I know how I was; and there were no *I had not been*, did I know how I was not (4).

Such also is this verse in the same style:

> He threw him into the ocean with his hands tied behind his back, and said to him: "Beware! beware! lest thou gettest wet (5)!"

Other verses of the same cast have also been attributed to him. Abû Bakr Ibn Thawâba al-Kasri relates that he heard al-Husain Ibn Mansûr al-Hallâj say, when undergoing the torture of the rack (6):

> I sought through every land a place of repose, but found it not; I obeyed my desires, and they made of me a slave; had I been content (*with my lot*), I had been free.

In a word, the history of al-Hallâj is long to relate, his fate is well known, and God knoweth all secret things!—The grandfather of al-Hallâj was a Magian; he himself was a disciple of al-Junaid and others of that class, and most of the learned doctors of the time gave their formal opinion that it was lawful to put him to death (7). It is said that Abû 'l-Abbâs Ibn Suraij, on being asked what he thought of him, returned this answer: "He is a man whose true character is "hidden from me, and I shall therefore abstain from giving any opinion re-"specting him." At an assembly held by Hâmid Ibn al-Abbâs, vizir to al-Muktadir, a discourse was held by al-Hallâj, and the kâdi Ibn Omar, who was present, gave a *fatwa* (*or judicial opinion*) that he merited death; this he wrote down with his own hand, and the same declaration was signed by the other doctors who were there. On this, al-Hallâj said to them: "You cannot flog me, "neither can you spill my blood (8); and it is not lawful for you to take hold "of a pretext against me so that you may authorize the shedding of my blood: "my belief is Islamism, founded on the *Sunna*; I admit the pre-eminence of "the four *imâms*, of the well-directed khalifs (9), and of the rest of the ten "Companions (10); may the favour of God be upon them! I have besides com-"posed works on the *Sunna*, which are to be found at the booksellers'. So "on God—on God (*do I call*) that he protect my blood." He continued repeating these words whilst they were writing down their opinions, and when they had finished and withdrawn, al-Hallâj was taken to prison. The vizir then informed al-Muktadir, by letter, of the result of the meeting, and sent him the decisions of the doctors; to this, answer was made, that since the kâdis had given their opinion that he merited death, he should be handed over to the chief of the police guards, who should inflict on him one thousand strokes of a whip, and another thousand if his death did not ensue, and that he should then behead him. The vizir, in consequence, handed al-Hallâj over to the chief of the police guards, whom he informed of the orders given by al-Muktadir; he said to him also: "If al-Hallâj does not expire under the bastonnade, cut off one "of his hands, then one of his feet, then the other hand, then the other foot; "then strike off his head and burn his body. And if he try to beguile you, and "say to you that he will make the Euphrates and Tigris run gold and silver, "do not hearken to him nor suspend his punishment." The chief of the police received the prisoner that night, and the next morning, which was Tuesday,

23rd (or, as some say, 24th) of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 309 (March, A. D. 922), he brought him to the *Bâb at-Tâk* (*the gate of the dome*), where an immense multitude of people was assembled. The executioner inflicted one thousand strokes on al-Hallâj, who did not utter a groan, but said to the chief of the police guards, towards the six hundredth: "Let me be brought near you, "for I have an advice to give you which will be worth the capture of Constantinople."—"I have been already told," replied the other, "that you would "say this and more; and it is not in my power to suspend your punishment." After the infliction of the bastinado, his four limbs were cut off; he was then beheaded, his body was consumed by fire, the ashes were cast into the Tigris, and the head was stuck up at Baghdad, on the bridge. His disciples flattered themselves with the hopes of his returning (*on earth*) after forty days, and as a great inundation of the Tigris occurred the same year, they pretended that it was produced by the ashes of al-Hallâj which had been thrown into the river. Some of his partisans asserted that he had not been put to death, but that his likeness had been given to one of his enemies (*who thus suffered in his stead*). It would be too long to enter into a full account of his conduct, but what we have here said may suffice.—He received the surname of *al-Hallâj* because he used to sit by the shop of a cotton-carder (*hallâj*) whom he (*one day*) asked to do some business for him;—"But I myself am busy carding;" answered the other. —"Do my business," said al-Hallâj, "and I will card for you." The man then went off, leaving him there, and on his return he found all his cotton carded.—After finishing this notice, I found in a work on the principles of religion, composed by the Imâm al-Haramain Abû 'l-Maâli al-Juwaini, and entitled *as-Shâmil*, a passage which it is necessary for me to mention, and in which I am obliged to point out an error. That doctor says: "Some of our "best and soundest authorities state that the three persons (*named below*) con-"spired to overthrow the (*Moslim*) empire, and undertook to disorganise the "state and gain over the hearts of the people to themselves. Each of them then "proceeded to a particular region: al-Jannâbi went to the province of al-"Ahsâ (11); Ibn al-Mukaffa penetrated into the country of the Turks; and "al-Hallâj repaired to Baghdad, the sovereign of which city condemned him "to death: the failure of the project was caused by the difficulty of seducing "the people of Irak." Now, this statement cannot be received by any histo-

rian; for these three persons were not contemporaries; as for al-Hallâj and al-Jannâbi, they lived, it is true, at the same period, but I do not know that they ever met (12). In the following article we shall relate who this al-Jannâbi was.

(1) The chief point of the sûfi doctrine seems to be that the human soul is an emanation, or perhaps a portion of the Divinity. On the death of the body, the soul is absorbed into the Creator; and this sometimes happens even in life during the state of excitation called *hâl* by the sûfis. Most of the singular expressions which shocked the orthodox Moslims, are easily explained on this principle. One of the clearest accounts of sûfism is given by M. de Sacy in the *Notices et Extraits*, tom. XII.

(2) Samnûn was a sûfi and contemporary with al-Junaid. Jâmi has given a short account of him in the *Nafahât al-Uns*.

(3) In the Arabic text, this verse and the foregoing parenthesis are not given till some lines lower down.

(4) Such is the literal translation of this strange verse; its meaning is above my comprehension.

(5) This is manifestly directed against the doctrine of predestination.

(6) Literally: When on the wood.

(7) Some doctors of very high authority have considered him as a great saint, and he was looked on as a martyr by Abû Hâmid al-Ghazzâli, Abd al-Kâdir Mûhi ad-dîn, and Shihâb ad-dîn as-Sahraurdi.—(Al-Yâfi.)

(8) Literally: My back is under protection and my blood is prohibited.

(9) The well-directed khalifs, *al-Khulafâ ar-Râshidîn*, were Abû Bakr, Omar, Othman, and Ali.

(10) The others were Talha, Zubair, Saad Ibn Abi Wakkâs, Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Auf, Abû Obâida Ibn al-Jarrâh, and Saîd Ibn Zaid. Muhammad had declared to them that they should enter paradise.

(11) Al-Ahsa, called by Europeans Lahsa, is a town in Arabia, to the south-west of the Persian Gulf.

(12) The author now proceeds to give the lives of al-Jannâbi and Ibn al-Mukaffa, neglecting, in this case, the alphabetical arrangement of his work. In his account of the latter, he concludes his refutation of the Imâm al-Haramain's statement.

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## AL-JANNABI.

Abû Tâhir Sulaimân Ibn Abi Saîd al-Hasan Ibn Bahrâm al-Kirmiti was the chief of the Karmats, whose wars and revolts against the khalifs and (*Moslim*) princes are sufficiently known to dispense with our lengthening this article by giving an account of them (1); but if God enable me to compose my great history (2), I shall give a detailed narrative of their proceedings. It is incumbent on me, however, since I have spoken of them here, to state briefly what they were; (*as it is my desire*) that some mention of them should be found in this

work.—My professor Izz ad-dîn Ali, surnamed Ibn al-Athîr, gives in his great historical work, the *Kâmil,* a long account of the origin of this sect, and, under each year, he relates what happened to them during that period. It is this source which supplies me with the following passages, in extracting which, I was attentive to aim at concision. He makes the first mention of them under the year 278 (A. D. 891-2), where he says: "In this year, some people of the "Sawâd, or cultivated country, around Kufa, and who are called the Karmats, "became disorderly." He then gives the particulars of the rise of this sect, and the following is a summary extract from his relation: "There appeared a 219 "man who made an outward show of devotion, self-mortification, and austerity "of life; he plaited (*baskets and other objects*) with palm-tree leaves, and sub-"sisted on the produce of their sale. For some time he invited the people to "(*join*) an imâm belonging to the blessed family of the Prophet, and his appeal "was answered by great numbers (3), who were induced, from different cir-"cumstances in his conduct, to place a perfect reliance on his sincerity. The "report of their proceedings spread throughout the territory of Kûfa." He then says under the year 286 (A. D. 899): "In this year appeared, in (*the* "*province of*) al-Bahrain, a man of the Karmat sect, who bore the name of "Abû Saîd al-Jannâbi, and who was joined by a number of Karmats and of "the Arabs of the Desert; his party having thus become strong, he (*attacked* "*and*) slew the people of the neighbouring villages (4). This Abû Saîd used "to sell food, and he persuaded his purchasers that in buying it, they did an "act agreeable to God (5). Their strength then became great and they ap-"proached the regions of Basra, on which the khalif al-Motadid Billah sent "against them an army under the command of al-Abbâs Ibn Amr al-Ghanawi. "A vigorous action ensued, in which the troops of al-Abbâs were routed and he "himself taken prisoner. This happened towards the end of the month of "Shâbân, 287, between Basra and Bahrain. Abû Saîd put his prisoners to "death and burned their bodies, but he spared the life of al-Abbâs, and dis-"missed him after a lapse of some days; telling him to go to his master and "inform him of what he had witnessed. Al-Abbâs arrived at Baghdad in the "month of Ramadân of that year and entered into the presence of the khalif, "who clothed him in a robe of honour. The Karmats then penetrated into "Syria in A. H. 289, and a number of combats, too long to be related, en-

" sued between the two parties. In the year 301 (A. D. 913-4), Abû Said
" al-Jannâbi was slain in a bath by one of his eunuchs, and was succeeded by
" his son Abû Tâhir Sulaimân. At the period of his death, Abû Saîd was in
" possession of Hajar, al-Katif, at-Tâif, and the rest of the province of Bah-
" rain. In the month of the second Rabî, A. H. 311 (commencement of
" August, A. D. 923), Abû Tâhir marched his army to Basra and occupied
" that city without meeting any serious resistance. They scaled its walls
" during the night by means of rope-ladders made of (*camels'*) hair, and hav-
" ing been attacked on the first alarm, they slew the governor of the city and
" put a part of their adversaries to the sword; the rest took to flight. During
" the seventeen days that Abû Tâhir remained at Basra, he was occupied in
" sending off the property taken from the inhabitants, after which he returned
" to his own country. The Karmats continued, till the year 317 (A. D. 929),
" to fill the provinces with devastation, and lay them waste with fire and sword,
" captivity and pillage. In that year, the pilgrims arrived safely at Mekka, but
" they were there attacked, on the day of Tarwiya (6) (*8th Zû 'l-Hijja*), by
" Abû Tâhir the Karmat, who plundered their property and slew them even in
" the precincts of the Sacred Mosque and in the House of God itself. They
" tore the black stone out of the wall of the Kaaba and sent it to Hajar;
" and they slew the emir of Mekka and a number of *sharîfs* who had sallied
" out to attack them. They broke down the door of the Kaaba, and one of
" them mounted up to pull away the water-spout (7), but he fell and was killed.
" They threw some of the slain into the well Zamzam, and buried the others
" in the Sacred Mosque, without winding sheets, or washing or prayers (8).
" The cloth covering of the Kaaba was taken off by their chief and shared
" among his followers, and they plundered the houses of the people of Mekka.
" When intelligence of this reached al-Mahdi Obaid Allah, lord of Ifrikîya (9),
" he wrote to al-Jannâbi, condemning his conduct and reprehending him
" most severely (10). *By what you have committed,* said he, *you have jus-*
" *tified the accusation of infidelity brought against our sect, and the title*
" *of* impious *given to the missionaries acting for our dynasty; and if you*
" *restore not that which you have taken from the inhabitants of Mekka, from*
" *the pilgrims, and from others,—if you replace not the black stone and*
" *the covering of the Kaaba, we shall renounce you both in this world and in*

" *the next.* On the receipt of this letter, he replaced the stone, and restored
" to the people of Mekka as much of their property as he could get back from
" his followers. 'We took it,' said they, 'by order, and by order we give it
" back.'" Begkem (11) at-Turki, who was emir of Baghdad and Irak at that
time, had offered them fifty thousand dinars to induce them to restore the black 220
stone, but they refused; now, however, they gave it back. Another historian
says: "They restored it to its place in the Kaaba on the 5th of Zû 'l-Kaada, or
" Zû 'l-Hijja, of that year (A. H. 339), in the khalifat of al-Muti Lillah. When
" he (*Abû Tâhir*) carried it off, three strong camels could scarcely bear its
" weight, but when they restored it, one weak camel bore it back without suf-
" fering (*from fatigue*) (12)."—I must (*now*) observe that the statement of my
master (*Ibn al-Athîr*) respecting al-Mahdi's letter to al-Kirmiti on the subject of
the black stone and its restoration in consequence, cannot be correct; for al-
Mahdi died A. H. 322 (A. D. 934), and the stone was sent back A. H. 339
(A. D. 950-1), seventeen years after his death.—A little farther on, my master
says: "When they restored the stone, they first carried it to Kûfa and hung it
" up in the mosque, for public inspection; and they then bore it to Mekka, after
" its having remained with them twenty-two years."—It is said, however, by
another historian, that it was restored by Ibn Shabr, one of Abû Said (*al-Jannâ-
bi's*) favourite partisans. My master then says, under the year 360 (A. D.
970-1): "The Karmats came to Damascus, took it and slew the Egyptian go-
" vernor, Jaafar Ibn Falâh." (We have already made some mention of this
(*page* 327) in the life of Jaafar.) " Then the Karmat army reached Ain
" Shams near the gates of Kairo and defeated the Egyptian troops, but it subse-
" quently retired, having been vanquished in its turn by the people of Misr."
—On the whole, no Moslims, either before or after them, committed such crimes
against Islamism as they: most of Irak, and of the land of the East (13), the pro-
vince of Hijâz, Syria, and the country up to the gates of Misr fell into their
power. When they took away the stone, they left it at Hajar, their head-
quarters.—Abû Tâhir was killed A. H. 332 (A. D. 943-4).—*Kirmiti* is a rela-
tive adjective; the word *karmata*, when employed as a noun common, signifies
*the closeness of one part of a thing to another part*; thus they say of
writing and of a mode of walking that they are *mukarmit*, when the letters of
the writing are close to each other, and when a person takes short steps in

walking (14): the Abû Saîd of whom we are speaking was a *short squat* man, of a tawny colour and ill-looking; and for this reason he was called *Kirmiti*. A long chapter on the proceedings of the Karmats is given by the kâdi al-Bâkilâni in his work, entitled *Asrâr al-Bâtiniya* (*secrets of the Bâtinites*).—*Jannâbi* means *belonging to Jannâba,* which is a town in one of the cantons of Fars, contiguous to Bahrain, and situated near Sirâf; the Karmats came from this place, and were therefore called *Jannâbites*.—*Al-Ahsâ* is a tract of country in the same region, containing many towns such as Jannâba, Hajar, and al-Katif. *Ahsâ* is the plural of *Hisi*, which word denotes water absorbed by a sandy soil till it reaches a hard stratum by which it is retained; the Arabs dig away the sand till they find the water and extract it. When a place contains much land of this nature, it is called *al-Ahsâ* and becomes known by no other name.—Relative to *Bahrain,* al-Jawhari says in his Sahâh: "*Al-Bahrain* is a town; the "adjective derived from it is *Bahrâni*." (*Abû Mansûr Muhammad*) al-Azhari says: "*Al-Bahrain* (*the two seas*) is in the dual number, and it was so named "for the reason that in the region where its towns are situated, and near the "gate of al-Ahsâ and the villages of Hajar, lies a lake at ten parasangs' distance "from the Great Green Ocean (*the Persian Gulf*); this lake is three miles "long and as many broad; it does not overflow, and its waters are tranquil and "salt." All the above-mentioned places are in that part of Arabia which is behind Basra, and reaches to the confines of Hijâz; they lie on the coast of the 221 sea which touches Yemen and India, and are near the island of Kais Ibn Omaira, called vulgarly Kaish: this island is situated between Omân and Fars. In the same neighbourhood are Râmhormuz and other towns.—We shall now speak of Ibn al-Mukaffâ.

(1) For the history of the Karmats, the reader may consult the Annals of Abû 'l-Fedâ; Price's Retrospect of Muhammadan History; and, above all, M. de Sacy's *Exposé de l'Histoire des Druzes*.

(2) This work was never completed.

(3) The *Exposé de l'Histoire des Druzes* is the best commentary that can be given on these proceedings.

(4) This was of course a most agreeable pastime for the nomadic Arabs, who detested, and detest still the dwellers in towns.

(5) Compare this with a passage in the *Exposé*, introduction, page 187.

(6) See Reiske's Abû 'l-Fedâ, tom. II. p. 643.

(7) The celebrated water-spout, or *Mizâb*, was of gold.

(8) All of which are essential in a Moslim interment.

(9) See *Druses*, introduction, page 218.

(10) Literally: He raised up the resurrection upon him. See note (1), page 11.

(11) Begkem بجكم ; such is the true orthography of the name, not *Yahkom* يحكم, as in the printed text, nor *Bahcam*, as Reiske has it in the Annals of Abû 'l-Fedâ. The autograph MS. of that work, and which is in the *Bib. du Roi*, writes this name correctly, and ad-Dahabi, in his Annals, year 391 (MS. No. 646), places it under the letter B, in his alphabetical list of the men of note who died in that year. The letter G ج is clearly marked in both MSS.—Begkem was grand emir of the khalifat. For his history, see Abû 'l-Fedâ's Annals, years 326, 327, 329. Consult also Price's *Retrospect*, vol. II. page 179 *et seq*.

(12) If this be true, they must have broken off and kept a large portion of the stone, but the fact itself is considered by the Moslims as miraculous.

(13) *The land of the East;* that is, *Mesopotamia;* the land to the east of Syria.

(14) I have here paraphrased the original, which merely says *when it is so*.

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## IBN AL-MUKAFFA.

Abd Allah Ibn al-Mukaffâ, the *kâtib* so renowned for the elegance of his style, and the author of the admirable Epistles (1), was a native of Fars and a Magian, but he made his profession of Islamism to Isa Ibn Ali, the uncle of the two first Abbaside khalifs, as-Saffâh and al-Mansûr. He then became his secretary and was admitted into his intimacy. One of his sayings was: "I drank of misfortunes till I "was filled, but did not perceive any regularity in their arrival; they disap- "peared, then they overflowed, and although they are not uniform as are the "lines of poetry, it is they alone which are (*an*) instructive discourse (2)." Al-Haitham Ibn Adi relates of him this anecdote: "Ibn al-Mukaffâ came to Isa "Ibn Ali and said: 'Islamism has entered into my heart, and I wish to make "profession of it to you.' Isa answered: 'Let it be done in the presence of "the leaders, and of the chiefs of the people; come therefore to-morrow.' On "the evening of that very day, he went to dine with Isa, and having sat down, "he began to eat and to mutter according to the custom of the Magians. 'How!' "said Isa, 'you mutter (*like the Magians*), although resolved to embrace Isla- "mism?' To this Ibn al-Mukaffâ replied: 'I do not wish to pass a night with- "out being of some religion.' The next morning he made to Isa his solemn "profession of Islamism." Notwithstanding the eminent merit of Ibn al-Mukaffâ, he was suspected of Zendikism (3), and al-Jâhiz related that he, Muti Ibn

Iyâs (4) and Yahya Ibn Ziâd were persons the sincerity of whose religious sentiments was doubted; and one of the learned, on hearing this, said: "How is it "that al-Jâhiz forgets to count himself?" The khalif al-Mahdi Ibn al-Mansûr sometimes said: "I never found a book on Zendikism which did not owe its "origin to Ibn al-Mukaffâ." Al-Asmâi mentions that Ibn al-Mukaffâ composed some fine works, such as the *ad-Durrat al-Yatîma* (*the precious pearl*), a production without a rival on the subject (5); he says also that Ibn al-Mukaffâ, on being asked who was his instructor, answered: "I myself; when I saw any "thing good done by another, I did the same, and if I saw what was bad, I "avoided it." He and al-Khalîl Ibn Ahmad, the inventor of the system of prosody, once met together, and when they had separated, al-Khalîl was asked how he found him. "His learning," replied al-Khalîl, "is greater than his wit." The same question was then addressed to Ibn al-Mukaffâ respecting al-Khalîl, and he answered: "His wit is greater than his learning." It was Ibn al-Mukaffâ who composed the book entitled *Kalîla and Dimna,* but some state that he is not the author of it; this work, they say, was in Pehlevi (6), and he translated it into Arabic and put it in an elegant style, but the discourse at the beginning of the work is by him. He used to make free with Sofyân Ibn Moâwia al-Muhallabi, the governor of Basra, whom he very frequently addressed by the name of *Ibn al-Mughtalima* (*son of the lascivious female*); an appellation injurious to the honour of Sofyân's mother. About that time, Sulaimân and Isa, the sons of Ali, and the uncles of the khalif al-Mansûr, arrived at Basra, to have a pardon drawn up for their brother Abd Allah. This Abd Allah had revolted against his nephew al-Mansûr and aspired to the khalifat, but being defeated by Abû Muslim al-Khorasâni, who had been sent against him at the head of an army, he took to flight; and, dreading the vengeance of al-Mansûr, lay concealed at the house of his brothers. Sulaimân and Isa then interceded for him with the khalif, who consented to forgive what had passed; and it was decided that a letter of pardon should be granted by al-Mansûr. (This is an event noticed in historical works (7) and generally known, but I shall give here some particulars of it, as they are necessary for establishing a regular connexion in this relation.) On coming to Basra, the two brothers told Ibn al-Mukaffâ, who, as we have said, was secretary to Isa, that he should draw up the letter of pardon and word it in the strongest terms, so as to leave no pretext to al-Mansûr for making an attempt against Abd Allah's life.

Ibn al-Mukaffà obeyed their directions and drew up the letter in the most binding terms, having even inserted in it the following clause, amongst others: *And if at any time the Commander of the faithful act perfidiously towards his uncle Abd Allah Ibn Ali, his wives shall be divorced from him, his horses shall be confiscated for the service of God* (in war), *his slaves shall become free, and the Moslims loosed from their allegiance towards him.* The other conditions 222 of the deed were expressed in a manner equally strict. Al-Mansûr, having read the paper, was highly displeased, and asked who wrote it, and on being informed that it was a person called Abd Allah Ibn al-Mukaffà, who acted as secretary to his uncles, he sent a letter to Sofyân, the governor of Basra (him of whom we have spoken above), ordering him to put Ibn al-Mukaffà to death. Sofyân was already filled with rancour against Ibn al-Mukaffà for the motive we have mentioned, and the latter having, some time after, asked to see him, he did not allow him to enter till every person present had withdrawn. He then took him apart into another room and put him to death. Al-Madâini (8) says: "Ibn al-Mu-"kaffà, on appearing before Sofyân, was addressed by him in these terms: 'Do "you remember what you used to say of my mother?' 'Emir!' exclaimed "Ibn al-Mukaffà, 'I implore you in the name of God to spare my life!' 'May "my mother,' replied Sofyân, 'be really *mughtalima* (*lascivious*), if I do not "kill thee in a manner such as none were ever killed in before!' On this, he "ordered an oven to be heated, and the limbs of Ibn al-Mukaffà to be cut off "joint by joint; these he cast into the oven before his eyes, and he then threw "him in bodily, and closed the oven on him, saying: 'It is not a crime in me to "punish you thus, for you are a Zindîk who corrupted the people.' Sulaimân "and Isa having made inquiries about their secretary, were informed that he "had gone into the palace of Sofyân in good health, and that he had not come "out. They therefore cited Sofyân before al-Mansûr, and brought him with "them in chains; witnesses were produced, who declared that they saw Ibn al-"Mukaffà enter Sofyân's palace and that he never came out after; and al-Man-"sûr promised to examine into the matter. He then said to them: 'Suppose "that I put Sofyân to death in retaliation for the death of Ibn al-Mukaffà, and "that Ibn al-Mukaffà himself then come forth from that door' (pointing to one "which was behind him), 'and speak to you; what should I do to you in that "case? I should put you to death in retaliation for the death of Sofyân.' On this,

"the witnesses retracted their evidence, and Isa and Sulaimân ceased to speak "of their secretary, knowing that he had been killed with al-Mansûr's appro- "bation. Ibn al-Mukaffâ lived (it is said) thirty-six years."—Al-Haitham Ibn Adi says: "Ibn al-Mukaffâ treated Sofyân with great contempt, and as Sofyân "had a large nose, he used to say to him on going to see him: 'How are you "both?' meaning him and his nose. One day he said to him: 'Your opinion is "requested respecting a person who died and left a husband and a wife (9);' "meaning to turn him into ridicule before the company. Sofyân once said: "'I had never reason to repent keeping silence;' and Ibn al-Mukaffâ replied: "'Dumbness becomes you; why then should you repent of it?'—Sofyân fre- "quently threatened to cut him limb from limb whilst his eyes looked on (10), "and he had resolved to attack him by surprise, when he received the letter "from al-Mansûr with orders to put him to death, which he did."—Al-Balâdori (11) says: "When Isa Ibn Ali came to Basra for the affair of his bro- "ther Abd Allah Ibn Ali, he said to Ibn al-Mukaffâ: 'Go to Sofyân on such "and such a business.'—'Send some other person,' answered he, 'for I am "afraid of him!'—'Go;' replied Isa, 'you are under my safeguard!'" Ibn al-Mukaffâ then went, and Sofyân did with him what we have related. According to another account, he threw him into the well of the privy, and replaced the flagstone which covered it; others again say that he sent him into the bath and kept the door locked till he was suffocated. My master Shams ad-din Abû 'l-Muzaffar Yûsuf, the grandson of Abû 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzi and the famous preacher (12), relates the adventures and death of Ibn al-Mukaffâ in his great historical work, entitled *Mirât az-Zamân* (*the mirror of time*), under the year 145 (A. D. 762-3); and it is his custom to mention each occurrence under the year in which it happened; this would seem to indicate that Ibn al-Mukaffâ was put to death in that year, but it appears from the expressions of Omar Ibn Shabba, in his History of Basra, that this event took place A. H. 142 or 143: it is besides unanimously admitted that the Sulaimân Ibn Ali above mentioned died A. H. 142; and we have already said that he joined his brother Isa in endeavouring to avenge Ibn al-Mukaffâ's murder; this is a proof that the date of the latter's death must be A. H. 142 (A. D. 759-60); but God knows best!—Ibn al-Mukaffâ is author of some poetry which is given in the *Hamâsa* (13), and an elegy of his composition, on the death of the *koran-reader* Abû Amr Ibn al-Alâ, is

inserted by us in the life of the latter, although some attribute it to his son Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Mukaffâ, as shall be there noticed, with other 223 contradictory statements.—Be it as it may, his death could not have been posterior to A. H. 145; it must have been either in that year or in one of the preceding years; and this being the case, how can it be supposed that he, al-Hallâj and al-Jannâbi met together, as the Imâm al-Haramain has stated (14)? To this we may add another observation: Ibn al-Mukaffâ never left Irak; how then could any person say that he penetrated into the country of the Turks? He dwelt at Basra and visited occasionally different provinces of Irâk (*it is true,*) but Baghdad was not then in existence (*although the words of the Imâm al-Haramain would denote that it was*). This city was built by al-Mansûr when khalif; he laid out its foundations in the year 140 (A. D. 757-8), and finished its construction A. H. 146 (A. D. 763-4), in which year he took up his residence there. In the year 149 all its edifices were completed. This was *Old Baghdad*, situated on the western bank of the Tigris, between that river and the Euphrates, as it has been said by the blessed Prophet, according to a tradition related by the Khatib in the beginning of his great History of Baghdad (15). The city which now exists on the east bank of the Tigris is *New* Baghdad. It contains the palaces of the khalifs and continues, till the present time, to be the seat of government. (*The khalif*) as-Saffâh and his brother al-Mansûr at first fixed their residence at Kûfa, but as-Saffâh then built a town near al-Anbâr and called it al-Hâshimiya. To this place he and his brother removed, but they left it for al-Anbâr, in which city as-Saffâh died: his tomb is still to be seen there. Al-Mansûr remained at al-Anbâr till Baghdad was built, and then removed thither.—The real name of Ibn al-Mukaffâ's father was Dâdûyeh: al-Hajjaj Ibn Yûsuf, when governor of Irak, appointed him as receiver of the revenue of Fars, but having discovered that he embezzled the public money, he put him to the torture. Dâdûyeh's hand was shrivelled up (*from the tortures he underwent*), and he was then called *al-Mukaffâ* (*the shrivelled*). Some say, however, that this is not exact, but that he was appointed receiver by Khâlid Ibn Abd Allah al-Kasri, and punished by Yûsuf Ibn Omar ath-Thakefi when the latter succeeded Khâlid as governor of Irak: God knows best which statement is true. Ibn Makki says, in his *Tathkîf al-Lisân* (16) (*rectification of the tongue*): "People say *Ibn* "*al-Mukaffâ*, but the right pronunciation is Ibn al-*Mukaffî*; for he was a

"maker and seller of baskets (*kifâ*), and *mukaffi* has that signification."—*Kifâ* is the plural of *kafâ*, which is a thing made of palm leaves, like a basket, but without a handle.—"But the pronunciation *Mukaffâ* is that which is cur-"rent among the learned."—After reading the words of the Imâm al-Haramain (17), and being convinced that Ibn al-Mukaffâ could not have been one of the three persons of whom he there speaks, I said to myself that it might be al-Mukannâ al-Khorasâni whom he meant; that impostor who pretended to be the Divinity and caused the moon to appear, as we shall relate in his life (which will be found under the letter *Ain*, his name being *Atâ*); and I thought that the copyist might have altered the Imâm's words and written unintentionally *al-Mukaffâ* for al-Mukannâ; but on reflexion, I found that it could not be so, for al-Mukannâ al-Khorasâni poisoned himself in the year 163 (A. D. 779-80), as we shall mention in his life, and he could not therefore have been contemporary with al-Hallâj and al-Jannâbi. But if we are to admit as true what the Imâm says of three persons having met together and made the agreement of which he speaks, the third person can be no other than Ibn as-Shalmaghâni, who lived at the same time as al-Hallâj and al-Jannâbi, and whose whole conduct was a tissue of deceptions. A number of historians speak of him, and our *shaikh* Izz ad-dîn Ibn al-Athîr has a long chapter on him in his great history (*the Kâmil*), under the year 322 (A. D. 934); this chapter we here give with some 224 abridgements: "In this year was put to death Abû Jaafar Muhammad Ibn Ali "as-Shalmaghâni, generally known by the name of Ibn Abi 'l-Azâkir (18); the "reason of this was, that he introduced a doctrine in which the Shiite opinions "were carried to an excess (19), and taught the transmigration of souls and the "residence of the Divinity in himself," (with other opinions which are stated by Ibn al-Athîr.) "Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Husain Ibn Rûh (20), who was called by the "Imâmites *al-Bâb* (*the door*), manifested by his conduct that he held the same "doctrines. Search was therefore made after Ibn as-Shalmaghâni, who was "obliged to conceal himself; he then fled to Mosul, where he sojourned some "years, after which he descended (*by the river*) to Baghdad, where it was dis-"covered that he declared himself to be the Divinity. It is said that he had "amongst his disciples al-Husain Ibn al-Kâsim Ibn Obaid Allah Ibn Sulaimân "Ibn Wahb (the same who was vizir to al-Muktâdir), the two sons of Bistâm, "and Ibrahim Ibn Ahmad Ibn Abi Aûn. When Ibn Mokla was vizir to al-Muk-

"tadir, efforts were made to discover Ibn as-Shalmaghâni, but without success;
"however, in the month of Shawwâl, A. H. 322, he appeared in public, and
"was seized on and imprisoned by Ibn Mokla. On making perquisitions in his
"house, papers and letters were discovered, written by persons who stated that
"they were believers in his doctrine, and in which they addressed him with
"titles such as are not given by one mortal to another. Those letters were
"produced to Ibn as-Shalmaghâni, who admitted that they were in the hand-
"writing of the persons, but denied that he held the doctrines of which he was
"accused, and he professed his belief in the Moslim faith. Ibn Abi Aûn and
"Ibn Abdûs were then brought with him before the khalif, and these two per-
"sons were ordered to strike Ibn as-Shalmaghâni on the cheek, but they re-
"fused; being forced however to do so, Ibn Abdûs stretched forth his hand
"and struck him, but Ibn Abi Aûn's hand trembled violently as he reached it
"forth towards Ibn as-Shalmaghâni's head and beard, on which he kissed them
"and called him *my God! my Lord! thou who givest me sustenance!* The
"khalif ar-Râdi Billah then said: 'You pretend that you did not pass yourself
"for the Divinity; what then does this mean?' Ibn as-Shalmaghâni replied:
"'I am not responsible for the words of Ibn Abi Aûn; God knows that I never
"told him I was a god!' Here Ibn Abdûs said: 'He did not pass himself for
"the Divinity; he only said that he was *the door* which led to *al-Imâm al-*
"*Muntazir* (*the expected imâm*).' They were afterwards brought forth a
"number of times, and examined in the presence of the doctors of the law and
"the kâdis: the result was that the doctors declared Ibn as-Shalmaghâni worthy
"of death, and he was burned by fire in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 322
"(October, A. D. 934)." Ibn an-Najjâr makes mention of him in the History
of Baghdad, in the life of Ibn Abi Aûn; he says: "Ibn Abi Aûn was severely
"scourged, and then beheaded for being a follower of Ibn as-Shalmaghâni; his
"body was exposed on a cross and afterwards burned: this was on Tuesday,
"1st of Zû 'l-Kaada" (of the above-mentioned year). This Ibn Abi Aûn is
author of some fine works, such as the *Tashbîhât* (*comparisons*), *al-Ajwibat*
*al-Muskitat* (*silencing answers*), and some others: he was a *kâtib* of emi-
nence.—*Shalmaghâni* means *belonging to Shalmaghân*, which is a town near
Wâsit; the same remark is made also by as-Samâni in his *Kitâb al-Ansâb*.

(1) These Epistles are not noticed by Hajji Khalifa, but the author of the Fihrest mentions a *Kitâb al-Yatîma fi 'r-Rasâil* by Ibn al-Mukaffâ.

(2) Such seems to be the idea which Ibn al-Mukaffâ wishes to express in an Arabic phrase of singular obscurity. The word *khutab* خطب signifies *misfortunes* and *pulpit discourses; rawiyan* رويا which I have paraphrased by *regularity in their arrival,* means also *rhyme:* by which seems to be denoted that they come not regularly like *rhymes* in poetry and elegant prose compositions, but *without rhyme or reason.* The same sentence may, however, signify: "I have been drenched with *sermons,* and yet have not been able to seize on "their *rhyme;* they came and they went, and if not regular in their composition, yet they, and no other, were "really discourses."

(3) See D'Herbelot's *Bib. Orient.* Zendik, and Price's *Retrospect,* vol. II. page 43.

(4) Abû Salma Mutî Ibn Iyâs, a member of the tribe of Kinâna and a native of Kûfa. His mother was the celebrated Omm Khârija, whose hasty marriages became proverbial (see Freytag's Proverbs of al-Maidâni, tom. I. p. 636). Accustomed to the favour of the last Omaiyide khalifs, he complained of the neglect with which he was treated by the Abbasides. He was a *Zindik* at heart; and it appears that his irreligion was well known. He died A. H. 168 (A. D. 784), three months after the accession of the khalif al-Hadi.—(*Kitâb al-Aghâni.*)

(5) "The *ad-Durrat al-Yatîma* has been condensed by one of the sûfis, and entitled *Izat al-Albâb wa* "*Dakhirat al-Iktisâb* (*admonition of hearts and treasure of acquired spiritual merits*); which work is "arranged in twelve sections, containing the truths and essence of the spiritual life, and the history of the "principal saints."—(Hajji Khalifa.)—M. de Sacy speaks of Ibn al-Mukaffâ in the preface to his edition of *Kalila and Dimna.* In the *Notices et Extraits,* t. I. he gives a list of his works, taken from the *Fihrest.*

(6) I have rendered the word الفارسي by *Pehlevi,* because the works translated by Ibn al-Mukaffâ were written in that language. Had they been in *Persian,* Ibn Khallikân would have said العجمي.

(7) See Abû 'l-Fedâ's *Annals,* A. H. 137; al-Makîn, p. 100; Price's *Retrospect,* vol. II. p. 7.

(8) Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah al-Madâini (*native of Madâin*) was a client by enfranchisement (*Mawla*) to the family of (*Abd*) Shams Ibn Abd Manâf. He was born A. H. 135 (A. D. 752-3) and died at the residence of Ishak Ibn Ibrahîm al-Mausili, to whom he was most particularly attached, A. H. 225 (A. D. 839-40) or 228. He was a disciple of the Motazilite doctor Mamar Ibn al-Ashâth. He wrote upwards of twenty works on Muhammad; nearly as many on the history of the tribe of Koraish; a great number on the matrimonial alliances مناكح of the descendants of Muhammad; a series of works on the history of the Omaiyide and Abbasside khalifs; a miscellany of various treatises; the victories and conquests of the Moslims, in many volumes; and other works besides: the titles of them all are given in the *Fihrest,* from which this notice also has been extracted.—(MS. No. 874, fol. 139 *et seq.*)

(9) This is a parody on a very common form of question addressed to a *mufti.* For instance, a man dies leaving a wife and collateral heirs; they disagree respecting the division of the property left by the deceased, and they apply to the mufti for his opinion. This application is worded nearly as follows: *Your opinion is requested respecting a man who died and left a wife and a certain number of collateral heirs, etc. How is the inheritance to be shared between them?* See similar questions in the English translation of Muhammad Ibn Musa's Algebra.

(10) That is: And he alive.

(11) "Abû Jaafar, or Abû 'l-Hasan, Ahmad Ibn Yahya Ibn Jâbir al-Balâdori was a native of Baghdad. "His grandfather Jâbir was secretary to al-Khasîb, minister of the finances of Egypt (*for the khalif ar-* "*Rashîd*). He himself was a poet and a transmitter of historical information راوية. Towards the end of "his life he went deranged and was confined and chained in the hospital, and died there," in the khalifat

of al-Motamid, between A. H. 256 (A. D. 870) and 279 (A. D. 892.)—"He composed many satires, and "was one of those who translated (*works*) from the *Pehlevi* الفارسى into Arabic."—(*Fihrest*, fol. 157. See Hamaker's *Specimen cod. Lugd. Bat.* for more ample details.)

(12) The learned professor, imam, preacher, and historian, Shams ad-dîn (*sun of religion*) Abû 'l-Muzaffar Yûsuf Ibn Kizoghli قزاغلى was *grandson* by the mother's side to the *hâfiz* Abû 'l-Faraj *Ibn al-Jawzi* (*Sibt Ibn al-Jawzi*). His father Kizoghli was a mamlûk belonging to the vizir Aûn ad-dîn Yahya Ibn Hubaira, by whom he was treated like a son and to whose affection he was indebted for his liberty and education. Shams ad-dîn Yûsuf was born at Baghdad, A. H. 597 (A. D. 1200-1), and made his studies in that city. He was a follower of the sect of Abû Hanîfa. As a preacher, his talent, unction, and delivery gained him universal admiration. He began to preach in his native place, but removed later to Damascus, where he fixed his residence. He there taught in the *Izziya* and *Shibliya* colleges, and was treated with great favour by persons of the highest rank, and especially by al-Malik al-Moazzâm Isa. He then travelled into different countries to learn the Traditions and to preach. He died in Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 654 (January, A. D. 1257). His great historical work, the *Mirât az-Zamân*, extends to nearly forty volumes, and is highly esteemed. Abû 'l-Mahâsin acknowledges that he was much indebted to it when composing his *an-Nujûm az-Zâhira*, and he states that, in his biographical dictionary, the *al-Minhal as-Safi*, he has given the life of Shams ad-dîn Yûsuf with many details; but it unfortunately happens that the last volume of this work, containing, no doubt, the article of which he speaks, is wanting to complete the copy of which five volumes are in the *Bib. du Roi*.—(Abû 'l-Mahâsin's *Nujûm; Durrat al-Aslâk fi Dawlat al-Atrâk*, MS. No. 688. Hajji Khalifa.)

(13) I do not find them in Freytag's edition, unless they be those attributed there to al-Mukannâ al-Kindi, whose name may have been confounded with that of Ibn al-Mukaffâ.

(14) See page 425. I suppress the next words of the text, as they are evidently out of their place; they are these: *and from this the error has arisen.*

(15) This Tradition is not in the *Mishkât al-Masâbîh*, neither is it to be found in the Abridgement of the Khatîb's History of Baghdad, MS. No. 634.

(16) There is a work of this name by Ibn al-Kattâ, but that by Ibn Makki is not noticed by Hajji Khalifa. I have not yet been able to discover any thing respecting the author mentioned here by Ibn Khallikân.

(17) See page 425.

(18) This is also the orthography of ad-Dahabi's *Târîkh al-Islam*, MS. No. 646.

(19) See *Druzes*, introduction, page 241.

(20) Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Husain Ibn Ruh was a holy shaikh and one of the *doors* leading to the *Sâhib az-Zamân* (*the lord of the time*, or last grand Imâm, according to the Shiite doctrine; see *Druzes*, introd. p. 65). He was chosen by Abû Jaafar Muhammad Ibn Othmân al-Omari as his lieutenant, and when the latter classed the Shiites according to their degrees (*of initiation*), Abû 'l-Kâsim was authorised to enter into his presence the first of them all.—He then went to see Ibn as-Shalmaghâni, and gained over so many proselytes, that the vizirs, ex-vizirs, and other persons of high rank rode (*publicly*) to visit him. He continued to be treated with the greatest deference till Hâmid Ibn Abbâs became vizir (*to al-Muktadir*) and ordered him to be arrested. He remained in prison for five years, but was liberated immediately after the deposition of al-Muktadir, A. H. 317 (A. D. 929). From that time till his death, which took place A. H. 326 (A. D. 937-8), he never ceased to be highly respected, but at the moment in which his influence had attained its utmost pitch, and his plans were ripe for execution, God preserved (*the khalifat*) from his evil designs. He had been accused of inviting the Karmats by letter to lay siege to Baghdad, but he defended himself with great ability, presence of mind, and learning. He was a benefactor to the Shiites, and held a very high rank among them.—(Ad-Dahabi's *Târîkh al-Islâm*, No. 646, *in anno*.)

## AR-RAIS IBN SINA (AVICENA). (1)

Ar-Rais (*the chief*) (2) Abû Ali al-Husain Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Sinâ, a celebrated physician: his father was a native of Balkh, but he removed from that city to Bokhâra; and having displayed great abilities as an *aâmil* (3), he was appointed to fill that office in a town called Kharmaithen, one of the government estates (*Diâ*) in the dependencies of Bokhâra, and a place of great antiquity (4). It was there that Abû Ali and his brother were born: their mother, Sattâra, was a native of Afshana, a village near Kharmaithen. They afterwards went to inhabit Bokhâra, and Abû Ali then travelled abroad to study the sciences and acquire a knowledge of their different branches. At the age of ten years, he was a perfect master of the Koran and general literature, and had attained a 225 certain degree of information in dogmatic theology, the Indian calculus (*arithmetic*), and algebra. The *hâkim* (*physician*) Abû Abd Allah an-Nâtili (5) having visited them about that time, Abû Ali's father lodged him in his own house, and Abû Ali studied, under his tuition, the Εἰσαγωγή of Porphyry, and mastered the art of logic, the Elements of Euclid, and the Almagest; he even far surpassed his master, and explained to him difficulties and obscurities in these works which he, an-Nâtili, had not comprehended. Besides these studies, he frequented the lessons of Ismaîl the Sûfi (6), from whom he learned jurisprudence, and he exercised himself in acquiring the *readings* of the Koran (7), making learned researches and holding discussions. On the departure of an-Nâtili, who went to visit Khowarezm Shâh Mâmûn Ibn Muhammad (8), Abû Ali laboured in the acquisition of natural philosophy, divinity, and other sciences; he read the texts with the commentaries, and God opened for him the gates of knowledge. He then felt an inclination to learn medicine, and studied the works composed on that subject; he also treated patients, not for emolument but for instruction, and in a very short time he surpassed in that art the ancients and moderns, and remained without a rival or an equal. In the sixteenth year of his age, physicians of the highest eminence came to read, under his tuition, the works which treat of the different branches of medicine, and learn from him those modes of treatment which he had discovered by his practice. During the period of his studies he never slept an entire night,

nor passed a day in any other occupation but study; and when he met with an obscure point, he used to perform a total ablution and proceed to the great mosque, where he would pray Almighty God to facilitate its comprehension to him and unlock the gate of the difficulty. The emir Nûh Ibn Mansûr (9) as-Sâmâni, prince of Khorâsan, having heard, during a fit of sickness, of Abû Ali Avicena's talent, sent for him and was restored to health under his treatment. Abû Ali was then received into the favour of that prince, and he frequented his library, which was of incomparable richness (10), as it contained not only all the celebrated works which are found in the hands of the public, but others not to be met with any where else, and of which not only the titles but the contents were unknown. Here Abû Ali discovered treatises on the sciences of the ancients (11) and other subjects, the essence of which he extracted, and with the greater part of which sciences he became acquainted. It happened, some time afterwards, that this library was consumed by fire, and Abû Ali remained the sole depository of the knowledge which it contained. Some persons even said that it was he who set fire to the library, being induced to do so for the reason that he alone was acquainted with its contents, and that he wished to pass off as his own the information which he had there acquired. He had not reached his eighteenth year when he had completely mastered all the sciences to the attainment of which he had directed his studies. At the age of twenty-two, he lost his father, in the vicissitudes of whose fortune he had partaken, and with whom he acted as *aámil* for the sultan. When the affairs of the Sâmânide dynasty fell into disorder, Abû Ali left Bokhâra and proceeded to Korkanj, the capital of Khowârezm, where he frequented the court of Khowârezm Shâh Ali Ibn Mâmûn Ibn Muhammad (12): he wore the dress of a jurisconsult with the *tailesân* (13), and obtained a monthly stipend for his support. He afterwards departed from Korkanj and visited Nasa, Abiward, Tûs, and other cities, during which period he paid his court to the emir Shams al-Maâli Kâbûs Ibn Washmakîr. When Kâbûs was arrested and confined in the castle where he died, (a circumstance of which we shall give the particulars in his life,) Abû Ali went to Dihistân, where he had a severe illness, and then returned to Jurjân, where he composed his *Kitâb al-Awsat* (*medium treatise*) (14), and which is called for that reason *al-Awsat al-Jurjâni* (*the Jurjanian Medium*). It was there that the doctor Abû Obaid Abd al-Wâhid al-Jurjâni (15) made his

acquaintance. From Jurjàn, Abû Ali proceeded to Rai and was attached to the court (*of Majd ad-Dawlat, son of Fakhr ad-Dawlat*); he afterwards went to Kazwîn, and thence to Hamadân, where he became vizir to Shams ad-Dawlat (16), but the troops having revolted against him, they pillaged his house, arrested him, and required Shams ad-Dawlat to put him to death. This, however, the prince refused to do, and Abû Ali effected his escape and concealed himself. Some time afterwards, a violent attack of colic obliged Shams ad-Dawlat to have recourse to his medical skill, and therefore recalled him and re-appointed him to the vizirat, after having made excuses to him for what had happened. On the death of this prince, his son and successor Tàj ad-Dawlat 220 (*crown of the empire*) refused Abû Ali's services as vizir. He therefore went to Ispahân, where he met with a kind reception from Alâ ad-Dawlat Abû Jaafar Ibn Kâkûyeh (17). Avicena's constitution was naturally strong, but he mined and weakened it by his extreme addiction to sexual pleasure, and as he was never careful of his health, he was seized with a colic, for which he took eight injections in a day: the result was an excoriation of the intestines and a dysentery. It happened also that he had to make a journey with Alâ ad-Dawlat, during which he experienced that prostration (*of strength*) (18) which attends colic; to relieve himself, he ordered the third of a drachm of parsley (*or parsley seed*) to be put into the mixture which he employed for injections; but the physician who attended him put in five drachms, and the result was that the dysentery increased from the acrid nature of the parsley. A great quantity of opium was also thrown into one of his medicines by his boys (19) who had deceived him in some manner (20), and were apprehensive of being punished by him if he recovered. From the commencement of his illness he continued to support the burden of business (21) and give public audiences from time to time; he neglected the necessary regimen, and did not even abstain from intercourse with the other sex. One week, he was well; the next, ill. At this period, Alâ ad-Dawlat left Ispahân for Hamadân and took Abû Ali with him; during the journey, the colic returned, and on arriving at the latter place, Abû Ali was in a state of extreme weakness, and his strength was almost totally prostrated. He now discontinued every medical application, and said: "The director which is in my "body is unable to control it any longer, and no treatment can avail." He then made his ablutions, turned himself to God, gave his wealth in alms

to the poor, and redressed the grievances of all those whom he could recollect; he manumitted also his mamlûks, and read the Koran through once every three days till he expired. The date of this event we shall give at the end of this article. By his learning, penetration, and writings, he was the prodigy of his age: he composed a treatise on philosophy, entitled *as-Shafâ* (*the remedy*) (22); and is the author of the *Najât* (*or preservative*) (23); the *Ishârât* (*or indications*) (24); the *Kânûn* (*canon medicinæ*), and other works, both short and long, amounting to nearly one hundred; besides epistles (*or short treatises*) on different subjects. Some of his epistles are beautifully written, such as *Hai Ibn Yakzân*, *Salâmân and Absâl* (25), and the *Risâlat at-Tair* (*epistle of the bird*) (26). Great profit has been derived from his writings. He was one of the philosophers of the Moslims. There exists some poetry composed by him; among the rest, the following piece on the soul (27):

> It descended upon thee from the lofty station (*heaven*);—a dove rare and uncaptured, curtained from the eyes of every knowing (*creature*); yet 'tis it which is manifest and never wore a veil (28). It came to thee unwillingly, and it may perhaps be unwilling to abandon thee, although it complain of its sufferings. It resisted (*at first*) and would not become familiar, but when it was in friendly union (*with the body*), it grew accustomed to the desert waste (*the world*). Methinks it then forgot the recollections of the protected park (*heaven*) and of those abodes which it left with regret; but when, in its spiral descent, it arrived at the centre of its circle in the terrestrial (*world*), it was united to the infirmity of the material (*body*) (29) and remained amongst the monuments and prostrate ruins (30). It hath now forgotten the remembrance of the protected park, and weepeth with tears which flow and cease not, till the time for setting out towards the protected park approacheth; till the instant of departure for the vast plain (*the spiritual world*) draweth nigh. It then cooeth on the top of a lofty (*pinnacle of heaven*); (for knowledge can exalt all who were not exalted;) and it has come to the knowledge of every mystery in the universe, while yet her tattered vest hath not been mended (31). Its descent was predestined, so that it might hear what it had not heard; but why then did it descend from the high and lofty (*heaven*) to the depth of the low and humble (*earth*)? If God sent it down by a decision of his will, his motive is concealed from the intelligence of man. (*Why did it descend*) to be withheld from the spacious, exalted summit (*heaven*) by the course net (*of the body*), and to be detained in a cage? It is like a flash of lightning shining over the meadow, and disappearing as if it had never gleamed.

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The following lines are attributed to him, but I am unable to verify their origin:

> Take one meal each day, and avoid food till your food be digested. Preserve with care the seminal liquid; it is the water of life, to be poured into the womb.

Two verses mentioned by as-Shahrastâni in the beginning of the *Nihâyat al-Ikdâm,* and which we here give, are attributed to Avicena :

> I have roamed through all these memorials, and glanced my eyes through these monuments (32), and I have only seen wretches clasp their beards with the hand of despair, or gnash their teeth with remorse.

The great merit of Avicena is well known: he was born in the month of Safar, A. H. 370 (August or September, A. D. 980), and he died at Hamadân on a Friday, in the month of Ramadân, 428 (June or July, A. D. 1037); he was buried in that city. My *shaikh* Ibn al-Athîr states, in his great historical work (*the Kâmil*), that he died at Ispahân; but the first is the more general opinion. It is stated by the *shaikh* Kamâl ad-din Ibn Yûnus, that the prince in whose service Avicena was employed, having been irritated against him, caused him to be imprisoned till he died; and he recited the following verses in proof of his statement:

> 'I saw Ibn Sînâ take mankind in hatred and die miserably in a prison. His 'Shafâ (33) could not cure the misfortune which befel him, neither could his Na-'jât (34) preserve him from death.'

(1) The life of Avicena is given in the *Târîkh al-Hukamâ*. The commencement is in Avicena's own words, and contains his history up to the time of his arrival at Jurjân. He there met with Abû Obaid Abd al-Wâhid, by whom the remainder of his life is related.

(2) This title was probably given to him in his official capacity as vizir, or as *aâmil:* see next note.

(3) The *aâmil* (*agent*) was an officer to whom the governor of a province delegated the executive authority in one of the cantons under his jurisdiction. His chief duty was to collect the poll-tax, the revenues arising from tithes, government lands and houses, etc.

(4) Literally: One of the mothers of its (*Bokhâra's*) towns. It is thus that Mekka, for its antiquity, is called *Omm al-Kura* (*mother of the towns*).

(5) The *Târîkh al-Hukamâ* writes this name الناتلى *an-Natili;* some of the MSS. of Ibn Khallikân have al-Bâbili. I find in the *Marâsid:* "*Nâtila,* a city in Taberestan at five parasangs from Amul."

(6) *The Sûfi* (*az-Zâhid*). This ascetic is not noticed by Jâmi in his lives of the Sûfis.

(7) See page 152, note (1).

(8) Mâmûn Ibn Muhammad was prince of Jurjânia and Nasâ, which latter city was given to him by Nûh Ibn Mansûr the Sâmânide. In the year 386 (A.D. 996) he took prisoner Abû Abd Allah, prince of Khowârezm, and having put him to death, he united the province of Khowarezm to his empire. He died A. H. 387 (A. D. 997).—(*Kitâb Yamini,* in the *Notices et Extraits,* vol. IV.; Mirkhaund's *History of the Samanides,* by Wilkens; Price's *Retrospect,* vol. II. page 249.)

(9) Ibn Khallikân has Nûh Ibn Nasr, but this is a mistake; as that prince died twenty-seven years before Avicena's birth.

(10) Here is Avicena's own account of this library: "Having requested and obtained permission from "Nûh Ibn Mansûr to visit his library, I went there and found a great number of rooms filled with books "packed up in trunks. One room contained philological and poetical works; another, jurisprudence, and "so on, the books on each particular science being kept in a room by themselves. I then read the catalogue "of the ancient (*Greek*) authors الاوائل, and found therein all I required: I saw many books, the very "titles of which were unknown to most persons, and others which I never met with before nor since."—(*Târîkh al-Hukamâ*.)—Avicena was not then eighteen years of age.

(11) See page 231, note (1).

(12) Khowârezm Shâh succeeded his father Mâmûn as prince of Korkânj or Jurjânia, and Khowârezm, in the year 387 (A. D. 997).

(13) The *tailesân* seems to have been a short hooded cloak, or else a simple hood which was hung down the back. It was generally worn by men of the learned professions.

(14) Hajji Khalifa notices this work without specifying its contents. The author of Avicena's life, given in the *Târîkh al-Hukamâ*, only mentions it incidentally, without any observation. It treated perhaps of mathematics or philosophy.

(15) Abd al-Wâhid al-Jawzjâni (not *al-Jurjâni* as Ibn Khâllikân has it) was Avicena's disciple, and remained with him for twenty-five years.—(*Târîkh al-Hukamâ*.)

(16) Shams ad-Dawlat Abû Tahir, emir of Hamadân, was son of Fakhr ad-Dawlat Ibn Buwaih. He became master of Râi A. H. 405 (A. D. 1014-5).—(Ibn al-Athîr. Mirkhaund.)

(17) Alâ ad-Dawlat Abû Jaafar (and not *Ibn* Jaafar, as erroneously printed in the Arabic text) Shahriyâr, and surnamed Ibn Kakuyeh, because his *father* was *maternal uncle* to Majd ad-Dawlat, was appointed governor of Ispahan by the mother of that prince; but during the dissensions which arose between her and her son (see Price's *Retrospect*, vol. II. page 266), he was obliged to take refuge under the protection of Bahâ ad-Dawlat. He afterwards conquered Hamadân, A. H. 414 (A. D. 1023-4); he entered Rai in 420; in 421 he took possession of Ispahân and other cities; in 422 he was confirmed in the government of Ispahân by the sultan Masûd Ibn Mahmûd the Ghaznevide; the next year he revolted and was defeated by that prince; he continued the war, and was again defeated by Abû 'l-Sahl al-Hamdûni, the governor of Persian Irak, who took Ispahân in 425; in 427 he made an unsuccessful attack against Abû Sahl at Ispahân; he gained possession of that city at a later period, and died A. H. 433 (A. D. 1041-2).—(Ibn al-Athîr. Abû 'l-Fedâ. Price's *Retrospect*, vol. II. p. 298.) The following passage is extracted from the life of Avicena given in the *Târîkh al-Hukamâ*: "One evening, in Alâ ad-Dawlat's presence, the conversation turned on the errors "which had crept into the astronomical tables drawn up after ancient observations; and he ordered Avicena to observe the stars, and provided him with the requisite funds. Avicena began by constructing in"struments and hiring artists, and he succeeded in clearing up many doubtful points, although the series of "his observations was frequently interrupted by the journeys which he was obliged to undertake: some of "the instruments he employed were of his own invention." The work which he composed at Ispahân, and named the *Kitâb al-Alâi* العلائى in honour of his sovereign Alâ ad-Dawlat, contained probably the results of his observations.

(18) Such is the true meaning of the word صرع in this case, and not *epilepsy*, as it has been rendered by some orientalists, Reiske among others in his Abû 'l-Fedâ, tom. II. p. 95. It is singular enough that Reiske, who was well acquainted with medicine, could have made such a blunder.

(19) Boys; in Arabic غلمان; perhaps slaves.

(20) From the life given in the *Târîkh al-Hukamâ*, and which Ibn Khallikân has here abridged, it appears that one of his servants embezzled a sum of money.

(21) Such seems to be the meaning of the verb تحامل, but it may perhaps signify: To be obliged to be carried.

(22) The *Shafâ* is a large work in eighteen volumes, on physics, metaphysics, and mathematics.—(See Catalogue of the Bodleyan Library, vol. II. p. 581.)

(23) This medical treatise has been inserted at the end of the Arabic edition of the *Kânûn*, printed at Rome, A. D. 1593.

(24) The *Ishârât* is a treatise on logic and philosophy. See Hajji Khalifa, No. 743.

(25) Pocock says in his edition of *Hai Ebn Yokdhan;* Elenchus, p. 3: "Epistolas seu libellos quosdam "elegantes ab eo (Avicennâ) compositos recenset Ebn Chalecan: atque inter eos Epistolam Hai Ebn Yok- "dhan et Epistolam Absal et Epistolam Salaman." (Pocock should have said *Epistolam Salaman et Absâl;* Hajji Khalifa mentions a work bearing this title.) "Dubito an hæ tres (*duæ*) epistolæ distinctæ fuerint, an "una quæ trium istorum historiam contineret, ut hæc nostri authoris ad ipsius imitationem composita."— The doubt here expressed by Pocock I am unable to resolve.

(26) This is probably the same work which is mentioned in the *Târîkh al-Hukamâ* under the title of *ash-Shabakat wa 't-Tair* (*the net and the bird*); it was perhaps a mystical treatise, descriptive of the *bird* (or *the soul*) detained in the *net* (*the body*).

(27) This little piece, of which only some ill-joined fragments are here given by Ibn Khallikân, is founded on the Sûfi doctrine that the soul pre-existed in union with the Divinity, that it comes down reluctantly from heaven to be united to the body, and that it returns after death to the happy seat it left. The poet represents the soul metaphorically by a dove, and his images and expressions are borrowed from the pastoral poetry of the ancient Arabs. It would require a long commentary to elucidate the allusions and mysticisms with which it abounds, but such a task is inconsistent with the duty of a mere translator. An edition of this poem with some additions, and the verses arranged in a different order, has been given with a translation by von Hammer Purgstall in the *Wiener Zeitschrift* for 1837, No. 94.

(28) This probably means that the existence of the soul, although not to be perceived by the senses, is yet too manifest to leave any doubt.

(29) This verse runs literally thus: So that when it was united by the *h* ه of its *hubût* هبوط (*descent*) with the *m* م of its *markaz* (*centre*) in the terrestrial; then the *th* ث of the *thakil* ثقيل (*heavy, material*) was attached to it, etc.—The spiral form of the ه represents its descent, the form of the م indicates the central point to which it tended; the word ثاء signifies *infirmity;* it is also the name of the first letter (*th*) in the word ثقيل (*the material body*).—I have given the sense of the verse as I understand it; but it may most likely contain some mystic allusions above my comprehension.

(30) He means the world, which is a place of desolation.

(31) The tattered vest of the soul, or the body destroyed by death, is not mended till the day of resurrection; and yet the soul is in heaven and in the enjoyment of all knowledge.

(32) He means probably the world; see the preceding piece on the soul.

(33) Or *remedy;* the book so called.

(34) Or *preservative;* another work of Avicena's.

## AL-HUSAIN IBN AD-DAHHAK AL-KHALI.

The poet Abû Ali al-Husain Ibn ad-Dahhâk Ibn Yâsir, generally known by the appellation of al-Khali (*the libertine*), was born at Basra; he descended from a native of Khorasân, who was an enfranchised slave to Salmân Ibn Rabia al-Bâhili, one of the companions of Muhammad. This author had a natural talent for pleasantry, but he composed equally well in all the different styles of poetry. He was admitted into the society of the khalifs, and enjoyed their intimacy to a higher degree than any other poet, with the exception of Ishak Ibn Ibrahîm an-Nadîm al-Mausili, and even by him he was hardly surpassed in favour. The first of the khalifs whom he frequented was Muhammad al-Amîn, son of Harûn ar-Rashîd, with whom he became acquainted in the 198th year of the Hijra (A. D. 813-4), which was also the year of al-Amîn's death; he then attached himself to the succeeding khalifs, and continued to be a favourite with them till the reign of al-Mustain. He was an able poet of the first class, and had some diverting adventures with Abû Nuwâs al-Hakami. The surname of *al-Khalî* was given to him for his gay and licentious humour (*khalâat*). Mention is made of him by Ibn al-Munajjim in the work called *al-Kitâb al-Bârî*, and by Abû 'l-Faraj al-Ispahâni in the *Kitâb al-Aghâni*; both these writers quote some fine passages from his poetry, out of which we select the following lines:

> Join thy cheek to mine, and thou wilt then understand a novel idea which perplexes intelligence: the vernal roses on thy cheeks render them a garden, and tears render mine a lake. 228

By the same:

> O thou whose looks are magic and whose lips are wine! thou wert a tyrant to me; and, when my patience was overcome, I revealed to the world that thou wert the object of my love. It is however right that the veil which conceals thee should be torn away; for if people blame my fondness, thy face will be my excuse.

By the same:

> I swear by my love for thee, that I will not turn away my face, to conceal my tears. Grief, however painful, is allayed by weeping. My heart, through love for thee, is too enfeebled to be broken. The violence of my malady hath left no room in me for sickness.

It is stated in the *Kitâb al-Aghâni* that Abû'l-Abbâs Thalab, the grammarian, (*see his life, page* 83,) in reciting the preceding verses, attributed them to al-Khali, observing that there was not then a person in existence capable of expressing the thought so well.—By the same:

> Since you have been unfaithful during my absence, why act as the maid who, though sincere in her attachment, treats her lover with affected scorn? Love me, and then trifle with my affections; or else reject me, and then act as one who loves me not.

One of his *kasîdas* contains this line:

> What a happy time (1) was that in which I never spent a night without expecting from my beloved the fulfilment of her promise (*to visit me*).

This poet died A. H. 250 (A. D. 864), having nearly attained his hundredth year: the Khatîb says, in his history of Baghdad, that he was born A. H. 162 (A. D. 778-9).

(1) Literally: May God shed his blessings on the time.

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## IBN AL-HAJJAJ THE POET.

Abû Abd Allah al-Husain Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Jaafar Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Hajjâj, the *kâtib* and poet, was noted for the licentiousness, humour, and gaiety (1) of his poetical productions. In this branch he was without a rival, and he had no predecessor in the style of composition which he cultivated, embellished as it was by the beauty of the expressions and the easy turn of the verses. He celebrated the praises of the khalif al-Mâmûn, the emirs, vizirs, and men of rank; the collection of his poetical works is so great, that it is generally found in ten volumes. The prevailing character of his writings is gaiety, but some good pieces of a grave cast have been composed by him. He was for some time *muhtasib* or police-magistrate (2) at Baghdad, and was superseded, it is said, by Abû Saîd al-Istakhri, the Shâfite doctor. His *ghazals*, or amatory pieces, are so well known that it is needless to insert any of them here. As a poet, he has been put on a rank with Amro 'l-Kais, for each of them

introduced an original species of composition, and, in the intervening time, none existed to equal them. The following verses are a good specimen of his graver style:

> Awake, my two friends (3), from your slumber! slumber degrades the mind of the sage and ingenious. There are the Milky Way and the Pleiades; it is like a rivulet flowing through a garden of lilies. I perceive the zephyr (4) arriving as the shades of night withdraw; why then should the wine-cup not arrive when darkness retires? Arise, and pour me out a Grecian liquor drawn from a cask which has not been touched since the days of the Cæsar!—a pure liquor of which the powerful effect gives death to the reason and life to the heart.



By the same:

> People said (*to me*): "You pay constant court to Hamd, and neglect the other "princes." And I answered in the words of a poet who, long before my time, has well expressed my thought (5): *The bird alights where it can pick up the grain, and the dwellings of the generous are visited* (by the needy).

The verse which he here inserts was composed by Bashshâr Ibn Burd.—Ibn al-Hajjâj died on Tuesday, 27th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 391 (May, A. D. 1001), at the town of an-Nil, whence his body was transported to Baghdad. He was interred near the sepulchral chapel of Mûsa Ibn Jaafar, and he had directed by his will that he should be buried at the feet of that imâm, and that the following words should be inscribed on his tomb: *And their dog lay with his fore legs stretched forth at the entrance of the cave* (6). He was one of the greatest poets among the Shîites, and after his death, he appeared in a dream to one of his companions, and recited these lines on being asked what was his state in the other world:

> The evil cast of my religious principles ruined the excellence of my poetry; my Lord was displeased that I reviled the companions of his Prophet (7).

The *sharîf* ar-Ridà deplored his death in a *kasîda* containing this passage:

> They brought tidings of his death when I had still good hopes; how excellent was he whose death was announced by these two harbingers (8). He was my foster-brother by friendship, and he possessed a portion of my heart as if he were really my foster-brother (9). I did not think that time could blunt the edge of that (*cutting*) tongue. I weep for thee and for those verses, fugitives throughout the world, in which the words give immortality to the thoughts. Let time itself long deplore thy loss, for by thee was enlivened the spirit of (*thy*) time.

An-Nil is a town on the Euphrates, between Baghdad and Kûfa; it has pro-

duced a number of learned and of eminent men. This place owes its origin to a canal excavated by al-Hajjâj Ibn Yûsuf from the Euphrates to this spot, and called by him *an-Nîl* (*the Nile*) after the river of Egypt. There were numerous villages on its banks.

(1) The words سخف and هزل resemble each other in their primitive and secondary significations: the primitive is *leanness*, and the secondary *gaiety*.

(2) See page 375, note (4).

(3) See page 115, note (1).

(4) *The zephyr*, literally the *east wind;* it is highly celebrated by Arabian poets for its mildness.

(5) Literally: Who obtained (that is, who attained) the thought.

(6) Koran, surat 18, verse 17. He compares himself to the dog of the seven sleepers; the Moslims believe that this faithful dog was admitted into paradise with his masters.

(7) It was quite natural, however, for a Shiite to revile those companions of Muhammad who abandoned and betrayed Ali.

(8) See page 115, note (1).

(9) Literally: Foster-brother by milk.

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## AL-WAZIR AL-MAGHRIBI.

Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Husain Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husain Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Yûsuf Ibn Bahr Ibn Bahrâm Ibn al-Marzubân Ibn Mâhân Ibn Bâdân Ibn Sâsân Ibn al-Harûn Ibn Balâsh Ibn Jâmâs Ibn Firûz Ibn Yezdegerd Ibn Bahrâm Gûr; (*such is the genealogy of the person generally*) known by the appellation of al-Wazîr al-Maghribi (*the Maghribite vizir*). I have heard it said by many persons of erudition, that Abû Ali Harûn Ibn Abd al-Azîz al-Awâriji (1), he in whose honour al-Mutanabbi composed the *kasîda* beginning thus:

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> Maiden! the watchmen well know that thou canst not visit me by night, for where ever thou art, in the darkness, light is there (2).

(*These persons, I say, pretend*) that this Abû Ali was his maternal uncle, but on examination, I discovered that he was a maternal uncle to al-Wazîr al-Maghribi's father. As for al-Wazîr al-Maghribi, he himself mentions, in his *Adab al-Khawâss* (*Instruction for those intimate with princes*), that his mother was daughter to Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Jaafar an-Nomâni, and that the

al-Awâriji above-mentioned died in the month of the first Jumâda, A. H. 344 (September, A. D. 995).—Al-Wazîr al-Maghribi is the author of a *diwân* containing pieces in verse and prose; he composed also an abridgment of the *Islâh al-Mantik* (3); the *Kitâb al-Inâs* (*familiar discourses*), a small but very instructive work, and a proof of the extensive information of its author; the *Adab al-Khawâss;* the *Kitab al-Mathûr fi Mulah al-Khudûr* (4), etc. I read the following passage in a collection of divers pieces: "These words were found "written in the handwriting of al-Wazîr al-Maghribi's father; on the cover of "the abridgment of the *Islâh al-Mantik:* 'He (*my son*) (may God preserve him "'and enable him to attain the rank of the Saints!) was born at first dawn of "'day, on Sunday, 13th Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 370 (June, A. D. 981). He learned "'by heart the Koran, a number of grammatical and philological text-books "'without the comments, and about fifteen thousand verses selected from "'the compositions of the ancient Arabic poets. He composed poetry, was "'skilled in prose-writing, and surpassed all his contemporaries in pen-"'manship, in the calculation of nativities, and in algebra, with other accom-"'plishments of which even an inferior portion would suffice for any *kâtib*; "'and all this was before he had completed his fourteenth year. He abridged "'this work with superior judgment; having given every explanation con-"'tained in it, and not omitting a single word (*of those which are therein ex-*"'*plained*); he changed also the order of the chapters as far as was necessary "'to suit the plan of his abridgment, and classed the matters under their pro-"'per heads. When he had finished his abridgment, I proposed to him "'that he should put it into verse, and he accordingly began that undertaking "'and composed a number of sheets in a single night. All this was before "'the completion of his seventeenth year; and I beseech Almighty God to "'spare him and to prolong his health.'"—The following is a specimen of the vizir's poetry:

Whilst the camels were saddling for their journey, I said to my mistress: "Prepare "all your firmness to support my absence. I shall spend, with unconcern, the best "of my youth and renounce the pursuit of rank and fortune. Is it not a serious loss "that our days should pass away without profit, and yet be reckoned as a portion of "our lives?"

By the same:

I look on man in this world as a shepherd by whom every pasture-ground is rejected, and who at last finds none to feed his flock. Here is water, but no herbage; there, herbage, but no water; and where thou seest water and herbage, that is the haunt of beasts of prey.

On a handsome youth whose hair was cut off:

They cut off his hair to render him ugly; jealous as they were (*to save him from being admired*). (*In face*) he was a morning covered by the dark night (*of his hair*); they dispelled the night, but left him the morning.

231 By the same:

I shall relate to you my adventure, and adventures are of various kinds—I one night changed my bed and was abandoned by repose; tell me then how I shall be on the first night which I pass in the grave?

On the birth of Abû Yahya Abd al-Hamîd, the son of al-Wazir al-Maghribi, the following lines were addressed to the father by Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ahmad, chief of the army-office at Cairo:

In him appears an omen of which the meaning cannot escape the learned and intelligent: seeing that the child's grandfather (*jadd*) was *Ali*, I said: the fortune (*jadd*) of the child shall be exalted (*ali*.)

This vizir was a man of great shrewdness and abilities. When his father, uncle, and two brothers were put to death by al-Hâkim, the sovereign of Egypt (5), he fled to Ramla and joined Hassân Ibn Mufrij Ibn Daghfal Ibn al-Jarrâh of the tribe of Tai, who, assisted by his sons and cousins, had seized on that city; these he succeeded in inspiring with hostile designs against al-Hâkim. He then proceeded to Hijâz and excited the ambition of the governor of Mekka, giving him hopes of overthrowing al-Hâkim and conquering Egypt. These intrigues gave great uneasiness to the prince of Egypt and awoke his apprehensions for the safety of his empire. It would be too long to relate the conduct of al-Hâkim under these circumstances, but the result was, that, by a large donation of money, he gained over the family of al-Jarrâh, who had already, by the management of the vizir, drawn to Ramla Abû 'l-Futûh al-Hasan Ibn Jaafar al-Alâwi (6), the sovereign of Mekka, and proclaimed him khalif under the title of ar-Rashîd. By his unremitting efforts, al-Hâkim succeeded in conciliating the family of al-Jarrâh; and Abû 'l-Futûh, being frustrated in his projects, fled to Mekka,

whilst the vizir, to avoid al-Hâkim's vengeance, retired to Irak and broke off his intercourse with the Jarrâh family. Al-Wazir al-Maghribi then visited the vizir Fakhr al-Mulk Abû Ghâlib Ibn Khalf (7); but the khalif al-Kâdir Billah, having received intelligence of the circumstance, and suspecting that he had come to plot against the Abbaside dynasty, wrote to Fakhr al-Mulk, ordering him to expel al-Wâzir al-Maghribi from the states of the khalifat. Fakhr al-Mulk did not, however, withdraw his support from al-Maghribi, and he succeeded in obtaining for him al-Kâdir's indulgence. Happening afterwards to go down from Baghdad to Wâsit, he took al-Wâzir al-Maghribi in his suite; during his stay at Wâsit, he treated his guest with every attention, and did not discontinue his protection till he himself was put to death. Al-Wâzir al-Maghribi then endeavoured to conciliate the khalif al-Kâdir Billah and disculpate himself from the imputations cast upon him; in this he succeeded to a certain degree, and he returned to Baghdad. Having made a short stay in that city, he proceeded to Mosul, where he was chosen by Abû 'l-Munî Kirwâsh Motamid ad-Dawlat, prince of the Okailite dynasty (8), to fill the place of secretary of state, which had become vacant by the death of Abû 'l-Hasan Ibn Abi 'l-Wazir. He afterwards directed his intrigues to obtain the post of vizir under the Dailemite sovereign Musharraf ad-Dawlat (9), and he did not cease his machinations until that prince arrested his vizir Muwaiyâd al-Mulk Abû Ali. Al-Maghribi then received a letter from Musharraf ad-Dawlat, by which he was invited to leave Mosul and come to court; (*he in consequence proceeded to Baghdad, where Musharraf ad-Dawlat was* emîr al-Umarâ,) and was installed in the vizirat, but did not receive either the title of honour or the pelisse, neither was he allowed to discontinue wearing the *durrâa* (10). He continued to fill this office till circumstances obliged Musharraf ad-Dawlat to quit Baghdad (11), when they both went to Awânâ (12) and stopped with Abû Sanân Gharîb Ibn Muhammad Ibn Makn (13). Whilst things were in this state, al-Wazir al-Maghribi was induced to quit the service of Musharraf ad-Dawlat by his apprehension of that prince's dissatisfaction, and he went to reside with Abû 'l-Munî Kirwâsh at Mosul. About this period, the dislike which al-Kâdir had borne towards him was again excited, and the letters written (*by that khalif*) to Kirwâsh and Gharîb respecting him, put him under the necessity of quitting his protector. He then went to Abû Nasr (*Ahmad*) Ibn Marwân (14) at Maiyâ- 232

fârikîn, and during the rest of his life, he remained with him as a guest. But according to another account, when he proceeded to Diâr Bakr, he became vizir to Ahmad Ibn Marwân, the sultan of that province, and died in office the 13th Ramadân, A. H. 418 (October, A. D. 1027). Some say that his death happened 428: but the first statement is more correct. He died at Maiyâfârikîn, and his body was transported to Kufà in pursuance of an injunction contained in his will. There is an anecdote on this subject which is too long to be related here (15). He was interred in a tomb near the chapel of Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib; and on it the following verses were inscribed by his own directions:

> I had long travelled in the path of error and ignorance; it was time for me to arrive at my journey's end. I have repented of all my sins, and this last part of my conduct may perhaps efface the former. After five and forty years, I had hoped for a longer respite, did I not know that my creditor is generous.

His son, his uncle, and his two brothers were put to death on the 3rd of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 400 (June, A. D. 1010).—I have read in some compilation that he was not a native of Maghrib (*Maghribi*), but that one of his ancestors, Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Muhammad, filled a place under government in that part of Baghdâd which lies on the west side of the Tigris (*in Karkh*); and he was named al-Maghribi (*the Western*) for that reason: this title then continued to be given to his descendants. I have also heard a great number of persons make the same observation, but I since found the following passage at the beginning of the work composed by the vizir, and entitled *Adab al-Khawâss*: "Al-Mutanabbi, "the poet whom our *brothers of Maghrib* call al-Mutanabbih (*the wide awake*), "says with elegance:

> 'When Time was in his youth, his children came and he made them happy, but we 'came to him in his old age.'"

This seems to prove that he was in reality a native of Maghrib. Further on, when speaking of an-Nâbigha al-Jaadi (16) and his poetry, he makes use of the very same expression, when quoting this verse of al-Mutanabbi's:

> In my body is a soul which has not, like it, become decrepit; although grayness has ruined (*the dark honours*) of my face.

His genealogy, as given at the commencement of this notice, was taken by

me from a note in the handwriting of Abû 'l-Kâsim Ali Ibn Munjib Ibn Sulaimân al-Misri, surnamed Ibn as-Sirafi, who mentions that he copied it from the handwriting of the vizir himself.

(1) The *kâtib* Abû Ali Harûn Ibn Abd al-Azîz al-Awâriji (*the book-keeper*) died A. H. 364 (A. D. 975), aged 66 years. He was receiver of the land-tax in some important districts. A written collection of the traditions was made by him. He frequented the society of the Sûfis and of al-Hallâj, but on discovering the real religious opinions of the latter, he informed the vizir Ali Ibn Isa and Abû Bakr Ibn Mujâhid (*of his pernicious doctrines*).—(Ad-Dahabi's *Târîkh al-Islâm*.)

(2) That is: By thy presence, thou turnest darkness into light, and thou wilt then be surely discovered.

(3) According to Hajji Khalifa, this philological work was composed by Abû Hanîfa Ahmad Ibn Dâwûd ad-Dainauri, who died A. H. 290 (A. D. 903).

(4) This title signifies literally, *The memorable, treating of curtain-anecdotes*. Probably a philological work: as fair ladies are always concealed by a curtain or a veil, so the beauties of Arabic style are hidden under the veil of allusion.

(5) See M. de Sacy's *Exposé de l'histoire des Druzes*, tom. I. page 350.

(6) He returned to Mekka and, having made his submission to al-Hâkim, he was reinstated in his government, and died there A. H. 430 (A. D. 1038-9), the forty-sixth year of his administration.—Ibn Khaldûn, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. d'entrée, 2402 C, fol. 44.)

(7) Abû Ghâlib Fakhr al-Mulk Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Khalf was vizir to the Dailemite prince Bahâ ad-Dawlat and to his son Sultân ad-Dawlat. His talents, liberality, and noble character entitled him to be considered as the greatest vizir who ever served the Buwaih dynasty, with the exception of Abû 'l-Fadl Ibn al-Amîd and the Sâhib Ibn Abbâd. His father was a money-changer, and he himself underwent many vicissitudes of fortune before he was raised to the vizirat. He was put to death A. H. 407 (A. D. 1016-7) by his sovereign Sultân ad-Dawlat, for some reason or other بسبب (Al-Yâfi's *Mirât*; Abû 'l-Mahâsin's *an-Nujûm az-Zâhira*.)—Ibn al-Athîr says in his *Kâmil*: In the year 412 the *khotba* was said throughout Irak with the substitution of Musharraf ad-Dawlat's name for Sultan ad-Dawlat's. The Dailemite troops (in the service of the latter) then obtained permission from Musharrif ad-Dawlat to return to their homes in Khuzestân. He ordered his vizir Abû Ghâlib to accompany them; but on arriving at al-Ahwâz, they murdered him.—I should suppose this not to be the same person as the preceding.

(8) Kirwash Ibn al-Mukallad Ibn at-Musaiyib succeeded his father as sovereign of Mosul, A. H. 391 (A. D. 1000-1). He died A. H. 444 (A. D. 1052-3). His history may be traced in Abû 'l-Fedâ; tom. II. p. 605, and tom. III. pp. 5, 51, 53, 141.—For the pronunciation of his name, I have followed the MS. of Ibn al-Athîr; it is found written with the vowel points in vol. III. *fol.* 24. Ibn Khaldûn has a long chapter on the history of the Okailite dynasty.—(MS. No. 2402 C, fol. 116 verso.)

(9) See Price's *Retrospect*, vol. II. p. 269, and Abû 'l-Fedâ's Annals, tom. III. pp. 51, 65, 69.

(10) According to al-Makrîzi, the Durrâa was a sort of vest in woollen cloth worn by vizirs (*Chrestomathie*, t. I. p. 125). I do not understand, however, why al-Maghribi was obliged to wear it constantly.

(11) He left Baghdad through apprehension of the turbulent spirit of the Turkish troops, to whom large arrears of pay were owing.

(12) Awâna lay at ten parasangs from Baghdad, higher up the river.—(*Marâsid*.)

(13) *Ibn Makn*; such is the orthography of the MSS. and of Ibn al-Athîr in the *Kâmil*. Mention is made of this emir by Abû 'l-Fedâ in his Annals, A. H. 411.

(14) His life, p. 187 of this volume.

(15) When al-Wazîr al-Maghribi felt that his death was inevitable, he wrote to all the emirs and chiefs of his acquaintance who were (*living*) between Maiyafârikîn and Kûfa. In these letters, he informed them that one of his concubines had died, and that he intended sending the coffin to the chapel of Ali; he therefore asked their protection for the persons who accompanied the body, and desired them, on no account, to stop it or the escort. When he expired, his people proceeded with his body to the place of burial; the emirs thought that it was the body of the concubine, and none attempted to stop it on its progress. The truth was not discovered till after his interment.—(*Ibn al-Athîr.*)

(16) Hassân Ibn Kais, a descendant of Aamir Ibn Sâsâ, a member of the tribe of Jaad Ibn Kaab, and generally known by the name of an-Nâbigha al-Jaadi, was one of the most celebrated of the poets contemporary with Muhammad. He was born before the promulgation of Islamism, to which he became a convert, and was a devoted partisan to Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib, on whose side he fought at the battle of Siffîn. He died during the period in which Abd Allah Ibn az-Zubair, the anti-khalif, ruled at Mekka. It is to his songs that he is chiefly indebted for his reputation. He did not give any proofs of possessing a talent for poetry, till after his thirtieth year, and it was for this reason that he received the surname of an-Nâbigha. (See *Chrestomathie*, tom. II. p. 410.) -(*Es-Suyûti; Sharh Shawâhid al-Mughni*, MS. No. 1238, fol. 133.)

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## IBN KHALAWAIH.

Abû Abd Allah al-Husain Ibn Ahmad Ibn Khâlawaih, the grammarian and philologer, was a native of Hamadân, but (*when still a youth*) he went to Baghdad and frequented some of the eminent scholars who then inhabited that city. Among the number were Abû Bakr Ibn al-Anbâri, Ibn Mujâhid al-Mukri, Abû Omar az-Zâhid and Ibn Duraid. He also learned the *readings* of the Koran from Abû Saîd as-Sîrâfi, and having removed to Syria, he took up his abode at Aleppo. He then became unrivalled by his acquirements in every branch of literature; (*students*) journeyed to him from all countries, and the members of the Hamdân family (*which then reigned at Aleppo*), treated him with honour, studied under his direction, and profited by his tuition. It was he who related the following (*well known*) anecdote: "I one day went to see Saif ad-Dawlat "Ibn Hamdân, and when I stood up before him (*after making my salutation*), "he said to me: *Sit down*, making use of the word *ukod*, and not *ujlos*: from "this I perceived that he was an amateur of philological studies (1), and well "acquainted with the secrets of the language spoken by the desert Arabs." Ibn 233 Khâlawaih made this observation because philologers consider it preferable to

say *ukod* to a person who is standing up, and *ujlos* to a person who is lying down or making a prostration (2); and some of the learned give the following reason for making the distinction: the verb *kaad* implies the idea of passing from *up* to *down* (and it is for this reason that a person deprived of the use of his limbs is called *mukâd* (*seated*)), but the verb *jalas* denotes the action of passing from *down* to *up*, (for which reason it is that the high land of Najd is called *al-Jalsâ* (*the seated up*), and that they say of a person who goes to that country: He is a *jalis* (*sitter up*), or that he *jalas* (*sits up*). It is thus that Marwân Ibn al-Hakam, when governor of Medîna, addressed the poet al-Farazdak in these terms:

Say to the idiot al-Farazdak (3): Proceed to Najd (*Ujlos*) if you obey not my orders.

This is taken from a piece of verse relative to which a long anecdote is related (4).—The foregoing observations are not here in their proper place, but discourse will run into digression.—Ibn Khâlawaih is author of a large philological work, entitled *Kitâb lais* (*the book of* lais (*non est*)), which is a proof of his vast erudition; from the beginning to the end it is drawn up in this manner: *In the language of the pure Arabic race* there is not (*lais*) *such and such an expression*, etc.; whence its name. He composed also a little book which he called *al-Aal* (5), and in the beginning of it he says: The *Aal* is of twenty-five divisions (*or sorts*). This treatise is composed with no inferior talent. He mentions in it the twelve imâms, the dates of their birth and death, and the names of their mothers; what induced him to speak of them was, that in describing the different sorts of *Aal* (*or mirage*), he came to speak of the *Aal* (*or family*) of Muhammad, the Banû Hâshim. His other works are the *Kitâb al-Ishtikâk* (*book of derivations*), the *Kitâb al-Joml fi 'n-Nahwi* (*the grammatical summary*), a treatise on the *readings* of the Koran, the parsing of thirty *surats* of the Koran, the *Kitâb al-Azîz* (6), a treatise on the short and the long final *elif*, another on the two genders, one on the different kinds of *elif*, a commentary on Ibn Duraid's poem the *Maksûra;* a work (*containing pieces descriptive*) of the lion, etc. Ibn Khâlawaih had some conferences and discussions with al-Mutanabbi at the court of Saif ad-Dawlat, and were I not desirous of avoiding prolixity, I should give an account of them. He composed some

good poetry, and the following verses were written by him, as it appears by ath-Thaâlibi's statement in the *Yatîma:*

> If the president of an assembly be not a man of family, he whom the assembly have chosen for president is good for nothing. How often has it been said to me: "Why "do I see thee on foot?" And I replied: "Because you are on horseback."

Ibn Khâlawaih died at Aleppo, A. H. 370 (A. D. 980-1).

(1) Literally: I was aware of his attachment to the fringe (*of the robe*) of philology.

(2) From this it would appear that the verb قعد *kaad* signifies *to sit down*, and جلس *jalas*, *to sit up*. This distinction is now neglected in common discourse.

(3) Literally: Say to al-Farazdak, (and folly is as hateful as its name). The expression between parentheses was used by the ancients to denote that the person of whom they were speaking was a blockhead. The poet an-Nâbigha ad-Dubyâni has used it in this sense at the commencement of his fifth *kasida*.—(See Yûsuf as-Shantmari's Commentary on the *Diwân of the six Poets;* MS. of the *Bib. du Roi.*)

(4) This anecdote is given by M. Caussin de Perceval in his life of al-Farazdak, *Journal Asiatique*, t. XIII. pp. 516, 517, and 518. The verse mentioned here by Ibn Khallikân was composed by Marwân in answer to that recited by the poet, and which is mentioned in page 518 of that periodical. Ibn Khallikân has omitted the next verse of the piece composed by Marwân, and I give it here after the *Kitâb al-Aghâni*:

دع المدينة انها محظورة * والحق بمكة اوببيت المقدس

"Quit Medina; it is for thee a forbidden city, and go to Mekka or Jerusalem."

(5) This word signifies *family*, and *mirage*. I am inclined to think that the latter meaning is here intended.

(6) This work is not noticed by Hajji Khalifa.

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## ABU ALI 'L-GHASSANI.

Abû Ali al-Husain Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al-Ghassâni (*descended from the tribe of Ghassân*) al-Jaiyâni (*a native of Jaen in Spain*) was a traditionist of the first authority and a philologer. He is the author of the *Takyîd al-Muhmal* (*fixation of doubtful orthographies*), a book in which he gives the right spelling of all the names of Traditionists cited in the *Sihâh* of al-Bokhâri and that of Muslim, when these names are liable to be pronounced erroneously: in this work, which forms two volumes, he has treated the subject with no inferior talent. He was an able critic in judging of the authenticity of Traditions,

and one of those great men of learning whose labours have been useful to the public. His handwriting was good, his orthography correct, and he was acquainted with the rare and elegant expressions of the Arabic language, and with poetry and genealogy. When teaching the Traditions, he used to sit in the mosque of Cordova, and he had the most eminent men of that city for auditors. I have not met with the particulars of his life (1), or I should mention them. He was born in the month of Muharram, A. H. 427 (A. D. 1035); in the year 444, he began his travels for the purpose of learning the Traditions, and he died on Thursday night, the 12th of Shâbân, 498 (April, A. D. 1105).—*Jaiyâni* 234 means *belonging to Jaiyân* (*Jaen*), a large city in Spain. There is another place of this name in the dependencies of Rai.

(1) I hoped to have found some further particulars respecting al-Ghassâni in the *Silat* or *gift*, the celebrated biographical dictionary composed by Ibn Bashkuwâl, and of which a copy is preserved in the library of the Asiatic Society of Paris. His life is indeed given in that work, but I perceived that Ibn Khallikân had already extracted from it every interesting fact.

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## AL-BARI.

Abû Abd Allah al-Husain was son to Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhâb Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Husain Ibn Obaid Allah Ibn al-Kâsim Ibn Obaid Allah Ibn Sulaimân Ibn Wahb al-Hârithi; this Sulaimân Ibn Wahb was a vizir and a descendant of Hârith Ibn Kaab Ibn Amr (1).—This celebrated poet bore the surnames of ad-Dabbâs, al-Badri, al-Bâri (*the pre-eminent*), and *an-Nadím al-Baghdâdi* (*the boon-companion from Baghdad*); he was also a learned grammarian, a philologer, and a teacher of the *koranic readings;* he possessed besides a good acquaintance with the various branches of polite literature. Great numbers profited under his tuition, and particularly in the reading of the Koran. He descended from a family conspicuous in the vizirat, as his ancestor al-Kâsim was vizir to the khalif al-Motadid and to al-Muktafi his successor; (this was the vizir who poisoned Ibn ar-Rûmi, as we shall relate in that poet's life;) Obaid Allah, the father of al-Kâsim, had been already vizir to

al-Motadid; and as for Sulaimân Ibn Wahb, his celebrity is such that it is needless to speak of him here; we shall merely refer the reader to his life in this work. Al-Bârî was gifted with diversified talents and is the author of some good works, such as compositions in the lofty style (2) and poetical pieces. He was an intimate companion and friend of *the sharîf* Abû Yâla Ibn al-Habbâriya, and the pleasantries which passed between them are most amusing. It happened that al-Bârî entered into the service of a certain emir and made the pilgrimage to Mekka; on his return, the *sharîf* went, at different times, to see him, but did not find him at home; he in consequence addressed to him a long *kasîda,* in which he reproached him for his conduct, and hinted that the place which he had obtained caused him to disdain his old acquaintance. This poem begins thus:

> O son of my affection! but alas, how far (*estranged*) from me is the son of my affection! This place of authority, obtained since my departure, has altered the (*kind*) looks (*with which he once received me*).

I should give this piece here, were it not for the ribaldry and obscenity of some passages. It was answered by al-Bârî in a long epistle containing also some indelicate expressions, and beginning thus:

> The *sharîf* Abû Yâla's letter has arrived, and it has met with as kind a reception as would be given to himself. I received it with a hearty welcome, and I applied it to my eyes and to my cheek (3). I broke the seal and found—what think you of honey mixed with wormwood? Kind reproaches tinctured with bitterness, such as he better deserved; folly and seriousness:—false accusations against me who have committed no crime, and blame such as nearly consumes my heart. He pretends that he came to visit me many times, and that I refused to admit him; may he never meet with a foul repulse! Cease then to accuse the place I fill, and lay not the fault on my pilgrimage; can a person, (*frank*) like me, affect condescendence or disdain (4)? I implore you, by Allah! tell me how you can perceive that I forget you or that my affection is altered? Such as you see me, whether acting as an *admil* (5) or a vizir to a prince, or passing troops in review, I am still that libertine (*khalî*) whom you knew, and whom you yet might easily recognize (6). When a handsome (*girl*) is true to (*her promise and visits*) me, that day is my holyday, (*as if*) the prince himself came to my house. Were I in the garden of eternal happiness and you in the fire of hell with Hâmân (7), do you think I could forget you? Were my head encircled with a diadem and you a prisoner in chains, could I feel indifferent for you? I fulfil manifold my promised affection to you, but you do not repay my friendship. (*Do you reproach me*) because I am solely devoted to one single person among men, the first among the generous; one who has spared my self-respect the humiliation of (*soliciting succour from*) the vile, and has

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loaded me with unbounded favours? I desire no more; I let my days glide smoothly away, and adopt the maxim of keeping within bounds. And yet I am not too proud to beg; but where are the generous men whose bounty I may implore?

We shall confine ourselves to the foregoing citation, as the *kasîda* from which it is taken contains obscene passages not fit to be given, and others unsuited to our purpose.—The following piece is by the same author:

I have lost my self-respect (8) from having long solicited the favours of a man devoid of self-respect. I sent to him a statement of my misery,—would that I had died before I sent it. His gifts brought me no honour, and I could hardly recover from his contumelious treatment. Death is better than (*to live in*) an age when men of talent must hold out their hands to blockheads.

Al-Bâri was born at Baghdad on the 10th of Safar, A. H. 443 (A. D. 1051), and he died on Tuesday, 17th of the latter Jumâda, (some say the first,) A. H. 524 (April, A. D. 1130).—*Dabbâs* means a maker or seller of *dibs* (9).—*Badri* signifies *belonging* to *al-Badriya,* a part of Baghdad so called, and in which al-Bâri resided; for which reason he obtained this surname.

(1) This Amr was son of Olla علة Ibn Khald Ibn Mâlik Ibn Odad, the descendant of Kahlân.

(2) *Compositions in the lofty style;* this is not the literal translation, but it expresses the sense tolerably well: the original word is غريبة, which means *rare* or *strange expressions*, such as are used by the Arabs of the desert, but unintelligible for towns-people.

(3) In sign of honour.

(4) Literally: An mihi est solutio dedignationis aut constrictio ejus?

(5) See note (3), page 444.

(6) Literally: Whose country you might know were it even by the manner in which his camels ruminate. This seems to be a proverbial expression, but I have not been able to find it in al-Maidâni. It may be, however, that I have misunderstood the words, as the last hemistich of the verse may very well signify: Who, as thou knowest, is easily pleased, were it even with a flask of muddy wine.

(7) Hâmân was the chief minister of Pharaoh. The Koran says: "Verily Firaun and Hâmân were "sinners."

(8) Literally: I have spent the water of my face: see note (15), page 108.

(9) The inspissated juice of the ripe grape is much used by the natives (*of Aleppo*). It is named *dibs*, and has much the appearance of coarse honey, but is of a firmer consistence. It is brought to town in goat-skins and retailed in small quantities in the bazars, serving for the common people instead of honey.—(Russell's *Aleppo*, vol. I. p. 82, quarto edition.)

## AT-TOGHRAI.

Abû Ismaîl al-Husain Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd as-Samad, surnamed al-Amîd (*or Amîd ad-Dawlat, pillar of the state*), Fakhr al-Kuttâb (*the glory of the kâtibs* (1) ), Muwaiyad ad-Dîn (*sustained in religion*), and generally known by the name of at-Toghrâi, was a celebrated *munshi* (2) and a native of Ispahân. He possessed great talents, a subtle genius, and surpassed all his contemporaries in the art of composing in prose and verse. As-Samâni speaks of him in the *Kitâb al-Ansâb* under the article *Munshi*, and after making his eulogium, he gives an extract from one of his poems descriptive of a wax-light, and states that he was put to death in the year 515 (A. D. 1121-2). At-Toghrâi has left behind him a *diwân* (or collection) of good poetry, and one of his finest pieces is the *kasîda* entitled the *Lâmiyat al-Ajam* (3), which he composed at Baghdad in the year 505 (A. D. 1111-2). In this poem he describes his own situation and complains of the time in which he lived. It begins thus:

My strength of mind has preserved me from frivolity, and I was adorned by my talents, though decked with no other ornament.

236 This *kasîda*, which consists of more than sixty verses (4), contains every beauty of style (5) and is the very essence and excellence of poetry; it is too long to be given here, but it is generally known and in the hands of the public. —One of his sentimental pieces is as follows:

O my heart! what hast thou to do with love? It is long since indifference had settled in thee, and since the lover's ardour has been restrained. Dost thou not feel pleasure in repose, now that those with whom you passed round the cup of burning passion have recovered their reason? The zephyr fell into languor and revived again, but from the malady of which thou complainest, no deliverance can be hoped. I behold the wavering of the lightning-flash, and the heart within my bosom wavers and beats (6).

By the same:

Eyes! treasure up your tears; it will surely come, the threatened moment of separation (*from my beloved*). If to-morrow unite (*us*) lovers, shame then be on the eyes which have not been fatigued with weeping (7).

Abû 'l-Maâli 'l-Haziri mentions at-Toghrâi in his *Zînat ad-Dahr* and cites

some fragments of his poetry; he is also spoken of by Ibn al-Mustawfi, in his History of Arbela, who says that he acted for some time as vizir in that city; and the *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn states, in his history of the Seljûkides, entitled *Nusrat al-Fatra wa Osrat al-Fitra*, that at-Toghrâi was styled *al-Ustâd* (*the master*) and that he was vizir at Mosul to the Seljûk sultan Masûd Ibn Muhammad; "when this prince," he continues, "gave battle to his brother the sul-" "tan Mahmûd near Hamadân, he was defeated, and among the first prisoners "taken, was the *ustâd* Abû Ismail, Masûd's vizir. News of this circumstance "was brought to Kamâl al-Mulk Nizâm ad-dîn Abû Tâlib Ali Ibn Ahmad Ibn "Harb as-Sumairmi, the vizir to Mahmûd, on which Shihâb ad-dîn Asaad "(who was then deputy *toghra*-writer to an-Nusair the *kâtib*), made the re-"mark that *that man*, meaning the *ustâd*, was an atheist; and the vizir here "observed that atheists should be put to death. At-Toghrâi was thus slain "unjustly; they dreaded his superior abilities, and put him to death on this "pretext, without having any regard for his personal merit. This was in A. H. "513 (A. D. 1119-20)." But other accounts assign his death to the years 514 and 518. He was then aged upwards of sixty years, and in his poetry are found these two verses, composed on a new-born son who had been brought to him, and which indicate that he had then attained his fifty-seventh year:

> This little one has come in my old age; it rejoices my sight, but increases my pensiveness: a lapse of seven and fifty years would make impression even on a rock.

How long he lived after composing these verses, God knows best.—The vizir al-Kamâl as-Sumairmi was killed on Tuesday, the last day of the month of Safar, A. H. 516 (May, A. D. 1122), in the Bazar (*sûk*) of Baghdad near the *Nizâmiya* college; it is said that he fell by the hand of a black slave who had belonged to at-Toghrâi, and who slew him to revenge his master's death.—*Toghrâi* means *a toghra-writer;* the toghra is the flourish written with a broad-nibbed pen, at the beginning of (*official*) papers, over the *Bismillah*, and containing the titles of the prince from whom the document emanates. Toghra is a Persian word.—*Sumairmi* means *belonging to Sumairm,* a town between Ispahân and Shirâz, on the extreme limit of the Ispahân district.

(1) See note (7), page 26.

(2) *Munshi*, a person employed by government to draw up state papers.

(3) This poem is well known to European readers, having been repeatedly published, but the edition given by the illustrious Pocock is decidedly the best.

(4) Fifty-nine in the printed editions.

(5) In Arabic غريبة ; see note (2), page (461).

(6) In the poems of the ancient Arabs, the lover frequently describes his joy in watching the lightning, which presages a fertilising shower to the plains where his mistress dwells. See the *Diwân d'Amro 'l-Kais*, p. 93, *notes*. At-Toghrâi here reproduces that idea, which was quite classical; and says that the lightning makes him think of his mistress, and that this recollection causes his heart to beat.

(7) Because true lovers should be always weeping when separated.

(8) Ibn al-Athîr, in his Annals, notices the death of at-Toghrâi, and says that he composed some alchemical works which have been the ruin of many. One of these works, entitled *Sirr al-Hikma* (*the secret of philosophy*), and containing a commentary on a treatise of Jâbir Ibn Haiyân, entitled *ar-Rahma* (*mercy*), is in the *Bib. du Roi*, fonds Asselin.

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## IBN AL-KHAZIN THE KATIB.

237 Abû 'l-Fawâris al-Husain Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husain, generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Khâzin the *kâtib*, was the first copyist of his time; he surpassed all others by the quantity of his transcriptions, having made five hundred copies of the Koran, some of a compact form and some of a folio size. He composed also some good poetry, of which we may cite the following specimen:

> Fortune torments him who pursues her, but the man of prudence despises the world and enjoys repose. The prince who obtains her delusive favours must at last be contented with a shroud. He gathers wealth with pain, and with pain he leaves it after him. My only wish is to feel assured that I shall meet God. I detest the world, and why should I love it, since its gifts are lethargy (*to the soul*)? It has not endured for any man before me; why then this care and sadness?

The historian Muhammad Ibn Abi 'l-Fadl (*Abd al-Malik*) al-Hamadâni says, in his supplement to the *Tajârib al-Umam* of (*Ibn*) Miskawaih (1), that Ibn Ibn al-Hâzin died suddenly in the month of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 502 (July, A. D. 1109), and the *sharîf* Abû Mâmar al-Mubârak Ibn Ahmad al-Ansâri states that his death took place on Monday night, and that he was buried the next day, Tuesday, the 26th of the above month.

(1) According to Hajji Khalifa, Abû Ali Ahmad Ibn Miskawaih, the author of the *Tajârib al-Omam*, or *experience of nations*, died A. H. 421 (A. D. 1030). Abû 'l-Faraj gives a short account of him in the *Historia Dynastiarum*, p. 216 of the translation.

## ABU ABD ALLAH THE SHIITE.

Abû Abd Allah al-Husain Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Zakariyâ, surnamed *as-Shîi* (*the Shîite*), was the assertor of the rights (1) of Obaid Allah al-Mahdi, the ancestor of the (*Fatimite*) sovereigns of Egypt. His revolt in Maghrib is a celebrated event, and works have been specially composed on that subject. We shall give an account of some of his proceedings in the life of Obaid Allah al-Mahdi.—Abû Abd Allah the Shîite, a native of Sanâ in Yemen, was one of those crafty men who know how to regulate their conduct so as to obtain their ends; for he entered Ifrîkiya alone, without money and without men, yet by his unremitting efforts, he succeeded in obtaining possession of that kingdom and expelling its sovereign Abû Modar Ziâdat Allah, the last of the Aghlabite princes, who fled to the East and there died. The history of these events would be long to relate.—When he had established the affairs of al-Mahdi on a solid foundation, and reduced the country under his authority and made it ready for his reception, al-Mahdi set out from the East, but being unable to join the Shiite, he proceeded to Sejelmêsa, where he was discovered and thrown into prison by the sovereign of that city, al-Yasâ, the last of the Midrâr dynasty. Abû Abd Allah the Shîite, having marched thither, delivered him from confinement and placed the supreme authority in his hands. Abû 'l-Abbâs Ahmad, the Shîite's elder brother, then arrived and reproached him for what he had done: "How!" said he to the Shiite, "you were master of the country, and "uncontrolled arbiter of its affairs, yet you have delivered it over to another, "and consent to remain in the rank of an inferior!" By a repetition of such discourses, he induced his brother to repent of his conduct, and to meditate treason, but al-Mahdi's apprehensions were awakened, and he suborned persons who murdered them both at the same time. This event happened in the middle of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 298 (February, A. D. 911), at ar-Rakkâda, between the two castles (2).—*Shîi* is the denomination given to the partisans of the imâm Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib.—*Rakkâda* was a town in the dependencies of 238 Kairawân in Ifrîkiya.—As for Ziâdat Allah, mention is made of him in these terms by Ibn Asâkir, in his History of Damascus: "Abû Modar Ziâdat Allah "Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Aghlab Ibn

"Ibrahîm Ibn Sâlim Ibn Ikâl Ibn Khafâja: this is Ziâdat Allah the less, the "last of the princes descended from al-Aghlab at-Tamîmi.—He came to Damas- "cus in the year 302 (A. D. 914-5), on his way to Baghdad, after his defeat in "Ifrîkiya and the loss of his kingdom." He then says at the end of the article: "I have been informed that Ziâdat Allah died at Ramla, in the month of the "first Jumâda, A. H. 304 (November, A. D. 916); he was buried at Ramla, "and his grave having sunk in, it was covered over (*with boards*) and left so. "He was a descendant of al-Aghlab Ibn Amr al-Mâzini al-Basri (3); Amr had "been appointed governor of Maghrib by ar-Rashid, on the death of Idrîs Ibn "Abd Allah Ibn al-Hasan Ibn al-Husain Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib. He continued "in Maghrib till his death, and had for successor his son al-Aghlab, who was "succeeded by his descendants, till at last the authority devolved to this Ziâdat "Allah."—His genealogy is again given in the life of Ali Ibn al-Kattâ; there is some slight difference between it and that mentioned here by Ibn Asâkir, and I have set them down just as I found them. Another historian says: "Abû "Modar Ziâdat Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ibrahîm Ibn al-Aghlab died at "Rakka; his body was borne in a bier to Jerusalem and there interred in the "year 296 (A. D. 908-9). A space of five years, nine months, and fifteen days "elapsed from the time of his accession till he abandoned Kairawân, when "(*his general*) Ibrahîm Ibn al-Aghlab was defeated by Abû Abd Allah as- "Shii. On learning this event, he packed up his wealth, and taking with him "the principal ladies of his harem, he left Rakkâda during the night. Ibrahîm "Ibn al-Aghlab was then proclaimed sovereign. The Aghlabite dynasty reigned "two hundred and twelve years, five months, and fourteen days." Such is the summary of these events, which it would be too long to relate in full (4).

(1) *The assertor of the rights;* literally: The establisher of the mission. Mention has been already made of the missions established for political purposes. See note (9), page 26. A full account of Abû Abd Allah's proceedings will be found in M. de Sacy's *Exposé de l'histoire des Druzes*, t. I. p. 287

(2) *Between the two castles;* perhaps the author means the place called *al-Kasr al-Kadîm* (*the old castle*) and ar-Rakkâda. Ibn Khaldûn merely states that he was slain at al-Kasr (*the castle*). The *Two castles* are mentioned by an-Nuwairi, MS. No. 702, f. 28 *v*, but he does say where they lay.

(3) This and what follows is quite erroneous; Ibn Asâkir must have been very badly informed respecting the origin and history of the Aghlabites.

(4) In my translation of an-Nuwairi's history of Maghrib, will be found a fuller account of the Aghlabite dynasty.

## ABU SALAMA HAFS AL-KHALLAL.

Abû Salama Hafs Ibn Sulaimân al-Khallâl al-Hamdâni was a client, by enfranchisement, to as-Sabî (*a branch of the great tribe of Hamdân*), and vizir to Abû 'l-Abbâs as-Saffâh, the first of the Abbaside khalifs. Abû Salama was the first person under the Abbasides who received the name of vizir and was publicly addressed as such; for this appellation was not known before, either under the Omaiyide dynasty or any other. Being versed in literature and skilled in politics and government, his conversation was both amusing and instructive, for which reason As-Saffâh took pleasure in his society. He possessed a large fortune, having followed the profession of money-changer at Kûfa; and he spent great sums in support of (*the cause of*) the Abbasides. He went to Khorasan for that object with Abû Moslim to second him, and he there *called* (1) the people to support the cause of Ibrahîm, as-Saffâh's brother. When Ibrahîm was put to death at Harrân by Marwân Ibn Muhammad the last of the Omaiyides, the *call* was made in favour of as-Saffâh, and Abû Salama became suspected of a leaning towards the descendants of Ali. When as-Saffâh, on his accession to the khalifat, nominated Abû Salama as vizir, he still retained some doubts of his fidelity; and it is said that he sent to Abû Moslim in Khorasan, informing him of Abû Salama's evil intentions, and urging him to put him to death. But according to another account, it was Abû Moslim who discovered the vizir's perfidy, and informed as-Saffâh, by letter, of the circumstance, advising him at the same time, not to let him live. This, however, the khalif refused to do, saying: "That man has spent his wealth in our service and has hitherto served us "faithfully; wherefore we pardon him this slip." On perceiving as-Saffâh's unwillingness to follow the counsel given him, Abû Muslim sent a band of men 239 to lie in wait, during the night, for Abû Salama, who used to pass the evening in conversation with the khalif. When the vizir was retiring home unaccompanied, the assassins set upon him and cut him down with their swords; (this was at al-Anbâr, the khalif's capital;) the next morning the public said that he had been murdered by the Khârijites. This event happened four months after the accession of as-Saffâh to the khalifat; he had been proclaimed khalif on the eve

of Friday, 13th of the latter Rabî, A. H. 132 (November, A. D. 749). When as-Saffâh was informed of his death, he pronounced this verse:

> To hell with him and those who resemble him; we should regret that, in any point, he escaped our vengeance (2).

It is stated in the History of the Vizirs (3), that Abû Salama was murdered in the month of Rajab, A. H. 132 (February or March, A. D. 750). He was styled *the vizir of the family of Muhammad*. The following lines were composed on his death by Sulaimân Ibn al-Muhâjir al-Bajli:

> Crimes are sometimes rejoiced at, but joy were fitter for that which you disliked. The vizir has perished, the vizir of the family of Muhammad, and one who detests you now fills his place (4).

Abû Salama was not a *Khallâl* (*vinegar-maker*), but his house in Kûfa was situated in the street of the vinegar-makers, and he used to sit with them as neighbours: it was for this reason that he received the surname of *al-Khallâl*. —*Hamdâni* means *belonging to Hamdân*, a great tribe in Yemen. We shall speak of *Sabî* in the life of Abû Ishak as-Sabii.—Philologers disagree respecting the derivation of the word *wizârat* (*vizirat*); some derive it from *wizr*, a burden, because the vizir relieves the prince from the burden of affairs; this is also the opinion of Ibn Kutaiba; but others say that it comes from *wazr*, a mountain, to which people fly for refuge from danger. According to this, the vizir is one to whom the spiritual or temporal prince has recourse, and to whom he betakes himself for advice; this is the opinion of Abû Ishak az-Zajjâji.

(1) The *dawat* دعوة, or *call*, was an invitation to espouse the party of the person who pretended to be the true imâm, and who, as such, claimed spiritual and civil authority over the Moslims. The call was made by those agents or missionaries *daî*, of whom mention has been made in note (9), page 26.

(2) This verse is not reconcilable with what is stated above of as-Saffâh's indulgence towards Abû Salama.

(3) Hajji Khalifa mentions several works bearing this title.

(4) This piece seems intended as a reproach to as-Saffâh: the poet gives him to understand that he should not rejoice at the murder of Abû Salama, and that it had been better for him to have allowed him to live, although he disliked him. A devoted friend to the family of Muhammad had perished, and was now replaced by a man who detests it; meaning Khâlid Ibn Barmak, sprung from a race of fire-worshippers.

## HAMMAD IBN ABI HANIFA.

Abû Ismaîl Hammâd, son of the imâm Abû Hanîfa an-Nomân Ibn Thâbit, followed the sect established by his father, and was highly venerated for his holy life. His father, in dying, had in his possession a great quantity of precious objects in gold, silver, etc., which had been confided to his care, and the proprietors of which were, some absent, and the others, orphans under age. All those objects were brought by Hammâd to the kâdi that he might receive them, but he refused to accept them, saying that they could not be in better hands than those in which they then were. On this, Hammâd begged of him to weigh them and set down the weight in writing, so as to disengage Abû Hanîfa's responsibility, "and then," said he, "you may do as you please." The kâdi consented, and passed some days in weighing these deposits; but when he had done, Hammâd was not to be found, neither did he quit his place of concealment till they had been given in care to another person.—His son Ismaîl was kâdi of Basra till replaced by Yahya Ibn Aktham. I have read in the History of Abû Hanîfa, that when the kâdi Yahya Ibn Aktham arrived at Basra, Ismaîl Ibn Hammâd left the city and was accompanied by him to some distance, and the people implored blessings on Ismaîl, saying: "You abstained from our wealth and from our blood;" to which Ismaîl rejoined: "and from your sons;" making a sarcastic allusion to the suspicions which had been cast on Yahya's character.—The following fact is related by Ismaîl: "One of our neighbours, a "heretic (1) miller, had two mules, which he called Abû Bakr and Omar; a certain night he received a kick from one of these animals and died, and my "grandfather Abû Hanîfa said, when he heard it: 'See into it, for I suspect 240 "that it was the mule he called Omar by which he was killed (2);' and this "was found to be the case."—Hammâd died in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 176 (February or March, A. D. 793). We shall give the life of his father.

(1) Literally: a *Rafedite;* a name given to all the Shiite sects.

(2) The severity of the khalif Omar against infidels is well known.

## HAMMAD AR-RAWIA.

Abû 'l-Kâsim Hammâd Ibn Abi Laila Sâpûr (or Maisara) Ibn al-Mubârak Ibn Obaid ad-Dailami al-Kûfi (*descended from a native of Dailem and born at Kûfa*) was a client, by enfranchisement, to the tribe of Bakr Ibn Wâil, and is generally known by the surname of *ar-Râwia* (*the narrator*). Ibn Kutaiba mentions, in his *Kitâb al-Maârif* and *Tabakât as-Shuarâ*, that Hammâd was client to Muknif, son of Zaid al-Khail, of the tribe of Tai, the companion of the Prophet. Hammâd was one of the best-informed of men respecting the *days*, or adventures of the desert Arabs, their history, poetry, genealogy, and idioms; a ndaccording to Abû Jaafar Ibn (*Muhammad*) an-Nahhâs, it was he who united in one collection the *seven long poems* (*or Moallakas*). The princes of the Omaiyide family treated him with marked preference and honour; they invited him to visit them, and when he waited on them, they gave him tokens of their favour, and questioned him respecting the adventures and sciences of the desert Arabs. Being one day present at a public audience given by the khalif al-Walîd Ibn Abd al-Malik, he was asked by that prince in what way he merited the surname of *ar-Râwia*, and he returned this answer: "Because I can recite the poems of "every poet whom you, O Commander of the faithful! have ever known or "heard of; and I can rehearse moreover the compositions of many poets whom "you will acknowledge that you did not know, neither did you hear of; and no "one can quote to me passages of ancient and modern poetry without my being "able to tell the ancient from the modern." Al-Walîd then asked him how much poetry he knew by heart, and Hammâd replied: "A great deal (*more* "*than I can tell*); but I can recite to you, for each letter of the alphabet, "one hundred long poems rhyming in that letter, without taking into count "the short pieces; and all that composed exclusively by poets who lived before "the promulgation of Islamism." On this al-Walîd told him that he intended to make a trial of his talent, and he ordered him therefore to begin his recitations. Hammâd commenced, and continued till the khalif, having grown fatigued, withdrew, after leaving a person in his place to verify the truth of the assertion and hear him to the last. In that sitting, he recited two thousand nine hundred *kasîdas* by poets who flourished before Muhammad, and

al-Walid, on being informed of the fact, ordered him a present of one hundred thousand dirhems. The following anecdote is related in the *Durrat al-Ghawwâs* by Abû Muhammad al-Hariri, the author of the *Makâmas*: "Hammâd "ar-Râwia said (1): I attached myself exclusively to Yazid Ibn Abd al-Malik "whilst he was khalif, and his brother Hishâm used to treat me harshly for "that reason. On the accession of Hishâm, I apprehended his resentment, and "remained in my house during a year without stirring out, unless privately to "visit a trusty friend. Not hearing any one mention my name during that "year, I took confidence and went out one day to say my prayers in the mosque "at Rusâfa (2), when I was suddenly accosted by two soldiers of the police "guards, who said: 'Hammâd! answer the summons of the emir Yûsuf Ibn "Omar ath-Thakafi.' (Yûsuf was then governor of Irak.) And I said to my-"self: 'This is the very thing I dreaded!' I then asked them permission to go "home to my family and bid them an everlasting adieu, after which I should "accompany them, but to this they refused positively to accede; and I deli-"vered myself up into their hands. I was then brought before Yûsuf Ibn "Omar in his audience-hall, named *al-Ahmar* (*the red*), and having made him "my salutation, he returned it and handed me a letter, containing these words: "*In the name of God, the Merciful, the Clement! Hishâm, the servant of* "*God and the Commander of the faithful, to Yûsuf Ibn Omar ath-Thakafi.* "*When you have read this, send a person to bring you Hammâd without* "*putting him in fear, and give him five hundred dinars with a Mahra* (3) "*camel, so that he may arrive at Damascus in twelve days.* I took the mo-"ney, and looking out, I saw a camel ready saddled, on which I mounted and "set off. Twelve nights afterwards I arrived at Damascus, and alighted at "the door of Hishâm's palace, where I asked admittance. I was let in, and I 241 "found him in a large hall paved with marble, each flag of which was separated "from the other by a band of gold: Hishâm was seated on a red carpet, "dressed in red silk and perfumed with musk and amber. I saluted him, and "he returned my salutation, and told me to draw near, on which I went up "and kissed his foot. I then remarked two slave-girls, the like of whom I had "never before seen; each of them wore double ear-rings, and in each ear-ring "were two effulgent pearls. 'How art thou, Hammâd?' said he, 'and how "is thy health?'—'Well; Commander of the faithful!' I replied.—'Dost

"thou know,' said he, 'why I sent for thee?'—'No,' said I.—'I sent for thee,' "said he, 'on account of a verse which came to my mind, and the author of "which I do not know.' I asked to hear it, and he recited to me this "line:

> 'One day, they called for their morning draught, and a maid came, bearing a 'ewer.'

"'That verse,' said I, 'belongs to a *kasîda* by Adi Ibn Zaid al-Ibâdi (4).' "He then ordered me to recite it, and I began:

> 'From the very dawn of morning, the friends who blame my conduct, say: Wilt 'thou never return to reason? They blame me for the love I bear you, O daughter of 'Abd Allah! you who hold my heart enchained! They censure me so often on your account, that I doubt whether those who reproach me be enemies or friends.

"I continued then till I came to these verses:

> One day, they called for their morning draught, and a maid came, bearing an 'ewer. She held it out to be filled with wine bright as the eye of a cock, and clarified by 'the filter; rough till mixed with water, but, when mixed, delicious to the taste of the 'drinker. On its surface floated bubbles like rubies, which, as it was poured out, re'ceived fresh lustre. With it was then mixed the water of the clouds, no stagnant, 'foul, nor troubled water.'

"Here Hishâm was in an ecstacy of delight and said, '*Bravo!*' " — Some other circumstances are now mentioned in the narration; for instance, that the khalif told the slave-girl to pour out a drink (*of wine*) for Hammâd, which she did: this however is not true, for Hishâm never drank wine; it is therefore unnecessary to repeat them (5).—"The prince then told me," continued Hammâd, "to ask for what I liked.—'May I ask for it,' said I, 'be it what it may?'— "'Yes;' he replied. I then asked for one of the slave-girls, and he gave them "both to me, with what they wore, and all that belonged to them." Hishâm then lodged Hammâd in his palace, and the next morning he sent him to a dwelling which had been prepared for him, and in which he found the two slave-girls with all they possessed, and every thing which he required. He then prolonged his stay, and received one hundred thousand dirhems from the khalif. Such is the story as related by al-Harîri; but the fact could not have happened with Yûsuf Ibn Omar ath-Thakafi, for it was not he, but Khâlid Ibn Abd Allah al-Kasri (*see his life, page* 484), who governed Irak at the time; this re-

sults from the dates of Khâlid's appointment and removal, and the nomination of Yûsuf. Hammâd's adventures and the anecdotes related of him are very numerous. He was born A. H. 95 (A. D. 713-4), and his death took place in the year 155 (A. D. 772): some say, however, that he died during the khalifat of al-Mahdi, who was inaugurated on Sunday, 6th Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 158 (October, A. D. 775), and who died on the eve of Thursday, the 23rd Muharram, A. H. 169 (August, A. D. 785), at a village called ar-Rad, in the dependencies of Mâsabadân (6); a fact to which Marwân Ibn Abi Hafsa (7) alludes in the following verses:

> The noblest tomb after that of Muhammad, the prophet of the true direction, is a tomb at Mâsabadân. I wonder how the hand which filled it with earth did not lose its fingers! 242

The death of Hammâd was lamented in the following verses by the poet surnamed Abû Yahya Muhammad Ibn Kunâsa (8), but whose real name was Abd al-Aâli Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Khalifa Ibn Nadla Ibn Onaif Ibn Mâzin Ibn Duwaiba Ibn Osâma Ibn Nasr Ibn Koain:

> Could precaution suffice against death, precaution had saved thee from what befel thee. May God have mercy on thee, trusty friend! the sincerity of whose affection was never sullied. It is thus that time works ruin; by it knowledge is destroyed and the memorials of history are effaced.

Hammâd possessed but a slight acquaintance with the true genius of the Arabic language, and it is said, that having learned the Koran by heart from a written copy, he mistook the pronunciation of upwards of thirty words (*harf*) (9).

(1) This anecdote is given in the extract from the *Durrat* published by M. de Sacy in his *Anthologie Grammaticale*. See page 107.

(2) See De Sacy's *Anthologie*, page 147.

(3) Mahra, was a province in south Arabia, celebrated for its breed of camels.

(4) The life of Adi Ibn Zaid, translated from the Arabic of the *Kitâb al-Aghâni*, will be found in the *Journal Asiatique*.

(5) The anecdote will be found entire in the *Anthologie Grammaticale*.

(6) Mâsabadân or Sirwân, a town in Persian Irak. — (Abû 'l-Fedâ.)

(7) M. de Sacy has given a short account of this poet in the *Chrestomathie*, tom. III. p. 518.

(8) The poet surnamed Ibn Kunâsa, and respecting whose real names great uncertainty prevails, was a member of the Arabic tribe of Asad, and born at Kûfa, A. H. 123 (A. D. 740-1). From that place he re-

moved to Baghdad, where he settled. He had studied under the most eminent philologers of the school of Kûfa, and learned by heart the poems and pieces of eloquence composed by the tribe of Asad. He was a sister's son to the celebrated ascetic, Ibrahîm Ibn Adham ادهم. Died at Kûfa, the 3rd Shawwâl, A. H. 207 (February, A. D. 823). The *Fihrest* gives the titles of three of his works; one treats of the influence of the stars on the weather, *Kitâb al-Anwâ*; another on the ideas usually reproduced in poetry; and the third on the poet al-Kumait's plagiarisms from the Koran and other sources.—(*Fihrest*, fol. 98.)

(9) See note (13), page 364.

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## AJRAD THE POET.

Abû Amr (or Abû Yahya) Hammâd Ibn Amr Ibn Yûnus Ibn Kulaib was a native of Kûfa (or of Wâsit by some accounts), and a client by enfranchisement to the family of Sûat, a descendant of Aâmir Ibn Sâsâ (1). This Hammâd, who is better known by the surname of Ajrad, was a celebrated poet and one of those (called *Mukhadrams*) who flourished under the Omaiyide and the Abbaside dynasties. He did not, however, attain his reputation till after the accession of the Abbâsides; before that, he had been a boon-companion to the Omaiyide prince al-Walîd Ibn Yazîd, and it was only in the reign of al-Mahdi that he went to Baghdad. Ali Ibn al-Jaad (2) relates as follows: "In the reign of al-"Mahdi, the following persons came to Baghdad: Hammâd Ajrad, Mutî Ibn "Iyâs al-Kinâni (3), and Yahya Ibn Ziâd. They stopped in our neighbour-"hood and were intolerable for their wickedness and profligacy." Hammâd Ajrad was a poet of a superior order; he and Bashshâr Ibn Burd composed satires of a flagitious nature one against the other; the pieces which he made on Bashshâr abound in originality of thought, but their indecency will not allow me to insert any of them. Bashshâr was so much annoyed by Hammâd, that he composed on him these lines:

> On going to his tribe, you will find his door locked (4), and it is only by lying concealed that you can meet him. Ask Abû Yahya how he can obtain glory, he who has taken an oath against every generous deed.

The following verses also were made on him by Bashshâr:

> An excellent man that Hammâd, did he but adore his Lord and say his prayers. His face is pale (5) from drinking wine, but on the day of judgment, that whiteness shall become black (6).

He was an arrow-maker by trade; some say, however, that he followed no profession, and that it was his father who made arrows. Gay and witty in his humour, licentious in his conduct, he was suspected to be a Zindik (7) in religion. It is related that an intimacy subsisted between him and an eminent imâm whose name it is not right to mention, and that they afterwards quarrelled; he then learned that the imâm spoke of him contemptuously, on which he wrote him these lines:

> If you cannot complete your devotions without reviling me, go toil with restless animosity before friends and strangers. Yet for a long time you gave me a good character, although I persisted in disobedience to God's law; it was in those days when we passed something about in leaden ewers (8).

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By the same:

> You swore, (*my friendly monitor*,) that if I again became love's prisoner, you would blame me no more, but strive to excuse me. But what annoys me in you is this: you give counsel without being aware that you know not (*the person whom I love*).

The poetry and the adventures of Hammâd Ajrad are well known. He died A. H. 161 (A. D. 777-8). (*Accounts vary as to the manner and time of his death;*) some say that he was a native of Wâsit, and that he was put to death, as a Zindik, outside the gate of Kûfa, by Muhammad Ibn Sulaimân Ibn Ali, the governor of Basra, in the year 155 (A. D. 772). Others state that as he was going from al-Ahwâz to Basra, he died on the way, and was buried on a hill near the spot. By another account, his death is placed in the year 168 (A. D. 784-5).—When Bashshâr Ibn Burd, whose life has been already given (*page* 254), was put to death in the Batîha, his body was removed and interred in the tomb of Hammâd Ajrad; and the following lines were inscribed on the grave-stone by Abû Hishâm al-Bâhili, who happened to pass that way:

> The *blind* followed the *naked* (*ajrad*), and they therefore sojourn in the same abode. They are both in the hands of Mâlik (9) and in hell; infidels go to hell. The regions of the earth said: How unwelcome to us is the neighbourhood of Hammâd and Bashshâr!

He received the surname of Ajrad from the following circumstance:—When a boy, he was playing on a very cold day, quite naked, with some other children, and an Arab of the desert, who was passing by, said: "My boy! you are "*ajrad*." This word means *naked*.—*Mukhadram*, or *mukhadrim*, is a term

generally employed to designate a poet who, like Labid, an-Nâbigha al-Jaadi, and others, lived before and after the promulgation of Islamism. It is sometimes made use of in a more general sense, and applied to poets who flourished under two different dynasties. (*Arabs of the desert*) have been heard to pronounce this word *muhadram* and *muhadrim* (*and their example is a good authority*).

(1) See Eichhorn's *Monumenta Hist. Ar.* Tab. VII.

(2) Ali Ibn al-Jaad, a *hafiz*, a traditionist, a *mawla* to the family of Hâshim and a native of Baghdad, died A. H. 230 (A. D. 844-5), aged ninety-six years. During the last sixty years of his life, he fasted every second day.—(Al-Yâfi. Ad-Dahabi, *Tab. al-Huffâz.*)

(3) See note (4), page 438.

(4) He locked his door to avoid giving hospitality to the strangers who might arrive.

(5) Literally: *white*.

(6) That is: he will be punished as an infidel.—See Koran, surat 3, verse 102.

(7) *Zindik*, synonymous with atheist.

(8) That something was *wine*, and they drank it out of leaden ewers lest it should be seen.

(9) Mâlik is the name of the angel who guards hell.

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## AUB SULAIMAN AL-KHATTABI.

Abû Sulaimân Hamd Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim Ibn al-Khattâb al-Khattâbi al-Busti was a jurisconsult, a philologer, and a traditionist. He is the author of some clever works, such as the *Gharîb al-Hadîth* (*explanation of the difficult expressions found in the Traditions of Muhammad*); *Maâlim as-Sunan* (*the distinctive marks of the Traditions*), being a commentary on the *Sunan*, or body of Traditions compiled by Abû Dâwûd; the *Aalâm as-Sunan* (*signs of the Traditions*), containing an explanation of al-Bokhâri's collection of Traditions; the *kitab as-Shahâh* (1); a treatise on the object of prayer; a work in which he corrects the mistakes of Traditionists, etc. When in Irak, he learned the Traditions from Abû Ali as-Saffâr, Abû Jaafar ar-Razzâz, and others, and his own authority was cited for Traditions by al-Hâkim Ibn al-Baii, Abd al-Ghaffâr Ibn Muhammad al-Fârisi, Abû 'l-Kâsim Abd al-Wahhâb Ibn Abi Sahl al-Khattâbi, etc. (*Ath-Thaâlibi*) mentions him in the *Yatîma*, and gives the following verses of his composition:

It is not the pains of absence, but the want of a sympathizing friend, which is the greatest affliction man can suffer. I am as a stranger to Bust and its people, yet Bust is my birthplace and the residence of my family. 244

He gives also as his, the fragments which follow:

Man may find a refuge from the most ferocious beasts, but there is no refuge from the wickedness of men. How many have escaped the lion, and yet you will not see one man uninjured by another.

Be indulgent, and exact not the whole amount of that which is your due. Spare the unfortunate; for the generous man never requires full payment. Avoid excess in every thing and keep a medium; efforts well directed, are fortunate in their commencement and their end.

Other verses of his are quoted by the same author.—Abû Sulaimân al-Khattâbi was the Ibn Sallâm (2) of his time for learning, philology, rigid devotion, and fear of God; he resembled him also as a professor and an author. He died at the town of Bust, in the month of the first Rabi, A. H. 388 (March, A. D. 998).—*Khattâbi* is derived from the name of his ancestor al-Khattâb; but some say that he was descended from Zaid Ibn al-Khattâb (3), for which reason it was that he bore this surname.—*Busti* means *belonging to Bust*, a well-watered and wooded city in Kâbul, between Herat and Ghazna.—Some persons have been heard pronounce Abû Sulaimân's name of *Hamd* as if it were *Ahmad*, but in this they are wrong. Al-Hâkim Ibn al-Baii says: "I asked "a native of Bust, the doctor Abû 'l-Kasim al-Mozaffar Ibn Tâhir Ibn Muham- "mad whether Abû Sulaimân's name was Ahmad or Hamd, some persons "having said it was Ahmad; to which he replied that he heard Abû Sulaimân "himself say: 'Hamd is the name by which I was called, but as people "wrote it Ahmad, I gave it up.' Abû 'l-Kâsim said also: 'He recited to me "these verses of his own composition:

Whilst you live, flatter all men, for you are in the abode of deceit. He who knows my dwelling, and he who knows it not, will soon be seen with repentance for their companion (4).

(1) This word is pointed differently in each manuscript, and the work itself is not noticed by Hajji Khalifa. I suspect that not being able to read the title, he omitted it. In the autograph MS. it is written الشحاح.

(2) The life of Abû Obaid al-Kâsim Ibn Sallâm is given in this work.

(3) See page 261, note (1).

(4) The sole merit of the original lines consists in alliteration.

## HAMZA IBN HABIB AZ-ZAIYAT.

Abû Omâra Hamza Ibn Habîb Ibn Omâra Ibn Ismaîl, a native of Kûfa, and a client, by enfranchisement, to the tribe of Akrama Ibn Ribî at-Taimi, is more generally known by the surname of az-Zaiyât. He was one of the seven *readers* of the Koran, and had Abû 'l-Hasan al-Kisâi for a pupil; he himself had been taught to read the Koran by al-Aamash. The appellation of *az-Zaiyât* (*the oilman*) was given to him because he used to transport oil from Kûfa to Hulwân, and bring back cheese and walnuts. He died at Hulwân A. H. 156 (A. D. 772-3), aged seventy-six years.—Hulwân is a city at the farther extremity of Babylonian Irak, on the borders of Persian Irak.

## HUNAIN IBN ISHAK AL-IBADI.

245 Abû Zaid Hunain Ibn Ishak al-Ibâdi, the celebrated physician, was the most eminent man of his time in the art of medicine. He possessed a perfect acquaintance with the language of the *Yonânites*, and it was by him that the work of Euclid was translated into Arabic. Thâbit Ibn Kurra, who came after him, cleared up the difficulties of this work and put it into better order. This was also the case with the Almagest and the greater part of those books, composed in Greek by physicians and philosophers, which have been rendered into Arabic. Hunain was the most laborious of all those who were engaged in this business of translating; some works (*it is true*) were executed by others. Were it not for this, persons unacquainted with Greek could have derived no benefit from such works, and it is certain that those which remain untranslated are useless except to him who understands that language. Al-Mâmûn was particularly anxious to have books of this kind turned into Arabic, written out and corrected; before him, Jaafar and other members of the Barmek family had encouraged the undertaking, but the efforts of al-Mâmûn were much more successful than theirs. Hunain himself composed a great number of useful treatises on medical subjects. The life of his son Ishak has been already given

(*page* 187). I have read in the History of the Physicians, that Hunain went to the bath every day after his ride, and had water poured on himself; he would then come out, wrapped up in a bed-gown, and after taking a cup of wine with a biscuit, lie down, and sometimes fall asleep, till such time as perspiration should cease; he would then get up, burn perfumes to fumigate his person, and have dinner brought in; this consisted in a large fattened pullet stewed in its gravy and a cake of bread two hundred drachms in weight: after supping the gravy and eating the fowl and the bread, he took a sleep, and on awaking he drank four pints (*ratl*) of old wine; if he felt a desire for fruit freshly gathered, he took Syrian apples and quinces. This was his habit till the end of his life. He died on Tuesday, 7th Safar, A. H. 260 (December, A. D. 873).—In the life of his son, the meaning of the word *Ibâdi* has been already given.—The *Yonânites* were physicians who lived before the time of Islamism; they were sons of Yonân (1), the son of Yafith (*Japhet*), the son of Nûh (*Noah*).

(1) *Yonân* is most probably an altered form of Ιωνες or Ιωνια.

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## IBN HAIYAN.

Abû Marwân Haiyân, a native of Cordova, was the son of Khalaf Ibn Husain Ibn Haiyân Ibn Muhammad Ibn Haiyân Ibn Wahb Ibn Haiyân; this last was a slave enfranchised by the emir (*and Spanish Omaiyide prince*), Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Moawia Ibn Hishâm Ibn Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân. This Ibn Haiyân is the author of the work entitled *Kitâb al-Muktabis fi Tarîkh al-Andalos* (*the book of him who desires information respecting the history of Spain*), and forming ten volumes: he composed also, on the same subject, the *Kitâb al-Mubîn* (*the discloser*) (1) in sixty volumes. Abû Ali al-Ghassâni speaks of him in these terms: "He was a man advanced in age, profound in "knowledge, eminent by his information in polite literature (wherein he was "deeply versed), the standard-bearer of history in Spain, the most elegant "writer, and the ablest composer on that subject. He was an assiduous dis-"ciple of the *shaikh* Abû Amr Ibn Abi 'l-Hubâb (2), (the grammarian and pupil

"of Abû Ali 'l-Kâli,) and of Abû 'l-Alâ Sâîd al-Baghdâdi, whose work, the "*Fusûs,* he got by heart under his tuition. He learned also the Traditions, "and I heard from him this one: *To felicitate, three* (days) *after the occur-* "*rence of a fortunate event, is to make light of friendship; and to offer* "*consolation, three* (days) *after a misfortune, is to encourage ill luck to come.* "He died on Sunday, 27th of the first Rabî, A. H. 469 (October, A. D. 1076), "and was buried, on the same day after evening prayers (3), in the cemetery "of *ar-Rabad* (*the suburb*). He was born in 377 (A. D. 987-8)." Al-Gassâni calls him a faithful historian, and Abû Abd Allah Muhâmmad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Aûn (4) mentions him in these terms: "Ibn Haiyân spoke with elegance and 246 "wrote with precision; he never intentionally admitted a false statement or nar- "ration into his history.—After his death, I had a dream in which I saw him "come towards me; and I rose up and made him my salutation, which he re- "turned in smiling. I then said to him: 'What has thy lord done to thee (5)?' "To which he answered: 'He has had mercy on me.'—'And the history,' said "I, 'which you wrote; did you repent of it (6)?'—'It is true,' he replied, 'I "repented of it, but the Almighty received my excuses with kindness, and "pardoned me.'" Mention is made of Ibn Haiyân by Abû Abd Allah al-Humaidi in his *Jadwat al-Muktabis,* and Ibn Bashkuwâl in his *silat.*

(1) For the title of this work I followed the orthography of my manuscripts and of Hajji Khalifa's Bibliographical Dictionary, but the autograph manuscript writes it المتين *al-Matîn.*

(2) Abû *Omar* Ahmad Ibn Abd al-Azîz Ibn Faraj Ibn Abi 'l-Hubâb, the grammarian and native of Cordova, was the favourite pupil of Abû Ali 'l-Kâli. His information in the sciences of philology, grammar, history and the Traditions placed him in the first rank among the most eminent *shaikhs,* and he merited general esteem by his piety and virtue. He died at Cordova on the eve of Friday the 30th of Muharram, A. H. 400 (September, A. D. 1009), aged nearly ninety years. He was buried the next day in the Rusâfa cemetery, and the funeral service was said over him by the kâdi Ahmad Ibn Zikwân. He drew his origin from the Berber tribe of Masmûda.—(Ibn Bashkuwâl's *Silat.*)

(3) Literally: After the *Asr.* See note (11), page 346.

(4) Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Aûn al-Maâfiri, born at Cordova, A. H. 440 (A. D. 1048-9), was celebrated as a Traditionist and a jurisconsult; pious and humble, he avoided society and passed most of his time in prayer at the great mosque of Cordova; and ardently devoted to the study of the different branches of science, he spared no pains in augmenting his library and searching for rare books. He died A. H. 512 (A. D. 1119) —(Ibn Bashkuwâl's *Silat.*)

(5) The usual question in such cases.

(6) His history was merely a worldly book, and such compositions might not be acceptable in the eyes of God.

## KHARIJA THE JURISCONSULT.

Abû Zaid Khârija Ibn Zaid Ibn Thâbit al-Ansari was one of the seven jurisconsults of Medina; in the life of another of them, Abû Bakr Ibn Abd ar-Rahman, we have given two verses which contain the names of all these doctors (*see page* 264). Khârija was a *tabî* (1) of high eminence; he was a child in the latter days of the khalif Othmân, and his father Zaid Ibn Thâbit (2) was one of the greatest among the companions of Muhammad. The Prophet said, in speaking of Zaid: "The most skilful among you in calculating the shares "of property to which heirs are entitled is Zaid (*Afradukum Zaidu*)." Khârija died at Medina, A. H. 99 (A. D. 717-8), or 100. It is mentioned by Muhammad Ibn Saad al-Wâkidi, in his *Tabakât*, that Khârija said: "I had a "dream and methought I built up a flight of stairs containing *seventy* "steps, and when I had finished, it fell down, and I am now in my *seventieth* "year:" and that very year he died. Ez-Zuhri has given Traditions on his authority (3).

(1) See note (2), page 4.

(2) See note (2), page 372.

(3) The *Tabakât al-Fukahâ* gives a short notice on Khârija containing some facts not mentioned by Ibn Khallikân, for which reason it may find a place here: "Abû Zaid Khârija Ibn Zaid Ibn Thâbit, one of "the seven jurisconsults of Medîna, was an imâm whose authority and eminence were universally admitted. "He died at Medîna, A. H. 100, aged seventy years. As a *mufti* he gave opinions on points of law; he "drew up also bonds and conveyances, and was consulted on questions relative to the division of inherited "property, such as houses, date-trees, and money اموال." This last word may perhaps here signify *flocks*.

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## KHALID IBN YAZID THE OMAIYIDE.

Abû Hâshim Khâlid Ibn Yazîd Ibn Moawia Ibn Abi Sofyân al-Omawi (*member of the Omaiyide family*), was the most learned of the tribe of Koraish in all the different branches of knowledge. He wrote a discourse on chemistry and on medicine, in which sciences he possessed great skill and solid information, and

(*on which*) he composed some epistles which show his profound instruction and superior talent. He learned the art (*of chemistry*) from a Greek monk (*ar-Rahib ar-Rûmi*), whose name was Mariânos, and he treated of it in three epistles, one of which contains the relation of what passed between Mariânos and himself, the manner in which he learned the science, and the enigmatical allusions employed by his master. On this art he composed numerous pieces of verse, both long and short, which testify his abilities (*as a poet*) and his capacity (*as a chemist*); besides which he wrote some good poetry on other subjects, as, for instance, the following:

> The bracelets which ornament the ancles of other females play loosely around the leg; but I see that the bracelets of Ramla move not, neither doth her heart. I love the family of al-Awwâm for the love I bear her, and for her sake, I love her maternal uncles of the tribe of Kalb.

The poem from which these verses are taken is of considerable length; there is an anecdote told about Ramla and Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân, which is so well known that I abstain from relating it (1). Khâlid had a brother called Abd Allah, who came to him one day and complained that he had been treated with contempt and insult by al-Wâlid, son of Abd al-Malik. Khâlid went immediately to Abd al-Malik and said: "Commander of the faithful! al-Walîd, the "Commander of the faithful's son, has treated his cousin Abd Allah with con- "tempt and spoken disdainfully of him." Abd al-Malik reflected a moment, and then held up his head and said: "*Verily kings, when they enter a city* "(by force), *waste the same and abase the most powerful of the inhabitants* 247 "*thereof, and so will these do* (2)." To this Khâlid replied: "*And when* "*we resolved to destroy a city, we commanded the inhabitants thereof, who* "*lived in affluence,* (to obey our apostle); *but they acted corruptly therein:* "*wherefore the sentence was justly pronounced against that* (city); *and we* "*destroyed it with an utter destruction* (3)."—"Is it of Abd Allah that you "are speaking?" said Abd al-Malik; "by Allah! he came into my presence just "now, and he did not open his mouth to utter a single fault of language."— "Is it of al-Walîd that you are speaking (4)?" retorted Khalid. – "If al-Wâlid "speak badly," replied the khalif, "his brother Sulaiman does not."—"And "if Abd Allah speak badly," answered the other, "his brother Khâlid does "not."—Here al-Wâlid said: "Be silent, Khâlid! for, by Allah! *you are*

"*not counted as one of the caravan or one of the troop* (5)."—"Hearken, "O Commander of the faithful!" said Khalid; and turning then towards al-Walid, he addressed him thus: "Fie upon thee! and who more than I is of "the caravan and the troop? My grandfather Abû Sofyân commanded the "*caravan* (6), and my grandfather Otba Ibn Rabîa commanded the *troop*. "Hadst thou spoken of *little sheep* and *little mountains*, and *Tâif*, and said: "*God have mercy on Othmân!* (7) we had acknowledged that thou wast in the right."—This requires some explanation: the *caravan* was that of the Koraish, which Abû Sofyân was conducting from Syria when the blessed Prophet marched out with his companions to seize on it; the news of this reached the inhabitants of Mekka, and they went forth to defend the caravan, having at their head Otba Ibn Rabîa. On reaching the Moslims, the combat of Badr ensued. Abû Sofyân and Otba were both ancestors to Khâlid; Abû Sofyân by the father's side, and Otba by the mother's; for Hind, Otba's daughter, was the mother of Moawia, Khalid's grandfather. The words *little sheep* and *little mountains, etc.*, are an allusion to al-Hakam Ibn Abi 'l-Aâsi, the grandfather of Abd al-Malik, who had been banished to Tâif by the blessed Prophet; he there kept a flock of sheep and took refuge in a little mountain called al-Karma, where he remained, till Othmân, on his accession to the khalifat, recalled him; for al-Hakam was Othmân's uncle. It is said that the blessed Prophet authorised Othmân to do so as soon as he came to power.—Numerous anecdotes are related of Khâlid, but what is here given may suffice. He died A. H. 85 (A. D. 704).

(1) Ramla était fille de Zobayr Ibn Elawwâm Ibn Khouwaylid et d'Oumm Errebâb, femme Kelbite; elle était sœur-germaine de Mossab Ibn Zobayr. Ramla fut d'abord épousée par un Coraychite nommé Othmân fils d'Abdallah, dont elle eut un fils nommé Abdallah Ibn Othmân qui devint l'époux de Soucayna fille de Hossayn fils d'Ali. Après la défaite et la mort d'Abdallah Ibn Zobayr, qui disputait le califat à Abdelmelik fils de Merwan, Khalid fils de Yezid ayant été en pélerinage à la Mekke, dont Hadjadj était gouverneur, y épousa Ramla alors veuve. Soucayna se montrait fort indocile à son mari Abdallah fils de Ramla. Un jour Ramla se présenta au calife Abdelmelik, se plaignit vivement de l'humeur de Soucayna et demanda au calife qu'il employât son autorité pour la rendre plus soumise à son mari. Abdelmelik refusa et dit: "Que veux-tu y faire? "C'est Soucayna fille de Housayn.—Que ce soit Soucayna, repliqua Ramla, je la vaux bien. Ma famille (la "maison de Khouwaylid) a donné le jour à la plus noble fille (Fâtima), un mari (Elawwâm) à la plus illustre "femme (Safiyya fille d'Abdelmottatib), une femme (Khadidja) à l'homme le plus éminent (Mahomet), que "la famille de Soucayna (la maison de Hâchim) puisse se glorifier d'avoir produits."—Abdelmelik, surpris de sa fierté, lui dit: "Ramla, je vois qu'Orwa fils de Zobayr m'a trompé à ton égard (en m'engageant à per-

"mettre ton mariage avec Khâlid).—Il t'a donné au contraire un avis utile, reprit Ramla; car tu as tué mon "frère-germain Mossab, et Orwa pensait avec raison que (sans le lien qui m'unit maintenant à ta famille) je "saurais me venger de toi."—(Aghâni IV. f. 35 v° et 36.)—Note communicated by M. Caussin de Perceval.

(2) Koran, surat 27, verse 34.

(3) *Ibid*, surat 17, verse 17.

(4) Alluding to al-Walîd's well-known ignorance of pure Arabic. See Abû 'l-Fedâ's Annals, A.H. 96.

(5) A proverbial expression, signifying, That is none of your business, you are not considered as one of us or of our family.

(6) At Badr, in A. H. 2.

(7) This will be explained farther on.

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## KHALID IBN ABD ALLAH AL-KASRI.

Khâlid al-Kasri, surnamed Abû Yazîd and Abû 'l-Haitham also, was son of Abd Allah Ibn Yazîd Ibn Asad Ibn Kurz, a descendant of the tribe of Bajîla through that of Kasr. Ibn al-Kalbi mentions him in the *Jamharat an-Nisab, (and traces up his genealogy)* thus: Khâlid Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Yazîd Ibn Asad Ibn Kurz Ibn Aâmir Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Abd Shams Ibn Ghamghama Ibn Jarîr Ibn Shikk Ibn Saab Ibn Yashkor Ibn Ruhm Ibn Afrak Ibn Afsa Ibn Nudair Ibn Kasr Malik Ibn Abkar Ibn Anmâr Ibn Arâsh Ibn Amr Ibn al-Ghauth Ibn Nabt Ibn Malik Ibn Zaid Ibn Kahlân Ibn Sabâ Ibn Yashhob (1) Ibn Yârub Ibn Kahtân.—Khâlid was appointed governor of Arabian and Persian Irak by Hishâm Ibn Abd al-Malik the Omaiyide; before that, in the year 89 (A. D. 707-8), he was governor of Mekka. His mother was a Christian, and his grandfather Yazîd was one of the companions of Muhammad. Khâlid was counted among the most elegant and correct pulpit-orators of the Arabian nation: he was also very beneficent and generous to profusion in his donations. On one of the days in which he gave public audience to poets, a person who had composed two verses in his praise entered the hall, but on hearing the long poems which the others recited, he thought his own too trifling, and therefore remained silent till they had withdrawn. Being then asked by Khâlid what he wanted, he replied: "I composed a piece in praise of the emir, but on hearing "those of the others, I considered my own two verses as an unworthy tribute." On this, Khâlid asked to hear them, and the poet recited these lines:

You showered gifts upon me till you restored me new life; you bestowed on me with such abundance, that I thought you were in jest. But you are beneficence itself; you are the son of beneficence and its father! Sworn brother to beneficence! that quality cannot abandon you. 248

Khâlid then asked him what he required, and on learning from him that he was oppressed with debts, he ordered them to be paid and made him a present to a similar amount.—(*The khalif*) Hishâm Ibn Abd al-Malik wrote to him a letter, in which he said: "I am told that a man stood up in your presence "and spoke these words: *God is beneficent, and so art thou! God is gene-* "*rous, and so art thou!* and that he thus summed up ten qualities common "to you and God. Now, I swear by Allah! that if you do not exculpate "yourself, I shall declare it lawful to shed your blood." To this Khâlid wrote in reply: "It is true, O Commander of the faithful! that a man stood up "before me and said: *God loves the generous, and I love thee for the love* "*God bears thee.* But there is something worse than this: Ibn Shukai 'l-Ba- "jali (2) stood up before the Commander of the faithful and said: 'Which do "you like best, your lieutenant (*khalif*) or your ambassador (*apostle*)?' to "which you replied: 'My lieutenant, most certainly.' And then that man "said: 'You are the khalif (*lieutenant*) of God, and Muhammad is his apostle "(*ambassador*) (3).' Now the punishment of death, inflicted on a (*poor*) man "of the tribe of Bajila (*such as I am*,) is a less grievous thing to the world at "large than that the Commander of the faithful should be an infidel." It is at-Tabari who relates this anecdote in his History. Doubts were cast on the sincerity of Khâlid's religious belief, as he had built a church for his mother to pray in: it was alluding to this, that al-Farazdak said:

God curse the camel which came with swinging trot, and bore to us Khâlid from Damascus! How can he be an imâm (4) to the people, he whose mother believes not in the unity of God? He has built for his mother a convent, wherein is a cross; and through hatred, he has destroyed the minarets of mosques.

In the month of the first Jumâda, A. H. 120 (May, A. D. 738), Hishâm deposed Khâlid from the government of the two Iraks; at-Tabari says in his History: "Hishâm deposed Omar Ibn Hubaira, governor of Irak, and confided "the administration of that province to Khâlid, in the month of Shawwâl, "A. H. 105 (March, A. D. 724); he afterwards replaced Khâlid by Yûsuf Ibn

"Omar ath-Thakafi, cousin to al-Hajjâj. He deprived Khâlid of his office for "the following reason: A woman went to him (*Khâlid*) one day and said: "'May God direct the emir! I am a Moslim woman, and your *aámil* (5) such "and such a one, the Magian, seized upon me and forced me to the evil deed, "and has made me hateful to myself.' To this Khâlid said: 'How did you "find his prepuce (6)?' Hassân an-Nabati (*the Nabatean*) wrote to Hishâm in-"forming him of the circumstance, and at the moment (*the letter came*), Hishâm "had with him an envoy sent to him on business by Yûsuf Ibn Omar the "governor of Yemen: he detained him till night had set in, and then called "for him and gave him a writing, by which (*his master*) Yûsuf was named "governor of Irak, empowered to exact from Khâlid and his agents a strict ac-"count of their administration, and authorised to leave behind him his son as-Salt "to govern the province of Yemen. On receipt of this document, Yûsuf set "out from Sanâ, accompanied by a few persons, and proceeded, on the camels "(*of the post establishment*) to Kûfa, where he arrived on the morning of "the seventeenth day. He immediately seized on Khâlid and his *aámils*, cast "him into prison, examined into his conduct, tortured him, and finally put "him to death in the reign of al-Walîd Ibn Yazîd. It is said that he placed "the feet of his prisoner between two pieces of wood, which he then forced "together until the feet were crushed to pieces; he next placed the pieces of "wood on the legs, which he broke in the same manner; then on the thighs; "and lastly on the back; when the back was broken, his victim died. Dur-"ing these tortures, Khâlid neither uttered a groan nor spoke a word." He was put to death at Hîra, in the month of Muharram, A. H. 126 (October-November, A. D. 743); some say, however, in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, 125 (September, A. D. 743). He was buried during the night somewhere in Hîra. This city lies at one parasang's distance from Kûfa; and was the residence of the Mundir family, the kings of the Arabs.—When Khâlid was in Yûsuf ath-Thakafi's prison, the poet Abû 'sh-Shaghb al-Absi composed in his praise the following verses, which are to be found in the *Hamâsa* (7):

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Lo! the best of men, living or dead, is a prisoner to a Thakefite, and kept by them in bonds! By Allah! though you make Khâlid inhabit a prison, in which you allow him to walk—but as one oppressed with the burden (*of his chains*); yet 'twas he who dispelled the misfortunes of the wretched, and poured forth his donations copious as a torrent. He erected for his family an edifice of honourable deeds, and bestowed his

gifts on the worthy and the undeserving. Though you imprison al-Kasri, you cannot imprison his name; you cannot imprison the bounty which he shows towards the Arabian tribes.

Yûsuf required of Khâlid the daily payment of a fixed sum, and he put him to the torture when he did not comply. Abû 's-Shaghb having composed these laudatory verses, transmitted them to Khâlid, and received in return seventy thousand dirhems, which sum the prisoner was holding in readiness for the payment he had to make that day. At the same time, Khâlid excused himself for the inadequacy of the present, saying, "You see what state I am in;" and the poet returned the gift, with these words: "It is not for money that I celebrated your praises whilst you were in this state, but through gratitude for your kindness and your bounty." Khâlid sent it back to him, conjuring him to accept of it, and Abû 's-Shaghb at length consented to receive it. When Yûsuf was informed of this, he called in Khâlid and said: "What induced you to do so? are you not afraid of the torture?"—"It is easier for me," replied Khalid, "to die under the torture, than to abstain from lavishing wealth, especially on those who celebrate my praise."—Abû 'l-Faraj al-Ispahâni says that Khâlid was a descendant of *Shikk al-Kâhin* (*the diviner*), and that he was the son of Abd Allah Ibn Asad Ibn Yazîd Ibn Kurz. "Kurz," says he, "was a (*mere*) pretender (*to an Arabic descent*); he was in reality a Jew, but, on the commission of some crime, he fled to the tribe of Bajîla, and then entitled himself a Bajelite. Some say that he was a slave to the tribe of Abd al-Kais and a son of Aâmir Zû 'r-Rukât (*Aâmir with the patch*), who was so called because he had lost the sight of one eye, and covered it with a patch. Aâmir was son to Abd Shams, the son of Juwain, the son of Shikk the diviner, the son of Kaab." Shikk was son to the aunt of Satih the diviner, who foretold the coming of the Prophet: a full account of his interpretation of the dream relative to that event is given in (*Ibn Hishâm's*) *Sîrat ar-Rasûl* (*life of the Prophet*) (8). Shikk and Satih were two of the wonders of the world: Satih's form was that of a human body deprived of its members and lying prostrate on the ground; his face was in his breast, and he had neither head nor neck (9). He could not sit up except when angry; he then swelled and took a sitting posture. Shikk was half a man, for which reason he was named *Shikk* (*half*); he had only one arm and one leg.

Those two beings were empowered to make the predictions which are so celebrated (10). They were both born on the day in which *Tarîfa* the divineress died; Tarîfa was the daughter of al-Khair al-Himyari and wife of Amr Muzaikiâ (11) the son of al-Aâmir Mâ 's-Samâ (12). On their birth, she had them brought to her and spat in their mouths, pretending that she thus made them the heirs of her knowledge and her art of divination. She died immediately after, and was buried at al-Johfa (13). Shikk and Satîh both lived six hundred years (14).—*Kasri* means *belonging to Kasr* Ibn Abkar, a branch of the tribe of Bajîla.

(1) Arabian genealogists are not agreed respecting the pronunciation of this name; some say it is *Yashjob*.

(2) I have been unable to procure any information respecting this person; and I doubt if this be a proper name. It may signify *the son of the wretched Bajelite*, and that the writer of the letter meant his own son.

(3) Consequently, God loves you better than Muhammad.

(4) The imâm presided at public prayers; and governors of provinces, such as Khâlid was, acted as imâms by virtue of their office.

(5) See page 444, note (3).

(6) It is needless to call to the reader's recollection that Moslims are circumcised.

(7) See Hamâsa, page 419.

(8) This most veracious narrative is reproduced by Abû 'l-Feda in his Annals, vol. I. p. 5 *et seq.*

(9) Ibn Khallikân inserts these absurd fables, because they were currently believed by the Moslims, and are gravely related by their ancient authors as circumstances corroborative of the divine mission of Muhammad.

(10) Those were predictions relative to the coming of Muhammad, as has been already said, and the rupture of the dike of Mareb. See M. de Sacy's *Mémoire sur divers Évènemens de l'Histoire des Arabes avant Mahomet*, page 165.

(11) See the extract from al-Masûdi given in the Memoir just cited, pages 151 and 208.

(12) See Rasmussen's *Hist. arab. ante Islam.* p. 43.

(13) This place is situated between Medîna and Mekka.

(14) This could not be otherwise if they foretold the rupture of the dike of Mareb, and were still living at the time of Muhammad's birth, as grave doctors say.

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## AL-KHIDR IBN AKIL AL-IRBALI.

Abû 'l-Abbâs al-Khidr Ibn Nasr Ibn Akil Ibn Nasr al-Irbali (*native of Arbela*) was a Shafite doctor, eminent for his knowledge of the law and of the doctrines peculiar to his sect; he was skilled in controversy and in the art of calculating the shares of inherited property to which each heir is entitled. He studied at Baghdad under al-Kia al-Harrâsi (*Abû 'l-Hasan Ali*) and Ibn

as-Shâshi (*Abû Bakr*), and he there became acquainted with a number of the chief doctors. He then returned to Arbela, where a college was built for him to profess in by Abû Mansur Saraftikìn az-Zaini, the lieutenant-governor of that city. This college is the one called *Madrasat al-Kalâ* (*the college of the fortress*). It was founded in the year 533 (A. D. 1138-9). He gave lessons in it for some time, and was the first who ever professed at Arbela. A great number of excellent works were composed by him on the interpetration of the 250 Koran, jurisprudence, and other sciences. One of his works contains six and twenty sermons, stated to have been pronounced by the Apostle of God (*Muhammad*), and all of them supported by good authorities (1). Great numbers studied under him and derived profit from his tuition. He was a man of holiness, mortified life, devotion, and piety; careless of worldly goods, and animated with a soul sanctified by God. Ibn Asâkir mentions him with high commendation in his History of Damascus; he had visited that city and resided in it for some time, but returned afterwards to Arbela. Amongst those who finished their education under him was the doctor Diâ ad-dîn Othmân al-Hadbâni (2), the expositor of (*Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi's work*) the *Muhaddab*. (His life will be found in the letter *aïn*). Another of his pupils who attained eminence was his brother's son, Izz ad-dìn Abû 'l-Kâsim Nasr Ibn Akil Ibn Nasr. Al-Khidr was born A. H. 478 (A. D. 1085-6); he died at Arbela on the eve of Friday, 14th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 567 (February, A. D. 1172), and was buried in his own college situated in the suburb. His tomb stands there alone and is an object of pilgrimage: I have visited it frequently. On his death, the vacant professorships in the two colleges were filled by his nephew Izz addîn (*glory of religion*); a man of talent, born at Arbela in the year 534 (A. D. 1139-40). He was banished from that city by the sovereign al-Malik al-Muazzam Muzaffar ad-dìn, whose displeasure he had incurred, and proceeded to Mosul, where the following lines were addressed to him from Baghdad by his friend Yâkût ar-Rûmi (whose life shall be given later):

> O son of Akîl! dread not the violence of thy enemies, though they betray that hatred which was hidden in their bosoms. The day has come in which some men oblige thee to depart thy land, because they see in thee such merit as their own land never possessed. It is thus that the ravens detest the presence of the white falcon, whose plumage appears to advantage when contrasted with the darkness of their own.

In this he alluded to the persons who traduced him and turned the sovereign against him. This occurred, as far as I know, in the year 602 or 603 (A. D. 1205-7), but Ibn Bâtish says that it took place in 606. That same year, the Georgians sallied forth and took Merend, a city in the dependencies of Aderbijân, near Arbela; they plundered it, massacred part of the inhabitants, and led the rest into captivity. As this happened at the time of Izz ad-dîn's expulsion from Arbela, his son Sharaf ad-dîn (*nobleness of religion*) Muhammad was induced by the circumstance to compose the following verses:

> If (*those of Arbela*) drive unjustly (*our*) females from their homes and act with an excess of tyranny, we have before us a similar example, in those whom the Georgians treated with cruelty and drove from Merend.

This Sharaf ad-dîn had a great talent for the *Dûbait* (or couplet); I should give here some specimens of his composition, were I not afraid of lengthening this notice too much.—Izz ad-dîn dwelt outside of Mosul in the convent of Ibn as-Shahrozuri, and received a pension from the lord of that city. He remained there till his death, which happened on Friday, 13th of the latter Rabî, or of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 619 (May or July, A. D. 1222), and was interred at Tall Tauba (3). His mother was aunt to Imâd ad-dîn Muhammad Ibn Yûnus (4); his son Sharaf ad-dîn died at Damascus on the eve of Sunday, 28th Muharram, A. H. 633 (October, A. D. 1235), and was interred in the cemetery of the Sûfis; he was born at Arbela, in the month of Rajab, A. H. 572 (January, A. D. 1177). He studied jurisprudence under his father and Imâd ad-dîn Ibn Yûnus, and was taught belles-lettres by Abû 'l-Harem Makki.—*Saraftikîn* 251 was a mamlûk belonging to Zâin ad-dîn Ali, the lord of Arbela and the father of Muzaffar ad-dîn; he was an Armenian by birth, and a virtuous man, for which reason his master gave him his liberty, took him into favour, placed the highest confidence in him, and made him his lieutenant in the government. He built a number of mosques in Arbela and the neighbouring villages, and founded the college of which we have spoken: he raised also the walls of the town of Faid, situated on the road from Baghdad to Mekka (5), and left many other monuments of his piety, all erected at his own expense. He died in the month of Rámadân, A. H. 559 (August, A. D. 1164).

(1) Supported by good authorities: that is, accompanied with the names of the Traditionists by whom they had been handed down.

(2) *Hadbâni* is correct, not *Hadiâni*, as in the Arabic text.

(3) See note (2), page 408.

(4) His life is given in this work.

(5) This place, which lies half-way between Kûfa and Mekka, is noticed by Abû 'l-Feda in his Geography.

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## IBN BASHKUWAL.

Abû 'l-Kâsim Khalaf Ibn Abd al-Malik Ibn Masûd Ibn Bashkuwâl Ibn Yûsuf Ibn Dâha Ibn Dâka Ibn Nasr Ibn Abd al-Karîm Ibn Wâfid al-Khazraji al-Ansâri al-Kortubi (*descended from the Ansârs of the tribe of Khazraj and a native of Cordova*), was one of the great learned men of Spain. He composed a number of useful works, amongst others, the *Silat* (*gift*), intended by him as a continuation to Ibn al-Faradi's (1) history of the learned of Spain, and in which he has collected (*the lives of*) a great many persons. He composed also a short history of Spain, in which he displayed his usual ability, and a work called the *Kitâb al-Ghawâmid wa 'l-Mubhamât* (*book of obscure and doubtful allusions*), in which he mentions and specifies the names of the persons to whom allusion is made in the Traditions: in this work he followed the plan adopted by the Khatib of Baghdad in his treatise written on the same subject. He is also the author of a little volume, in which he mentions those Traditionists who handed down the *Muwatta* (*when yet unpublished*), on the authority of (*their master*) Mâlik (*who composed it*). He has classed their names in alphabetical order, to the number of seventy-three. Another small volume of his is entitled: *The suppliants for God's assistance under tribulations and trouble, those humbly resigned to him in their wishes and desires, and those to whose prayers he hearkened, and whom he blessed with miraculous favours.* Besides the above, he composed other works. Abû 'l-Khattâb Ibn Dihya says: "I learned from a note in the handwriting of my master" – meaning Ibn Bashkuwâl—"that he finished his *Silat* in the month of the first Jumâda, A. H. "534 (January, A. D. 1140), and that he came into the world on Monday, the

"3rd (some say the 8th) of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 494 (October, A. D. 1101). He "died at Cordova on the eve of Wednesday, 8th Ramadân, A. H. 578 (January, "A. D. 1183), and was buried on that Wednesday, when the afternoon prayers "were over, in the cemetery of Ibn Abbâs, near the tomb of Yahya Ibn Yah-"ya (2)." — His father Abû Marwân Abd al-Malik Ibn Masûd died on the morning of Sunday, and was buried on the evening of the next day, Monday 25th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 533 (February, A. D. 1139), at about the age of eighty (3).

(1) His life is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(2) His life will be found in this work.

(3) Abd al-Malik was a Traditionist, a jurisconsult of the sect of Malik, and an assiduous reader of the Koran.—(Ibn Bashkuwâl's *Sila*.)

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## KHALIFA IBN HAIYAT.

Abû Amr Khalifa Ibn Haiyât Ibn Abi Hubaira Khalifa Ibn Haiyât al-Osfuri, surnamed *Shabâb*, a member of the tribe of Shaibân, a native of Basra; and the author of the *Tabakât* (1), was a *hâfiz* versed in history, acquainted with the adventures of the ancient Arabs, and gifted with great talents. Al-Bokhari gives traditions on his authority in the *Sahîh* and in his historical work (2), and he is cited also by Abd Allah Ibn Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, Abû Yala of Mosul (3), al-Hasan Ibn Sofyân an-Nasawi (4), and others; he himself quoted as his authorities Sofyân Ibn Oyaina, Yazîd Ibn Zurai (5), Abû Dâwûd at-Tayâlisi (6), 282 Durust Ibn Hamza, and others of the same class. He died in the month of Ramadân, A. H. 230 (May, A. D. 845). Ibn Asâkir says, in his *Mojam*, or alphabetical list of the great jurisconsults who followed the doctrines of the six imâms (7), that he died A. H. 240 (A. D. 854-5) or 246.—The relative adjective *Osfuri* is derived from *osfur* (*carthamus tinctorum*), a substance used for dying cloth red.—It is not known with certainty for what reason he was surnamed *Shabâb*.—His grandfather Abû Hubaira Khalifa Ibn Haiyât died in the month of Rajab, A. H. 160 (April-May, A. D. 777). Abû Amr himself

said that his grandfather Khalifa and Shôba Ibn al-Hajjâj (8) died in the same month.

(1) This is probably the work mentioned by Hajji Khalifa under the title of *Tabakât ar-Ruwât* (*Classification of the historical Traditionists*); a sort of biographical dictionary.

(2) Noticed by Hajji Khalifa in his Bibliography. See No. 2174.

(3) See note (2), page 212.

(4) The *hâfiz* Abû 'l-Abbâs al-Hasan Ibn Sofyân Ibn Aâmir as-Shaibâni an-Nasawi (*of the tribe of Shaibân and native of Nasa in Khorâsân*), studied jurisprudence under Abû Thaur (*see page* 6), and learned the Traditions from Ibn Hanbal and others. He was chief Traditionist of Khorasan while he lived, and he composed a celebrated *Musnad* (see p. 323, note (7)). Died in Ramadân, 303 (March, A. H. 916), at Bâlouz بالوز, a village situated at three miles from Nasa.—(Ad-Dahabi's *Târîkh al-Islâm;* MS. No. 646.)—In the printed Arabic text of Ibn Khallikân, the *hâfiz* Abû 'l-Abbâs is surnamed *an-Nasri*, not *an-Nasawi;* the autograph manuscript has also *an-Nasri*, but this reading, I am inclined to think, is erroneous.

(5) Abû Moawia Yazîd Ibn Zuraî al-Absi (*member of the tribe of Abs*) al-Basri (*native of Basra*) was a Traditionist of great exactitude and information, learned, talented, and veracious. On the death of his father, who was governor of Basra, he refused (*through religious scruples*) to accept any part of the inheritance which devolved to him, and supported himself by making baskets. He died A. H. 172 (A. D. 788-9).—(*An-Nujûm az-Zâhira.*)

(6) The *hâfiz* Abû Dâwûd Sulaimân Ibn Dâwûd Ibn al-Jârûd at-Taiâlisi was born at Basra, A. H. 121 (A. D. 739). He possessed a high reputation as a Traditionist. Died A. H. 203 (A. D. 818-9). (*Tabakât al-Huffâz.*)

(7) The six imâms, founders of the six orthodox sects, were Abû Hanîfa, as-Shâfi, Mâlik, Ibn Hanbal, Sofyân at-Thauri, and Abû Sulaimân Dâwûd az-Zâhiri.

(8) The imâm Abû Bistâm بسطام Shôba Ibn al-Hajjâj Ibn al-Ward, surnamed the *Amîr al-Mûminîn* (or commander of the faithful) in the science of Traditions, was a *Mawla* to the tribe of Atîk عتيك, a branch of that of al-Azd; his patron Abdâ al-Ataki عبدة العتكى, having been himself a *Mawla* to Yazîd Ibn al-Muhallab the Azdite. He learned the Traditions from Moawia Ibn Kurra and a great number of the *Tâbis*. As-Shafi said of him: Were it not for Shôba, the Traditions extant in Irak had remained unknown. Al-Madîni stated that he knew two thousand of them, and Sofyân declared that the death of Shôba was fatal to the Traditions. He was a man of great learning, piety, self-denial, tenderness of heart, and holy life; a master of the elegancies of pure Arabic, and a poet. Died A. H. 160 (A. D. 776-7), aged 75 years.—(Al-Yâfi. *Tabakât al-Muhaddithîn.*)

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## AL-KHALIL IBN AHMAD.

Abû Abd ar-Rahmân al-Khalîl Ibn Ahmad Ibn Amr Ibn Tamîm al-Farâhîdi (or al-Forhûdi) al-Azdi al-Yahmadi was one of the great masters in the art of grammar, and the discoverer of the rules of prosody, which art owes to him

its creation. These rules he included in five *circles* (*or classes*), from which he deduced fifteen seas (*or measures*) (1); to these was added a sixteenth by al-Akfash (*Saïd Ibn Mâsada*), who named it *al-khabab*. It is related that al-Khalîl, when at Mekka, prayed God to bestow on him a science hitherto undiscovered, and which none were to learn but from him; and that on his return from the pilgrimage, the science of prosody was revealed to him. The knowledge which he possessed of musical rhythm and harmony must, however, have led him to the discovery of prosody, in consequence of the close analogy which exists between them. Hamza Ibn al-Hasan al-Ispahani (2) speaks of al-Khalîl Ibn Ahmad in his *Tanbîh ala Hudûth at-Tashîf* (3), and expresses his opinion respecting him in these terms: "To enter now into the subject we "intend to treat, it must be observed that Islamism never produced a more "active spirit than al-Khalîl for the discovery of sciences which were unknown, "even in their first principles, to the learned among the Arabs. Of this, no "clearer proof can be adduced than the science of prosody; a science not "taught to him by any philosopher, nor drawn up by him on the model of "some other previously known, but invented as he walked past a coppersmith's, "on hearing the strokes of a hammer upon a basin; two objects devoid of every "quality which could serve as a proof and an illustration of any thing else "than their own form and shape, and incapable of leading to any other know-"ledge than that of their own nature. Had he lived in days of old, and were "the traces of his existence distant from observation, persons would have "doubted that such a man had been: one who effected what none had ever "done since God created the world; the production, namely, of the science just "mentioned; the foundation laid by him for that structure, the *Kitâb al-Aîn*, "which contains the language of a whole people, and the aid which he gave "to Sîbawaih by furnishing him with that grammatical information out of "which he composed the celebrated Book (*Kitâb*) which is the ornament of "Islamism." Al-Khalîl was a holy, sagacious, sage, and grave man; one of his sayings was: "A man knoweth not wherein his preceptor is wrong, till he "taketh the lessons of another." It is related by an-Nadr Ibn Shumail that al-Khalîl dwelt in one of the (*common*) reed-cabins of Basra without having two pence at his command, whilst his scholars were gaining wealth by the science he had taught them. He states also, that one day he heard him say: "I



"lock the door upon myself, so that my thoughts wander not abroad." He used also to remark that a man's reason and intelligence reach perfection, when he attains the age of forty, the age of Muhammad when God sent him forth on his mission; but that they undergo alteration and diminution when the man reaches sixty; the age in which God took the Prophet's soul to himself. He said again, that the intelligence is clearest at the dawn of day. Sulaimân Ibn Habîb Ibn al-Muhallab Ibn Abi Sufra, the governor of Fars and Ahwâz, settled a pension on him and invited him by letter to come and see him, to which al-Khalîl wrote in reply:

> Let Sulaimân know that I can dispense with his assistance; that I am rich, though possessing no wealth: the treasure which I husband is my honest pride; believing, as I do, that none ever die of mere poverty, and that no state of life can continue unchanged. (*True*) wealth comes from a power subject to no weakness: and with all the craft of the cunning, you cannot increase your store. Poverty consists not in (*the want of*) money, but of soul; that we well know: and riches are in the mind, not in the purse.

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Sulaimân having, on this, stopped al-Khalîl's pension, the latter said:

> He, who formed me with a mouth, engaged to give me nourishment till such time as he takes me to himself. Thou hast refused me a trifling sum, but that refusal will not increase thy wealth.

These lines gave Sulaimân great uneasiness, and induced him to write an apology to al-Khalîl and double his pension; the poet then pronounced these lines:

> Sulaimân has committed a slip which would fill Satan with amazement, did he hear it. Marvel not, if by chance a good deed comes from him; an inauspicious constellation sometimes sheds on the earth a genial shower.

Al-Khalîl and Abd al-Allah Ibn al-Mukaffâ once met together and passed the night in conversation; the next morning they separated, and al-Khalîl was asked what he thought of his companion. "His learning is greater than his "wit;" was the reply. A similar question was then addressed to Ibn al-Mukaffâ, who answered: "His wit is greater than his learning."—Among the works composed by al-Khalîl must be noticed the celebrated *Kitâb al-Aîn*, of which the subject is philology (4); the *Kitâb al-Arûd* (*his treatise on prosody*); the *Kitâb as-Shawâhid* (*examples of grammatical rules*) the *Kitâb an-Nokat*

*wa 's-Shakl* (*treatise on the diacritical points and the vowel-signs*); the *Kitáb an-Naghm* (*on musical intonation*); and the *Kitáb al-Awámil* (*treatise on those parts of speech which govern others*). The great majority of the learned in philology say that the *Kitáb al-Aín* was not composed by al-Khalîl, although it bears his name; he merely began it, and having drawn up a portion of the commencement, he named it the *Aín*, but its completion was due to his pupils, an-Nadr Ibn Shumail, al-Muwarrij as-Sadûsi, Nasr Ibn Ali al-Jahdami (5), and others of the same class; but the learning of which they there made proof was by no means proportionate to that displayed by al-Khalîl in the beginning of the work; they in consequence suppressed that portion, and replaced it by a new one of their own composition. To this must be attributed certain mistakes into which al-Khalîl could hardly have fallen. This has been fully treated of by Ibn Durustûya, in an instructive work which he wrote on the subject. Al-Khalîl had a son whose intellect was very backward; this boy went one day into the room where his father was, and on finding him scanning a piece of verse by the rules of prosody, he run out and told the people that his father had lost his wits. They went in immediately and related to al-Khalîl what they had heard, on which he addressed his son in these terms:

Had you known what I was saying, you would have excused me; and had you known what you said, I should have blamed you. But you did not understand me, so you blamed me; and I knew that you were a fool, so I pardoned you.

It is said that he frequently recited the following verses, but without stating whether they were his own or not:

"The mansion of your friends is near;" said they, "how strange then that you "should be in sorrow!"—"What avail the mansion and their nearness," I replied, "if the hearts themselves draw not near?"

254 The following anecdote, related by himself, has been handed down to us: "A person of a slow understanding came to me during some time to take "lessons in prosody, but I could not impress any portion of it on his mind; "so I said to him one day; 'Scan this verse:

'If you cannot accomplish a thing, leave it and pass to another which you can 'accomplish.'

"And he began to scan it to the best of his abilities, but he then went away, "and never came back. I was quite astonished that, with all his stupidity, "he perceived my drift in proposing to him that verse." Numerous anecdotes are related of al-Khalîl; it was from him that (*Amr Ibn Othman*) Sibawaih, whose life we shall give in the letter *aïn,* received his knowledge of the different branches of philology. It is said that al-Khalîl's father was the first person, after the time of the Prophet, who bore the name of Ahmad; al-Marzubâni, in his work called the *Kitâb al-Muktabis,* makes a similar statement on the authority of Ahmad Ibn Abi Khaithama. Al-Khalîl was born A. H. 100 (A. D. 718-9), and died at Basra, A. H. 170 (A. D. 786-7), or 175, at the age, it is said, of seventy-four years. It is mentioned, however, by Ibn Kâni, in his Annals, that he died in the year 160; and Ibn al-Jawsi, in his *Shuzûr al-Okûd*, gives the year 130 as that of his death; this flagrant error has been copied by al-Wâkidi. He came by his death in the following manner: Having resolved on inventing a method of calculation so simple, that any servant-girl (*who knew it*) could go to a shopkeeper's without incurring the least possible risk of being deceived by him in the sum she would have to pay, he entered the mosque with his thoughts occupied on the subject, and he there struck against a pillar, which his preoccupation hindered him from perceiving; the violence of the shock threw him on his back, and death was the result. Some say, however, that he was scanning verses when the accident happened.—*Farâhîdi* means *belonging to Farâhîd,* a branch of the tribe of Azd. *Farâhîd* is the plural of *furhûd,* a word which signifies *a lion's whelp* in the dialect of the Azd Shanuwa tribe (6). Some say that *farâhîd* means *little sheep.*—*Yahmadi* is derived from *Yahmad,* the name of another branch of the tribe of Azd, from which great numbers have sprung.—Al-Khalîl frequently repeated this verse of al-Akhtal's:

If thou wantest treasures, thou wilt find none equal to a virtuous conduct.

(1) These technicalities will be better understood from a perusal of the chapter, page 147, of Freytag's *Darstellung der Arabischen Verskunst*, or Samuel Clarke's *Prosodia Arabica.*

(2) Hamza son of al-Hasan (or of al-Husain, according to Hajji Khalifa) was a native of Ispahan, as appears by his surname. The best known of his works, entitled *Tárîkh al-Omam* (*History of Peoples*), was composed, according to his own statement, in the year 330 of the Hijra (A. D. 961-2). His other works

were, a *History of Ispahan* (*Târîkh Isbahân*) (see Hajji Khalifa, No. 2142), a *History of great men* (*Târîkh Kibâr al-Omam*), and the *Tanbîh*, here mentioned by Ibn Khallikân. None of the Arabic authors whom I have consulted, furnish any additional information respecting him, the author of the *Fihrest* excepted. We read in that work: "Hamza Ibn al-Hasan, a native of Ispahan, *was* كان, a man of learning and an author." He then gives the list of his works, eight in number; three of which were collections of proverbs, the fourth contained similes; the fifth was a treatise on prayers or imprecations كتاب انواع الدعا; the sixth, a collection of epistles; the seventh, a History of Ispahan; and the eighth, a treatise on the words in the Koran which may be read in different manners: كتاب التنبيه على حروف المصحف. This last is probably the work from which the passage on al-Khalîl Ibn Ahmad is taken. It would appear, from what the author of the *Fihrest* says, that at the period in which he composed his work, Hamza was no longer living, and as we know that the *Fihrest* was written A. H. 377, we must suppose that Hamza died before that year. M. de Sacy, in the 10th volume of the *Mémoires de l'Institut, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, has inserted a memoir on the first of the works above-mentioned.

(3) This work is not mentioned by Hajji Khalifa. Its title signifies, *The warning respecting the novelty of the Tashîf*. This last word bears the signification of *logogriph*, and *false reading of the Koran*. The three manuscripts which give this passage—for the autograph does not—all agree in the orthography of the title, which seems, however, to be an alteration of that which is indicated in the preceding note.

(4) A copy of this celebrated lexicon is in the Escurial library. It begins with the letter *aîn*, whence its name.

(5) Abû Amr Nasr Ibn Ali al Jahdami, a celebrated *hâfiz* and a *vase of science*, was a native of Basra. The khalif al-Mustain having sent for him with the intention of naming him kâdi, he obtained permission of the governor to confer with God about it. Having withdrawn, he offered up a prayer of two *rakas* and said: "O "my God! if I have any value in thy sight, take me to thyself." He then went to sleep and never woke again. This happened in the year 250 (A. D. 864).—(Al-Yâfi.)

(6) See M. de Sacy's *Mémoire sur l'Histoire des Arabes avant Mahomet*, p. 157.

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## KHUMARAWAIH.

Abû 'l-Jaish Khumârawaih was the son of Ahmad Ibn Tûlûn, whose life we have already given (*page* 153) with some account of his father Tûlûn. On the death of Ahmad, he was unanimously chosen by the troops as his successor, and he thus became governor (*of Egypt*) at the age of twenty years. His appointment took place in the days of the khalif al-Motamid. In the year 276 (A. D. 889-90) al-Ifshîn Muhammad Ibn Abi 's-Sâj Divdâd Ibn Yûsuf marched a large army from Armenia and Persian Irak against Egypt (1); but Khumârawaih gave him battle in the neighbourhood of Damascus and put him to flight. The greater part of the (*invading*) army surrendered, and Khu-

mârawaih advanced to the Euphrates, (*over which*) some of his troops (*passed*) and took possession of Rakka. He then returned to Egypt, master of all that tract of country which extends from the Euphrates to Nubia. On the death of al-Motamid and the accession of al-Motadid, Khumârawaih hastened to conciliate the new khalif by rich presents, and he thus obtained the confirmation of his appointment as governor of Egypt. He then expressed the wish that his daughter *Katr an-Nada* (*dew-drop*) should marry the khalif's son, al-Muktafi Billah, who was then khalif elect; but al-Motadid said that he would marry 255 her himself, and she became his wife in the year 281 (A. D. 894-5). Towards the end of that year, or, as some say, in the next, he consummated his marriage; the dowry settled on her by her father amounted to one million of dirhems (2). It is stated that she possessed wit and beauty to an extreme degree: one day, whilst al-Motadid was enjoying the pleasures of her society in a saloon specially reserved for her use and into which no other dare enter, he handed her the wine-cup and fell asleep on her lap. To relieve herself from his weight, she placed a cushion under his head, and went into the court of the palace, where she sat down. When he awoke and perceived her absence, he got into a passion and called her by name; her answer proved that she was not far off, and (*when she entered*) he addressed her thus: "Have I not given you a "mark of honour in choosing you for the companion of my private moments? "Have I not given you the surest tokens of my affection and withheld it from "the other females of my *harem?* and yet you place a pillow under my head "and leave me thus." To this she made answer: "Commander of the faith-"ful! I am fully sensible of the high favour you conferred on me; but one of "the lessons given me by my father was, not to sleep with those who sit, or "sit with those who sleep." It is related that al-Motadid, in marrying her, had the intention of reducing the Tûlûn family to poverty, and such was in fact the result, for her father made her a marriage-present the like of which had never been given before; it is said that (*amongst other objects*) she received one thousand mortars of gold (3). Al-Motadid required of him also to pay an annual tribute of two hundred thousand dinars (4) after defraying the salaries of all the government officers in Egypt and the pay of the troops. He continued to fulfil this obligation till the year 282, when his pages murdered him in his bed at Damascus, on Saturday night, the 27th of Zû 'l-Kaada (Janu-

ary, A. D. 896). He was then thirty-two years of age. The assassins were all put to death, and his body was borne in a bier to Egypt and deposited in the tomb of his father near the foot of mount Mukattam. His penmanship was most beautiful. He had for vizir Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Ahmad al-Mâridâni, of whom we shall have again occasion to speak. When his daughter Katr an-Nada was conducted to al-Motadid, she was accompanied as far as the Syrian frontier by her aunt al-Abbâsa, the daughter of Ahmad Ibn Tûlûn. They made a halt there, and their tents having been set up, a town was built on the same spot and received the name of al-Abbâsa. It is still inhabited and possesses a handsome mosque and a well-frequented market-place. This statement is given on the authority of many well-informed persons. —Katr an-Nada died on the 9th of Rajab, A. H. 287 (July, A. D. 900), and was buried in the Rusâfa palace at Baghdad.—Al-Ifshîn, the son of Abû 's-Sâj, died in the month of the first Rabî, 288 (March, A. D. 901), at Bardâa, the capital of one of the provinces of Aderbijan; Arrân, it is said. His father, Abû 's-Sâj, after whom the *Sâjite junds* (or troops) were so called (5), died A. H. 266 (A. D. 879-80), at Jundi Sâbûr, in the province of Khuzestan.

(1) For the history of al-Efshîn, see Freytag's *Selecta ex Historiâ*, p. 24 *et seq.*

(2) The manuscripts of Ibn Khallikân and Abû 'l-Mahâsin have *dirhems* in this place, but *dinars* is probably the right reading.

(3) Mortars were an important article of the female toilet; they were used for pounding perfumes.

(4) The dinar of that period has an intrinsic value of about ten shillings British.

(5) The historians whom I have consulted furnish no information respecting these troops. I learn only from Ibn al-Athîr that Abû 's-Sâj was appointed by al-Mutawakkil to guard the road leading from Irak to Mekka, A. H. 244 (A. D. 858-9). He was consequently protector of the pilgrim caravans. In 253 he received the command of the province of Kûfa; in 261 that of al-Ahwâz, where he was defeated by the Zenj (see Abû 'l-Fedâ's Annal's, A. H. 255); he then proceeded to Askar Mukram, and died at Jundisâpûr (A. H. 266), on his return from the camp of Amr Ibn al-Laith, to whom he had been probably sent by the khalif with letters of investiture.—(Ibn al-Athîr.)

## ABU SULAIMAN DAWUD AZ-ZAHIRI.

Abû Sulaimân Dâwûd Ibn Ali Ibn Khalaf al-Isbahâni (*native of Ispahân*), generally known by the surname of az-Zâhiri (1), was a man of great piety and self-mortification. He learned the science (*of jurisprudence*) from Ishak Ibn Râhwaih and Abû Thaur, and was a most ardent partisan of the imâm as-Shâfi, whose merits and praise he celebrated in two works. He 256 was the founder of a particular sect (2), and had many followers, who received the name of *Zâhirites:* his son Abû Bakr Muhammad, whose life shall be given, professed the same doctrines. Abû Sulaimân was nominated chief professor at Baghdad (3), and it is said that he had among his auditors four hundred wearers of green hoods (4). The following anecdote is related by himself: "There came one day to my public conferences a native of Basra, whose name was Abû Yâkûb as-Sharîti; he was dressed in two ragged cloaks (5), and hav- "ing advanced of his own accord to the place of honour, without being "invited to take it, he sat down by my side and said: 'Question me about what "you please.' As I was almost provoked by his conduct, I told him, sneer- "ingly, to treat of cupping (6). He immediately invoked the benediction of "God, and related the mode in which this Tradition had been handed down: "*He who cups and he who is cupped* (*in the month of Ramadan*) *have* "*broken the fast* (7). He then gave the names of the Traditionists who traced "it up as far as the *Tâbis* (8); of those who traced it up through an uninter- "rupted succession of narrators to Muhammad himself, of those who explained "it, and of the jurisconsults who cited it as an authority for their doctrines. "He then stated the various channels through which the following Tra- "dition has passed down: *The blessed Prophet was cupped, and he* "*gave the cupper his pay; and were cupping a thing forbidden, he* "*had not given it to him* (9). He next related the different modes of trans- "mission by which this other Tradition was received: *The Prophet was* "*cupped with a horn.* He mentioned also other genuine Traditions respect- "ing cupping, and some of *middling* authenticity, such as these: *I passed not* "*by any band of the angels without their saying: Order thy people to use* "*cupping* (10).—*The healing of my people is by three means: Cupping,*

"*drinking honey, and cauterizing with fire* (11), and others of a like import. "He then gave the Traditions of *feeble* authenticity, as, for instance: *Be "not cupped on such and such a day; at such and such an hour;* after "which he mentioned the opinions expressed by physicians of every age on the "subject, and he concluded his discourse with the remark that the use of cup-"ping originated at Ispahan. I then said to him: 'By Allah! I shall never "scorn any person again.'" Dâwûd was a man of a powerful mind, and it was said of him by Abû 'l-Abbâs Thâlab, that his intellect was greater than his learning. His birth took place at Kûfa, A. H. 202 (A. D. 817-8); some say, however, 201 or 200; he was brought up at Baghdad, and died there in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, 270 (May, A. D. 884), or, by another account, in Ramadân of that year. He was buried in the Shûnîzi cemetery; but some state, however, that he was interred in (*the court before*) his house. His son Abû Bakr Muhammad related that he saw his father in a dream, and asked him what God had done to him, and that he replied: "He hath shown mercy to me and indulgence." He then asked him if God had shown him mercy for the faults which he (*God*) had treated with indulgence? and his father answered: "O my son! the case of him who hath not obtained God's indulgence "is terrible; it is the greatest of woes!"—His family was of Ispahan. We have already spoken of this place and of the *shûnîzi* cemetery in some of the preceding articles (*see pages* 74 *and* 339).

(1) *Az-Zâhiri* (*the exteriorist*); he was so called because he founded his system of jurisprudence on the *exterior*, or literal meaning of the Koranic text and the Traditions; he thus rejected the *Jimâ* (general consent of the ancient imâms), and the *Kiâs*, or analogical deductions. See note (2), page 6. In this, he and his followers incurred the disapprobation of the most eminent doctors of the other orthodox sects.—(*Tab. al-Hukamâ*, fol. 50, etc.)

(2) This was one of the six orthodox sects already mentioned in note (7), page 493.

(3) رياسة العلم. See note (1), page 55.

(4) Hoods were generally worn by doctors of the law. Ash-Sharîsi says however, in his commentary on the *Makâmas* of al-Harîri, p. 206, that the green *tailesân*, or hood, was worn by persons of respectability خواص.

(5) This was a proof of his being a Sûfi, and that two great *shaikhs* of that sect had left him their *cloaks*, science, and authority as legacies. The transmission of the cloak by the master to the disciple is a custom of great antiquity. The cloak worn by the Sûfis was called by them *khirka* (*rag*).

(6) He told him to treat of cupping, because he thought him mad; and a madman should know well what that operation was.

(7) The rest of the Tradition is as follows: *The one, on account of weakness which will arise from loss of blood; and the cupper because he is not safe from some of it going into his mouth.*—(Al-Bokhâri's *Sahîh*, MS. No. 244, fol. 78 verso.) — The ancient Arabs performed cupping by scarifying the part and sucking out the blood by means of a horn. This Tradition is given in Matthew's *Mishkât al-Masâbîh*, vol. I. p. 474.

(8) See page 4, note (2).

(9) Al-Bokhâri's *Sahîh*, fol. 78.

(10) I give here the whole Tradition, of which the first words alone are mentioned by Ibn Khallikân. It was handed down by Ibn Masûd, who stated that the Prophet said so when relating his night-journey to heaven. See *Masâbîh*, MS. *fonds Ducaurroi*, No. 5, fol. 201 *v*.

(11) Ibn Khallikân gives the first words only of this Tradition. The *Masâbîh* enables me to complete it.

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## AL-MALIK AZ-ZAHIR MUJIR AD-DIN.

Abû Sulaimân Dâwûd, surnamed al-Malik az-Zâhir Mujir ad-dîn (*the brilliant prince, the protector of the faith*), was a son of the sultan Salâh ad-dîn Ibn Aiyûb, and lord of al-Bîra, a fortress situated on the Euphrates (1). Men of talents and learning travelled from all parts to visit him, in consequence of his predilection for their company. He was the twelfth son of Salâh ad-dîn, and came into the world at Cairo. His father, who was then in Syria, was congratulated by al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil on the happy event, in a letter which contained the following passage: "This child, whom the blessing of God has brought into the "world, completes the number of twelve sons, or rather twelve brilliant stars; "God has thus presented to you (2) one star more than to the patriarch Joseph; "your majesty saw them and you awake, whilst Jacob only saw his in a dream; "he saw them making obeisance unto him, but your majesty saw them "making obeisance unto you, whilst the people bowed down before them. "And He, may he be extolled! has the power of augmenting your majesty's "happiness in making you live to see them fathers and grandfathers." In these last words, al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil expresses a thought which coincides with that contained in the following verse, taken from a poem composed by al-Bohtori in praise of al-Mutawakkil, just after the birth of al-Motazz, that khalif's son:

May you live to obtain the light of his counsels, and see his children grey and aged men.

257 It has been handed down by a number of persons that he used to say: "If any one has a wish to see Salâh ad-dîn, let him look at me, for I resemble " him more than any of his other sons." Al-Malik az-Zâhir was born on the 22nd of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 573 (June, A. D. 1178), or, by another account, in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada of that year. He and his brother, al-Malik az-Zâhir (3) (Ghâzi), of whom we shall make mention under the letter *ghain*, were sons of the same mother. He died at al-Bîra on the eve of the ninth day of Safar, A. H. 632 (November, A. D. 1234). I was at Aleppo when the news of his death arrived, and al-Malik al-Azîz, the son of his brother al-Malik az-Zâhir, set out immediately and took possession of the castle of al-Bîra. This place is situated on the Mesopotamian side of the Euphrates, and lies near Somaisât, a fortress on the Greek confines. Somaisât is on the Syrian side, between Kalât ar-Rûm and Malatiya; it is separated from al-Bîra by the river.

(1) This fortress lies to the north-east of Aleppo.

(2) Literally: *To him.* The third person was generally used in addressing princes.

(3) Ghâzi's surname is written الظاهر, and that of his brother, الزاهر. The pronunciation of both is nearly the same; it is only a practised ear which can perceive the difference between them.

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## DUBAIS IBN SADAKA.

Abû 'l-Aazz Dubais Ibn Saif ad-Dawlat Abi 'l-Hasan Sadaka Ibn Mansûr Ibn Dubais Ibn Ali Ibn Mazyad al-Asadi an-Nâshiri, surnamed Nûr ad-Dawlat (*light of the state*), was prince of the Arabs (1), and lord of the city called al-Hilla al-Mazyadiya (*the mansion of the Mazyad family*) (2). Dubais was distinguished for his munificence, generous character, and profound knowledge of belles-lettres and poetry. He consolidated his authority during the khalifat of al-Mustarshid, and obtained possession of many cities in Irak. The family to which he belonged was of the first rank, his father and his ancestors

(*having possessed great power, as*) we shall mention hereafter under the letter *sâd* (*see Sadaka*). This is the person whom al-Harîri meant, in his thirty-ninth *Makâma*, by the words: *Or else Dubais of the tribe of Asad* (3). They were contemporaries, and al-Harîri's object was not only to gain his favour by mentioning his name in the *Makâmas*, but also to render homage to his merit (4). Dubais composed some good poetry, and I have read in Imâd ad-dîn's *Kharîda*, in the History of Arbela by Ibn al-Mustawfi, and in other works besides, that he was the author of the piece of verse rhyming in *e*, which contains this line:

> The love he bears your Sulaimân has made him the slave of a passion, the slightest pains of which are mortal.

I have found, however, that Ibn Bassâm, in his *Dakhîra*, attributes this poem to Ibn Rashîk, of Kairawân, and we have already spoken of it in that person's life; it also seems evident that it was composed by Ibn Rashîk, for he is stated in the *Dakhîra* to have written it in the year 502, and it is improbable that Dubais, who was at that time a youth, could have produced verses of sufficient merit to become known in Spain and to be attributed to so eminent an author as Ibn Rashik: it is also to be observed that Ibn Bassâm was perfectly well acquainted with the poetry of the western Arabs.—Ibn al-Mustawfi relates, in his History, that Dubais received the following lines from his brother Badrân, who was then far away from him:

> Tell Mansûr (5), Musaiyab (6), and Dubais that I am a stranger in a distant land. May they enjoy the Euphrates and the sweetness of its waters, since a share of it is withheld from me!

To which he returned this answer:

> Tell Badrân, who now, in a distant country, sighs for his native land—(and the man of noble soul is never disappointed in his wishes)—tell him to enjoy the pleasures of the moment, for care turneth grey the dark ringlets of hope. God holdeth control over the events which afflict mankind, and the (*parched*) earth itself obtains a libation from the cup of the generous man.

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Another historian informs us that Badrân, the son of Sadaka, bore the honorary title of Tâj al-Mulûk (*the diadem of princes*), and that he left Baghdad when his father was put to death, and retired into Syria, where he resided for

some time; from thence he removed to Egypt, and died there in the year 502 (A. D. 1108-9). He possessed a talent for poetry, and the *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn has mentioned him in the *Kharîda*. Dubais was in the service of the Seljûk sultan, Masûd Ibn Muhammad Ibn Malak Shah, when that sovereign was encamped outside of the town of al-Marâgha in Adarbijân; the khalif al-Mustarshid Billah was then with them, having been obliged to accompany the sultan for reasons which we shall explain in the life of al-Masûd. On Thursday the 28th, or according to Ibn al-Mustawfi, the 14th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 529 (A. D. 1135), a band of assassins broke into the khalif's tent and murdered him. Apprehensive of incurring the odium excited by this event, the sultan resolved on representing Dubais as the author of the crime; he therefore waited till the latter came to present his respects, and was seated at the entrance of the imperial tent; he then gave directions to one of his mamlûks, who immediately slipped up behind Dubais and struck off his head with a sword. After this execution, the sultan endeavoured to persuade the public that Dubais was the author of the khalif's death, and had therefore drawn on himself the just vengeance of his sovereign. Dubais was murdered one month after the assassination of the khalif. (*Abû Muhammad Hârûn Ibn al-Abbâs*) al-Mâmûni says in his History: "Dubais was put to death on the 14th of Zû 'l-Hijja of that year, at the Gate of "Khuwaî (7). He had perceived a change in the sultan's conduct towards him "since the murder of al-Mustarshid, and was frequently inclined to take to flight; "but his destiny prevented him." It is stated, however, by Ibn al-Azrak in his History (*of Mayafârikîn*) that he was slain at the Tabrîz Gate, and that his body was borne in a bier to his wife Kuhâr Khâtûn, who was then at Mâridîn. This princess had it interred close to the tomb of her father, Najm ad-dîn al-Ghâzi, sovereign of Mâridîn, in the funeral chapel erected over his remains in that city. The sultan then married the daughter of Dubais; her mother, Sharaf Khâtûn, was daughter to Amîd ad-Dawlat Ibn Fakhr ad-dîn Muhammad Ibn Jahîr by his wife Zubaida, the daughter of the vizir Nizâm al-Mulk: of this we shall again speak in the life of Ibn Jahîr.—*An-Nâshiri* means descended from Nâshira Ibn Nasr, the chief of a branch sprung from the tribe of Asad Ibn Khuzaima.

(1) See page 174, note (3).

(2) The town of al-Hilla lies between Baghdad and Kûfa.

(3) The following is the passage from which these words are taken: "The crowd surrounded Abû Zaid "and extolled him; they kissed his hands and thought to gain a blessing by touching his tattered raiment; "this made it seem to me that I had Uwais al-Karani before my eyes, or else Dubais of the tribe of Asad." —See M. de Sacy's *Hariri*, page 439. Uwais was one of the Tâbis, and noted for his piety.

(4) It is related by as-Sharishi, that Dubais, on hearing the compliment paid him by al-Hariri, sent to him a great quantity of rich robes and presents to an immense value.—(De Sacy's *Hariri*, page 440.)

(5) Mansûr was grandfather to Dubais and Badrân.

(6) Musaiyab was probably a near relative to Badrân.

(7) This was one of the gates of Marâgha: the road from that city to the town of Khuwai passed through it; whence its name.

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## DIBIL IBN ALI 'L-KHUZAI.

Abû Ali Dibil Ibn Ali Ibn Razîn Ibn Sulaimân, the celebrated poet, was a member of the tribe of Khuzâa. The author of the *Aghâni* gives his genealogy as follows: "Dibil, surnamed Abû Ali, was son to Ali Ibn Razîn Ibn Sulaimân "Ibn Tamîm Ibn Nahshal, or Nahbas (1), Ibn Khurâs Ibn Khâlid Ibn Dibil "Ibn Ans Ibn Khuzaima Ibn Salâmân Ibn Aslam Ibn Afsa Ibn Hâritha Ibn Amr "Ibn Aâmir Muzaikiyâ (2)." The *khatîb* al-Baghdâdi says, however, that he was the son of Ali Ibn Razîn Ibn Othmân Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Budail Ibn Warkâ al-Khuzâi. His family, which had settled at Baghdad, was originally from Kûfa, or, by another account, from Karkîsiya. It is again said that Dibil was a nickname, his real name being al-Hasan, or, according to others, Abd ar-Rahmân, or Muhammad, and that his surname was Abû Jaafar. It is stated also that he was deaf and had a scrofulous swelling on the back of his neck.—— 259 Dibil was a good poet, but scurrilous and addicted to satire; always ready to slander men of merit, and sparing none, not even the khalifs. He lived (*however*) to an advanced age, and he used to say: "For fifty years past I have gone "about with my cross on my shoulder, but could find none to crucify me on "it." When he composed on Ibrahîm Ibn al-Mahdi the piece of verse which we have inserted in that prince's life and which begins thus, *The son of Shikla and his gang, etc.* (*see page* 18); Ibrahîm waited on al-Mâmûn and complained to him, saying: "Commander of the faithful! Almighty God hath favoured "thee above me, and inspired thee to show compassion and mercy unto me;

"we are both of the same family, yet Dibil insults me in his satires; I therefore "pray thee to avenge me."—"And what has he said," replied al-Mâmûn; "perhaps *The son of Shikla, etc.?*" repeating the verses.—"That is only part "of his aspersions," answered Ibrahim; "he has made on me worse than that." —"Take example by me," replied al-Mâmûn; "I have borne in patience a "satire made by him against myself, in which he said:

'Does al-Mamûn take me for a fool? Did he not see, the other night, the head of 'Muhammad? I belong to the same tribe as those whose swords slew thy bro- 'ther and ennobled thee with the throne. They raised thy reputation long abased, 'and drew thee forth from the depth of thy abjectness.'"

To this Ibrahîm replied: "Commander of the faithful! God hath given thee "increase of forbearance and knowledge; none of us speak but out of the super- "abundance of thy knowledge, and it is in following thy example that we show "forbearance."—In the preceding verses, Dibil alludes to the conduct of Tâhir Ibn al-Husain, of the tribe of Khuzâa, in besieging Baghdad and killing al-Amin Muhammad, the son of ar-Rashid, by which he secured the khalifat to al-Mâmûn. The history of this event is well known. It must be recollected also that Dibil himself belonged to the tribe of Khuzâa. When these verses came to al-Mâmûn's knowledge, he exclaimed: "May the curse of God fall on Dibil! how "impudent he must be to say such a thing of me, who was born in the bosom "of the khalifat, suckled at its breast, and brought up in its cradle!"—A close friendship subsisted between Dibil and Muslim Ibn al-Walid al-Ansâri (3), under whose instructions he had attained proficiency in the art of poetry; and it happened that al-Fadl Ibn Sahl (whose life we shall give), nominated Muslim to a place under government in a certain town in Khorasân or in Fars, called Jurjân: Dibil went then to visit him, trusting to their mutual friendship for a good reception; but as Muslim took no notice of him, he left him and composed these verses:

You were false in your friendship and it fell to ruin; you exposed the ties of our mutual attachment till they were broken asunder. Yet I had lodged between my bosom and my heart a treasure of affection which long remained untouched. Spare me your reproaches; I expect nought of you! your honour is lost and can never be retrieved (4). Consider yourself as a gangrened right hand, which I have cut off; I bear its loss with firmness and my heart has taken courage.

He is the author of the following amatory piece (*ghazal*):

Marvel not, (*fair*) Salma! at a man who weeps (*from love*), although grey hairs cover his head (5). O my friends! how will you sleep when once my blood is shed? Blame none then for the wrongs I suffered; it was my heart and my eyes which con- 260 spired against my life!

A poem of his composition in honour of al-Muttalib Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Malik al-Khuzâi (6), the emir of Egypt, contains this passage:

O for the days I passed with al-Muttalib! days on which I pray heaven to shower its blessings! They were to me as a meadow and a paradise. All other favours but yours were ungrateful to me; of all who existed, you alone were my delight. You bettered me, or rather spoiled me, by your kindness; for you caused me to detest the kindness of others.

One of his sayings was: "If a man tell a lie, he incurs public abhorrence; "but it is the advantage of poetry, that the more the poet lies, the more he is "praised: that is even not sufficient; the auditors swear: 'By Allah! you have "done well!' so that each false witness borne in his favour is accompanied "with a solemn oath." He related also the following anecdote: "Sahl Ibn "Harûn (7), the eloquent *kâtib*, was excessively avaricious; we were one day "with him at his house, and we kept up the conversation so long, that hunger "forced him to call for his dinner. A dish was brought up, containing an old "dry cock, which no knife could carve and on which the teeth could make no "impression. He took a piece of bread, and dipped it in the gravy, and turned "over all the contents of the dish, but the cock's head was absent. He re- "flected some time; then, looking up, he said to the cook: 'Where is the "head?'—'I threw it away,' replied the other.—'Why so?'—'Because I thought "that you would not eat it.'—'Thou didst think wrong, thou scoundrel!' said "Sahl, 'By Allah! I hate the man who would throw away the claws; judge "then how I must feel towards him who throweth away the head. The head "is the chief part of the body; in it are four of the senses; by means of it the "animal croweth, and were it not for his crowing he would have no merit. "The head beareth the comb on which the cock prideth himself; it containeth "the two eyes which have given rise to the proverb: *Wine bright as the eye "of the cock*. Moreover the brain is a marvellous specific for pain in the "kidnies, and never was a softer bone seen than that of the head; didst "thou not know that it is better than the pinion of the wings, better than "the leg, better than the neck? If it be the result of thy sapient judgment

"that thou hast not eaten it, go and look for it.'—'By Allah!' exclaimed the "cook, 'I know not where it is; I threw it away.'—'But I know where it is,' "said Sahl; 'thou hast thrown it down thy throat; but God shall call thee to "an account for it!'"—Dibil was cousin to the celebrated poet Abû Jâfar Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Razîn al-Khuzâi, surnamed Abû 'sh-Shîs (8), who was one of those who celebrated the praises of ar-Rashîd and composed elegies on his death; he made also poems in honour of al-Amîn, that khalif's son and successor. Dibil was born A. H. 148 (A. D. 765); he died A. H. 246 (A. D. 860-1), at Tîb, a town situated between Wâsit in Irak and the provinces of al-Ahwâz.—His grandfather Razîn was a *mawla* belonging to Obaid Allah (9) Ibn Khalaf al-Khuzâi, the father of Talhat at-Talhât (10). Obaid Allah was a *kâtib* in the service of the khalif Omar and chief of the government office (11) at Kûfa. Talha was governor of Sijistân and died in that province. The death of Dibil was preceded by that of Abû Tammâm (*Habîb*), whose life has been given (*page* 348); his friend, the poet al-Bohtori, lamented his loss in an elegy which contains the following passage:

> The abode of death, the dwelling of Habîb and of Dibil, has increased my sadness and inflamed my grief. Dearest brothers! may the heavens never withhold from your tombs their genial rains; may they overshadow you with a dark cloud, shedding grateful showers. Long was the journey of him who announced to me your death; a tomb is in distant Ahwâz, and mouldering bones repose at Mosul.

261 *Dibil* means *a tall camel*. He used to relate that one day as he was passing along, he saw a man in a fit of epilepsy; on which he went up and shouted in his ear, as loud as he could, the word *Dibil*, and that the man rose up and walked away as if nothing had happened (12).

(1) In the autograph MS. this name is written نهنس *Nahnas*.

(2) Amr Muzaikiyâ was the ancestor of the tribe of Khuzâa.—(De Sacy's *Mémoire sur l'Histoire des Arabes avant Muhammad*, page 158; Rasmussen's *Hist. Ar. anteislam*. p. 42.)

(3) See note (3), page 25.

(4) Literally: You are torn to pieces, and I see no means of mending you.

(5) Literally: Whilst greyness smiles (*or is bright*) on his head.—The Arabic poets associate with smiles the idea of brightness, because the *brightness* of the teeth appears in smiling.

(6) Al-Muttalib was appointed governor of Egypt by al-Mamûn, A. H. 198 (A. D. 813-4); he was deposed seven months afterwards, but was reinstated in his office the same year. Nineteen months later he was

driven out of Egypt by as-Sari Ibn al-Hakam. The country was then in a very unsettled state, in consequence of the civil war between al-Mamûn and his brother al-Amin.—(*Nujûm.*)

(7) Sahl Ibn Harûn was born in Dastamisân دستميسان, an extensive province lying between Wâsit, al-Ahwâz, and Basra. He entered into the service of al-Mâmûn and served him with fidelity as librarian صاحب خزانة الحكمة. By his wisdom and prudence, his talent for poetry, and his literary information, he acquired great celebrity. He composed a number of works on different subjects, the titles of which are given in the *Fihrest* and the *Oiyûn at-Tawârikh*; one of them was an imitation of *Kalila and Dimna*, and another a treatise in praise of avarice, his ruling passion. He was of a Persian family and showed a strong prejudice against Arabs. Died A. H. 245 (A. D. 859-60). He was equally remarkable for the elegance of his style and the merit of his poetry.—(*Marâsid*; *Fihrest*; *Oiyûn at-Tawârikh*, tom. VIII.)

(8) The printed text has *al-Shis*, not *Abû 'sh-Shis*. The latter is the true reading. This poet died A. H. 196.—(*Miraat az-Zamân.*)

(9) Obaid Allah; not Abd Allah, as in the printed text.

(10) See in the life of Abd Allah Ibn Tâhir.

(11) See note (17), page 272.

(12) This is not very intelligible; it means, perhaps, that Dibil's satirical character rendered him an object of general apprehension, and that the terror inspired by his name was sufficient to expel the evil spirit with which the epileptic man was possessed.

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## ABU BAKR AS-SHIBLI.

Abû Bakr Dolaf Ibn Jahdar (or Jaafar) Ibn Yûnus, (his name is thus inscribed on his tomb,) surnamed as-Shibli, a celebrated saint, was born and brought up at Baghdad, but his family belonged to Khorasân. This highly-respected *sûfi* followed the doctrines of the sect of Mâlik and had for masters (*in the spiritual life*) al-Junaid and the other holy men of that epoch. He renounced the world at one of Khair an-Nassâj's (1) assemblies, and then proceeded to Dunbâwend (*Demavend*), of which he was governor at the time, and asked of the inhabitants immunity for his past conduct; (*he then gave in his dismission.*) The mortifications which he practised at the outset (*of his religious career*) surpassed all bounds: he used to apply a certain quantity of salt to his eyes in place of *kohl* or *antimony* (2), so as to accustom himself to waking and to aid in keeping away sleep. He held the *pure and holy law* (*the Koran*) in extreme reverence, and at the beginning of the blessed month of Ramadân he renewed his devotional practices with increased fervour. "This," he would say, "is a "month which my Lord hath honoured; how much more therefore should I honour it!" Towards the close of his life, he frequently recited this verse:

There are many stations in life, in which, had I filled them, my death would have been considered by the (*sûfi*) brethren (*not as a reward but*) as a punishment (3).

He went in one day to al-Junaid and, standing before him, clapped his hands (*with grief*) and spoke these verses:

The objects of my love accustomed me to *union* with them, and *union* is sweet; but they have since repelled my advances, and a repulse is painful. When they resolved (*to reject me*), they pretended that my crime was my extreme love for them; but that is not a crime. No! as true as the submission (*of the lover*) when he meets his mistress! No! the beloved can only repay (*the lover's passion*) by loving (*him*).

To this al-Junaid replied:

I longed to see thee, (*O my beloved!*) but when I saw thee, sudden joy overcame me, and I could not refrain from tears.

The *Khatîb* relates in his History that Abû 'l-Hasan at-Tamîmi said: "I "went one day into the house of Abû Bakr as-Shibli and found him in a state "of excitation, reciting these verses:

'He who was accustomed to be near thee, cannot support thy absence. The slave 'of love cannot sustain thy estrangement. His heart sees thee, though his eye does 'not.'"

In the life of the preacher Abû Saad Ismaîl Ibn Ali, the *khatîb* speaks as follows: "Abû Saad repeated to me the following lines which, by his account, "he had heard from Tâhir al-Khathami, who mentioned that they had been "recited to him by their author, as-Shibli:

'Youth abandoned me; my beloved also departed; and a double flow of tears 'gushed from my eyes. Fortune was unjust towards thee, (*unfortunate lover*)! two '(*friends*) bade thee farewell, but thou hadst only one heart (*to support the pains*).'"

262 As-Shibli himself relates that, one Friday, he perceived a man out of his senses standing naked in the mosque of ar-Rusâfa (4) and crying out: "I am "mad through love of God!" On which he said to him: "Why dost thou "not go into the mosque and keep out of sight and say thy prayers?" To which the madman answered:

"They say to me: 'Visit us and pay us the homage to which we are entitled.' But "my present state dispenses me from all such obligations. Those who see the state "in which I am, and feel for it neither desire (5) nor dislike;—to love such persons "I should consent even to hate myself."

As-Shibli died at Baghdad on Friday, the 27th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 334 (July, A. D. 946), aged eighty-seven years, and was interred in the cemetery of al-Kaizurân: some say, however, that his death took place in the year 335, but the former is the correct date. It is stated also, that he was born at Sarra-man-Râa. — *Shibli* means *belonging to Shibla,* a village in the dependencies of Osrûshna, a large town beyond Samarkand, in Transoxiana. —*Dunbâwend* is a place situated in the canton of Rai in Persian Irak : some call it *Demavend,* but the first orthography is more correct.

(1) The celebrated ascetic and great *sûfi* doctor, Abû 'l-Hasan Muhammad Ibn Ismaîl, more generally known by the name of *Khair ân-Nassâj*, was a native of Samarrâ and an inhabitant of Baghdad. He had for masters in the spiritual life Sari 's-Sakati and the famous Abû Hamza Muhammad Ibn Ibrahîm. Many anecdotes are related of his miraculous gifts. He died A. H. 322 (A. D. 934), aged upwards of one hundred years.—(Ad-Dahabi; *Târîkh al-Islâm*, MS. No. 646.)—*Khair an-Nassâj*, as ad-Dahabi pronounces it, means *Khair*, or *Good, the weaver*. This historian relates that he came by his name in the following manner. On his return from a pilgrimage to Mekka, he passed through Kûfa, where, as his complexion was very dark, a man stopped him and said: "Thou art my negro slave عبد and thy name is Khair." He remained in captivity for some years and worked as a silk weaver, whence his name. His master at length relented and gave him his liberty, saying: "Thou wast not my slave." But Jâmi, in his *Lives of the Sûfis* (MS. *fonds Anquetil*, No. 115), gives a different account of the origin of this appellation: according to him, our doctor was named *Khair Nussâj* (*excellent among weavers*), because he had been obliged to take to weaving in order to gain his livelihood, and his first essays proved him to be already—by a miraculous interference of Providence - an able workman at the trade.

(2) See Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, vol. I., p. 41.

(3) Death is considered by the Sûfis as the greatest blessing which can happen to him who loves God, or, as they express themselves, *to the lover;* his soul is then delivered from the prison of the body, and obtains at length its long-sought *union* وصل with the *beloved*. Had as-Shibli therefore filled an eminent *place* موضع in the world, his love for the Creator would have been less fervent, and his recompense in after-life less ample.—Such appears to me to be the meaning of this very obscure verse. I must observe also, for the intelligence of the lines which follow, that the *sufis* admit two modes of *union* with the *beloved*; the one temporary, and the other eternal. The temporary union takes place during the ecstatic fits حال which *the lover* experiences, from time to time, in the practice of his devotional exercises; but these are mere transient favours, which the *beloved* sometimes grants and often withholds, whilst the *union* effected by death remains unbroken and eternal.

(4) Ar-Rusâfa was the name of a quarter in the city of Baghdad.

(5) The expression يانفوا لها seems equivalent to لم يانفوا من حالهم اشتياقا لحالى *who detest not their own state through the desire of being in mine.*

## ABU 'L-MUTA ZU 'L-KARNAIN IBN HAMDAN.

Abû 'l-Mutâ Zû 'l-Karnain at-Taghlibi (*belonging to the tribe of Taghlib*) was son to Abû 'l-Muzaffar Hamdân, the son of Nâsir ad-Dawlat Abû Muhammad al-Hasan Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Hamdân. He bore the surname of Wajîh ad-Dawlat (*honourable in the empire*). We have already given the genealogy of the family in the life of his grandfather Nâsir ad-Dawlat (*page* 404), and shall not therefore repeat it here. As a poet, Abû 'l-Mutâ was distinguished by the grace, expression and elegant turn of his ideas. The following verses are of his composition:

> When I see the letters *l* and *a* entwined in a close embrace, the word *la* لا excites my envy. To embrace so closely, they must have felt, methinks, the pains of love (1).

Another of his pieces runs thus:

> I am ready to sacrifice my life for her whom I visited (*in private*); I was then armed with my sword (*to protect me against jealous keepers*), and her glances were sharper than its edge. I embraced her, and when my neck was encircled with her ringlets, then only did I (*dare to disarm and*) free it from the sword-belt. In that moment, the happiest of us two in the enjoyment of our wishes, was the one who had suffered the greatest affliction from the cruelty of the other.

Ath-Thâlabi, in his *Yatíma*, attributes to him the piece which we have given in the life of Ibn Tabâtabâ (*page* 114), and which begins thus:

> She said to the fleeting image which visited me, etc.

But in his notice on Abû 'l-Mutâ, he states that these verses were composed by Ibn Tabâtabâ; God knows best.—Abû 'l-Mutâ is the author of the following lines:

> When we met together, and the hour of midnight cast over us a veil of obscurity which shed pleasure when unfolded, none ever passed a chaster night than we; no witnesses were there, except our eyes and our honour. No vile delator betrayed us to our foes; no traitor ran with active foot to denounce us.

By the same:

> When my mistress saw me as thin as a toothpick, she said: "This meeting is but a "dream, and thou art merely a fleeting image."—"Not so," I replied; "it is thy

" absence which altered my health so that thou canst not distinguish the reality of
" my appearance from a false illusion."

The celebrated poet Abd al-Azîz Ibn Nubâta composed a great number of pieces in honour of (*Hamdân*) Abû 'l-Mutâ's father. Abû 'l-Mutâ died in the month of Safar, A. H. 428 (December, A. D. 1036). He visited Egypt, according to al-Musabbihi in his History, during the reign of az-Zâhir al-Obaidi, the son of al Hâkim, and was appointed by him to the government of Alexandria and its dependencies, in the month of Rajab, 414; he remained there a year, and then returned to Damascus.

(1) I have read many couplets on this subject, and must acknowledge that Abû 'l-Mutâ's is decidedly the worst.

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## RABIA AL-ADAWIA.

Umm al-Khair (1) Râbia, the daughter of Ismaîl, a woman celebrated for her holy life, and a native of Basra, belonged to the tribe of Adi (*Adawia*), and was allied by enfranchisement to the family of Atîk. She was one of the most eminent among the holy persons of the time, and the anecdotes related of her sanctity and piety are generally known. Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Kushairi says, in his treatise (*on Sufism*) (2): "She used to say, when holding converse with God:
" 'Consume with fire, O God, a (*presumptuous*) heart which loveth thee!'
" and on one of these occasions, a voice spoke to her and said: 'That we shall
" not do! think not of us an ill thought.'—Sofyân ath-Thauri exclaimed one
" day in her presence: 'O, what anguish is mine!' on which she said: 'Speak
" not a lie, but rather say: O, how little anguish is mine! If thou wert really
" in affliction, thou couldst not sigh.'—One of the sûfi brethren relates as fol-
" lows: 'In my prayers I used to invoke Râbia al-Adawia, and she appeared to
" me in a vision and spake: 'Thy offerings were presented to us on trays of
" light and covered with napkins of light.'—She often said: 'If my (*good*) works
" appear (*to the world*), I count them as nought.' And one of her counsels

"was: 'Hide thy good deeds as closely as thou wouldst hide thy sins.'"—The *shaikh* Shihâb ad-dîn as-Suhrawardi quotes the following verses of hers in the *Awârif al-Maârif*:

I reserve my heart for thy converse, (*O Lord!*) and leave my body to keep company with those who desire my society. My body is thus the companion of the visitor, but my dearly beloved is the companion of my heart.

She died A. H. 135 (A. D. 752-3), according to Ibn al-Jawzi in the *Shuzûr al-Okûd*, but in A. H. 185 (A. D. 801), according to another authority. Her tomb, which is situated on the mount of Tor, on the eastern side 264 of Jerusalem, is an object of pilgrimage. Ibn al-Jawzi has an article on Râbia in his *Safwat as-Safwat*, and he there gives the following anecdotes respecting her, the authenticity of which is certified by a list prefixed to them, in which he enumerates the names of the persons through whom they passed down successively from Abda the daughter of Abi Shawwâl to himself. He says: "(*Abda*), one of God's excellent handmaids and the servant of Rabia relates "as follows: 'Râbia used to pass the whole night in prayer, and at morning "dawn she took a slight sleep in her oratory till daylight; and I have heard "her say, when she sprang in dread from her couch: *O my soul! how long "wilt thou sleep? When wilt thou awake? Soon thou shalt sleep to rise "no more, till the call shall summon thee on the day of resurrection!*'— "This was her constant custom till the time of her death. On its approach "she called me and said: *O Abda! inform none of my death and shroud "me in this gown.* This was a gown of hair-cloth which she wore when "praying, at the time in which the eyes of others were closed in sleep. "I shrouded her in that gown, and in a woollen veil which she used to "wear; and about a year afterwards, I saw her in a dream clothed in a "gown of green satin and a veil of green silk, the like of which for beauty I "never beheld. And I said: 'O Râbia! what has become of the gown in "which I shrouded thee, and of the woollen veil?' To which she answered: "'By Allah! it was taken off me and I received in exchange what thou seest "on me; my shroud was folded up, a seal was put upon it, and it was "taken up to the highest heaven, that by it my reward might be complete on "the day of resurrection.'—'It was for this,' I observed, 'that thou didst "work when in the world.'—'And what is this,' she rejoined, 'compared with

"what I saw of Almighty God's bounty to his saints!' I then asked her in "what state was Obaida (3), the daughter of Abû Kallâb, and she replied: 'It "cannot be described! by Allah! she has surpassed us, and reached the highest "place in paradise.'—'And how so?' said I, 'when the people considered "thee far, far above her.' To which she answered: 'Because, when in the "world, she cared not what her state might be on the next morning or the "next night.'—'And what doeth Abû Mâlik Daighâm?'—'He visiteth Al-"mighty God when he pleaseth.'—'And Bishr Ibn Mansûr (4)?'—'Admira-"ble! admirable! he hath received a recompense far beyond his hopes.' I then "said to her: 'Tell me a means by which I may approach nearer to Almighty "God.' And she answered: 'Think on him often, and by that thou wilt, after "a little while, be happy in thy tomb.'"

(1) *Omm al-Khair* means *the mother of Khair* or *of good.*

(2) See note (2), page 422.

(3) Obaida, the daughter of Kallâb, a celebrated saint, wept for her sins during forty years, and then lost her sight.—(*Siar as-Sâlihât* MS. No. 855, f. 28.)

(4) Abû Muhammad Bishr Ibn Mansûr as-Sulami (*belonging to the tribe of Sulaim*) was celebrated for his intense application to the practice of devotion. As a Traditionist he is considered a sure authority, and is cited as such by Ahmad Ibn Hanbal. He died A. H. 209 (A. D. 824-5).—(*Mirât az-Zamân*, No. 640, fol. 69.)

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## RABIA AR-RAI.

Abû Othmân Rabia Ibn Abi Abd Rahmân Farrûkh, a *mawla* of the Munkadir family which belongs to the tribe of Temîm, and afterwards a *mawla* of the tribe of Koraish, was the great jurisconsult of Medina (*in the second century of Islamism*), and is generally known by the surname of Rabia ar-Râi (1). In his youth he met a number of the Prophet's companions (*and received instruction from them in Traditions and legal matters*); and from him Mâlik Ibn Ans drew some of his information. The following anecdote is related of him by Bakr Ibn Abd Allah as-Sanâni (*a native of Sanâ*): "Mâlik "Ibn Ans came to our (*town*) and began to teach to us Traditions learned by "him from Rabia ar-Râi; for we were desirous of obtaining from him as

"many as possible, founded on so good an authority as that of Rabia. One "day, he said to us: 'Why (*then*) do you leave Rabia sleeping in that "arcade over there?' We immediately went to Rabia, and having awaked "him, we said: 'Art thou Rabia?'—'Yes;' was the reply.—'Art thou the "person on whose authority Mâlik Ibn Ans gives Traditions?'—'Yes.'—'How "then does Mâlik enjoy (*public*) favour through thy means, although thou "hast not acquired it for thyself?'—'Know ye not,' replied he, 'that an ounce "of worldly wit goes farther than a camel-load of learning?' "—Rabia was a great talker, and he used to say that he who keeps silent should be classed between him who is asleep and him who is dumb. Whilst he was one day speaking at one of his public conferences (2), an Arab, fresh from the desert, came in and stood for a long time before him, listening to his words; Rabia, who thought that the stranger was in admiration at what he heard, said to him: "O Arab! how do your people define eloquence?" The other answered: "Brevity combined with precision."—"And what is incorrection (3)?"—"That "which thou hast been engaged in all day." This answer covered Rabia 265 with confusion. He died A. H. 136 (A. D. 753-4), some say 130, at al-Hâshimiya, a city built in the province of al-Anbâr by as-Saffâh, who made it his place of residence, but afterwards removed to al-Anbâr. It was said by Mâlik Ibn Ans, that the science of jurisprudence had lost its sweetness since the death of Rabia ar-Râi.—I must observe that it is impossible to conciliate the statement made by some, that he died A. H. 130, with the fact of his burial at al-Hâshimiya, the city founded by (*the khalif*) as-Saffâh; for that prince, as it is agreed by all historians, did not obtain the khalifat till Friday, 13th of the latter Rabi, A. H. 132 (29th November, A. D. 749).

(1) *Rabia ar-Râi*, or more regularly *Rabîat ar-Râi*, means *private judgment Rabia*. He was so called because he drew many of his legal decisions from the fourth source of Muhammadan law, and which is entitled Râi (*view, private judgment*) or Kiâs (*analogy*). (See note (2), page 6.) The same system was followed later by Abû Hanîfa, whence the followers of his sect were called *the partisans of private judgment* (*Ashâb ar-Râi*).

(2) Literally: At one of his sittings.

(3) The word عيّ, here translated by *incorrection*, is employed to denote the contrary of eloquence; it consists in verbosity and ideas inadequately expressed.

## AR-RABI IBN SULAIMAN AL-MURADI.

The *muazzin* Abû Muhammad ar-Rabî Ibn Sulaimân Ibn Abd al-Jabbâr Ibn Kâmil, a native of Basra, and allied by enfranchisement to the tribe of Murâd (*Muradi*), was a disciple of as-Shâfi, and through him, most of the works composed by that imâm were handed down by oral dictation (1). As-Shâfi said of him: "Ar-Rabî is the special traditionist of my words and works (2)." He said again, that none ever served him (*so dutifully*) as ar-Rabî (3); and he sometimes addressed him in these words: "O Rabi! could I feed thee with science, I should "do it." The following narration is attributed to ar-Rabi on good authority: "When as-Shâfi was near his death, I went in and found with him al-Buwaiti, "al-Muzani and Ibn Abd al-Hukm (4). He looked at us and then said: 'As "for thee, Abû Yakûb! (meaning al-Buwaiti) thou shalt die in chains (5); thou, "Muzâni! shalt meet with various adventures in Egypt, and shalt make the time "be remembered in which thou wert the ablest reasoner of the age (6); thou, O "Muhammad! (addressing himself to Ibn Abd al-Hukm) wilt pass over to the "sect of Mâlik; and thou, O Rabi! shalt be to me the most useful of all, in pro-"pagating the knowledge of the works which I have composed. Arise Abû "Yakûb! and take charge of my class.'" Ar-Rabî then relates that all which as-Shâfi foretold to them came to pass, and that he might be said to have looked, at that moment, through a transparent veil into futurity. In the History of Baghdad by the *khatîb*, (*the same anecdote*) is thus related, in the life of al-Bûwaiti: "Ar-Rabî Ibn Sulaimân said: We were sitting in the presence of "as-Shâfi, I, al-Bûwaiti and al-Muzani, when he looked at al-Bûwaiti and spoke "these words: 'Observe this person; he will die in chains.' He then cast his "eyes on al-Muzani and said: 'Look at this man; the time will be wherein he "shall never explain a difficulty and be mistaken.' Turning then to me, he "spoke thus: 'By Allah! there is not one of the fraternity more useful to me "than he. I should like to fill him to the utmost with knowledge.'" This Rabî was the last of those auditors of as-Shâfi who handed down, in Egypt, the sayings of their master. I found in the handwriting of the *hâfiz* Abd al-Azîm al-Mundiri, the following verses, which he gives as ar-Rabî's:

(*Let thy*) patience be exemplary (*under misfortune*), and how quick shall be thy deliverance! He shall be saved who, in all his actions, serveth God with a sincere heart. He who feareth God shall not be afflicted, and he who hopeth in God shall go to that place (*heaven*) for which he hoped.

Ar-Rabî died in Egypt on Monday, the 19th of Shawwâl, A. H. 270 (April, A. D. 884), and was interred in the Karafa, near the north side, hard by (*the mosque of*) al-Fokkâi (7). His tomb is surrounded by a railing, and at the head of the grave there is a marble slab, bearing his name and the date of his death. —*Murâdi* means *belonging to Murâd,* a great tribe in Yemen from which many persons have sprung.

(1) This is an additional proof of a circumstance already known, that in the first ages of Islamism, many authors never put their works in writing, but taught them to their scholars *vivâ voce.*

(2) Literally: Ar-Rabî is my *râwi* (or Traditionist).

(3) The disciples of learned men frequently filled the duties of servants to them.

(4) The lives of these doctors are given by Ibn Khallikân.

(5) Literally: In thy iron; that is, in the irons which shall bind thee.

(6) Or; the most skilful in making analogical deductions.

(7) The mosque of al-Fokkâi, a large edifice built by Kâfûr, bears the name of Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn al-Hasan al-Fokkâi (over whose tomb it was probably erected). His father al-Hasan was a brewer (*Fokkâa*).—(Al-Makrîzi.)

## AR-RABI AL-JIZI.

Abû Muhammad ar-Rabî Ibn Sulaimân Ibn Dâwûd Ibn al-Aaraj al-Jîzi, a native of Egypt and a member, by enfranchisement, of the tribe of Azd, was 266 one of as-Shâfi's disciples, but handed down very little of his master's doctrines: numerous Traditions are given by him, however, on the authority of Ibn Abd al-Hukm. His veracity as a Traditionist is universally admitted, and he is quoted by Abû Dâwûd (*the author of the* Sunan) and by an-Nasâi. "He "died in the month of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. D. 256 (November, A. D. 870), at Jîza, "where his tomb is still to be seen." Such are the words of al-Kudâi in his *Khitat.*—*Jîzi* means *belonging to Jîza;* this is a village opposite to Cairo, from which it is separated by the Nile. In the canton of Jîza, and near to the village, are situated those stupendous erections, the pyramids.

## AR-RABI IBN YUNUS.

Abû 'l-Fadl ar-Rabi was the son of Yûnus Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Abi Farwa al-Haffâr.—This last, whose real name was Kaisân, had been a slave (*mawla*) to al-Hârith, by whom he was sold to (*the khalif*) Othmân Ibn Affân.—Ar-Rabi served (*the khalif*) Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr in the capacity of a *hâjib* (1), and later, in that of a vizir, on the deposition of Abû Aiyûb al-Mûriâni (whose life we shall give). Al-Mansûr placed great confidence in him and treated him with signal favour; he said to him one day: "Ask me, "Rabi! whatever you please;" and ar-Rabi answered: "I should wish you to "feel friendship for my son al-Fadl."—"Alas!" replied al-Mansûr, "know "you not that friendship must have motives?"—"But it depends on yourself," said ar-Rabi, "to have motives for loving him."—"And how so?" asked the khalif.—"Treat him with kindness," replied the other, "and he will love you; "and when he loves you, you will love him."—"By Allah!" exclaimed the prince, "I shall love him even before I have motives for doing so; but tell me "why you asked for him my friendship rather than any thing else?"—"For "this reason;" replied ar-Rabi, "when you bear him friendship, the slightest "services he renders you will appear great in your eyes, and his greatest delin-"quencies will be looked on by you as slight errors: his faults will be (*consi-"dered by you*) as the faults of a child, and your protection will be for him as "*the naked intercessor*." In this last expression, he alluded to the words of the poet al-Farazdak:

> The intercessor who goeth to thee clothed is not like the one who goeth to thee naked.

This verse belongs to a poem composed on Abd Allah Ibn az-Zubair Ibn al-Awwâm, at the period in which he aspired to the khalifat and gained possession of Hijâz and Irak; this was in the reign of Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân the Omaiyide. Al-Farazdak had then quarrelled with his wife an-Nawâr (2), and they both set out from Basra and proceeded to Mekka, in order that Abd Allah Ibn az-Zubair might decide between them. Al-Farazdak, on arriving, went to stop with Hamza, the son of Abd Allah Ibn az-Zubair, and an-Nawâr with Ibn

az-Zubair's wife. The two hosts used their influence in favour of their guests, but Ibn az-Zubair (*yielded to that of his wife and*) decided in favour of an-Nawâr against al-Farazdak. The poet then made the verses of which we have spoken, and his words, *the naked intercessor,* became proverbial to denote any person whose intercession cannot be withstood.—Al-Mansûr said one day to ar-Rabî: "How sweet would be the world, O Rabî! were it not for death."—"Say "rather," replied ar-Rabî, "that the world had not been sweet were it not for "death."—"And how so?"—"Because were it not for death, you would never "have been sitting on that throne."—"You are right;" replied the khalif.—On the approach of death, al-Mansur said to him: "O Rabî! we have sacrificed "the life to come for a mere dream!"—The following anecdote is related by ar-Rabî: "We were one day standing behind al-Mansûr (*who was seated in his* "*hall of audience*), and a cushion had been placed on the floor for al-Mahdi, "who had been nominated successor to the khalifat; at that moment entered "Sâlih, another of al-Mansûr's sons, who had been endeavouring to obtain from "his father the concession of some post of authority for himself. He advanced "between the double rank of courtiers which extended from the throne to the "entrance of the hall (3), and in which they all held places corresponding to the "nobleness of their descent and the eminence of the posts they filled: he then "stopped and addressed the khalif in elegant terms. When he had finished, "al-Mansûr held forth his hand and said: 'Come to me, my dear son!' He "then took him to his arms, and looked towards the principal persons present, "expecting to hear one of them celebrate the praises of his son and the high "favour which his parent had shown him, but this none of them dare to do "through dread of al-Mahdi. Then Shabba Ibn Ikâl at-Tamîmi rose up and "said: 'Admirable is the flow of words which proceeded from the orator who 267 "stood before thee, O Commander of the faithful! How eloquent a tongue! "What fine expression! What sharpness of intelligence! What copiousness of "language! and what an elegant turn of thought! But could it be otherwise "in one whose father is the Commander of the faithful, and who has al-Mahdi "for brother? We must say of him in the words of the poet:

'That noble courser may, by exertions, come up with his two competitors, for a steed 'like him can keep pace with the best. Those two may outrun him if he abates his 'speed; but the excellent (*sâlih*) horse such as they outrun, is able to distance all 'other rivals.'

"The company were filled with admiration at the address displayed by the "speaker in making simultaneously the eulogium of the two brothers, and by "this means not only satisfying the desires of al-Mansûr, but avoiding to offend "al-Mahdi. Then," said ar-Rabî, "the khalif told me not to suffer at-Tamîmi "to withdraw till he received a gift of thirty thousand dirhems, and this order "I obeyed." It is said that none knew who ar-Rabî's father was, and that one day, a member of the Hâshimite (*imperial*) family entered into the presence of al-Mansûr and said repeatedly, whilst conversing with him: "My father, *may "God be merciful to him!* did so and so." On which ar-Rabî said to him: "How often wilt thou implore God's mercy on thy father? Consider that thou "art in the presence of the Commander of the faithful (4)." To this the other replied: "I can excuse thee, O Rabî! for thou knowest not the value of ances-"tors." This retort covered him with confusion.—(*The khalif*) Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr visited Medîna and said to ar-Rabî on entering the city: "Find me some "learned and intelligent person who can point out to me the (*chief*) mansions "of the place; it is now so long since I saw the dwellings of my family." A most intelligent and well-informed youth was discovered by ar-Rabî and presented to the khalif; (*during their excursion,*) the guide did not make any observations unless asked by al-Mansûr to do so; but he then proceeded, with great precision and beauty of expression, to furnish every requisite information. Al-Mansûr was so highly pleased with him, that he ordered him a considerable sum of money, but the payment was delayed so long, that the youth found himself under the necessity of asking for it, (*and this he did in the following manner:*) As they passed by the house which belonged to Aâtika, the daughter of Abd Allah and grand-daughter of Abû Sofyân, the young man said: "This, O "Commander of the faithful! is the house of that Aâtika to whom Al-Ahwas Ibn Muhammad al-Ansari (5) alluded in these lines:

'Dwelling of Aâtika! mansion which I avoid through dread of foes, although my 'heart be fixed on thee! I turn away and fly thee; but yet unconsciously I turn to-'wards thee again.'"

Those words caused al-Mansûr to reflect, and he said to himself that the youth must have here some reason for giving his information, without being asked for it. He therefore turned over the leaves of the poem from which the

verses were taken, and examined it, passage by passage, till he came to the following line:

> We see that you do what you promise, but there are persons, with deceitful tongue, who promise, but never perform.

He immediately asked ar-Rabî if he had given the youth what had been awarded him, and was informed by him, that a particular circumstance, which he mentioned, had caused a delay in the payment. The khalif then ordered him to give him immediately the double of what had been promised. The youth had certainly taken a most delicate manner of hinting the circumstance, and al-Mansûr showed great penetration in perceiving it.—The following anecdote is related by Fâika, the daughter of Abd Allah and mother of Abd al-Wâhid Ibn Jaafar Ibn Sulaimân: "We were one day with the khalif "al-Mahdi, who had just returned from al-Anbâr, to which he had made an "excursion of pleasure, when ar-Rabî came in, holding a piece of leather, on "which some words were written in charcoal and to which was attached a seal "composed of clay mixed with ashes and bearing the impression of the khalif's "signet-ring. 'Commander of the faithful!' said ar-Rabî, 'I never saw any "thing more extraordinary than this document; I received it from an Arab of "the Desert who was crying out: *This is the Commander of the faithful's* "*letter! shew me where to find the man who is called ar-Rabî, for it is to* "*him that he told me to deliver it!* Al-Mahdi took the letter and laughed; "he then said: 'It is true; this is my writing and this is my seal; shall I relate "how it happened?'—To this we replied: 'If it please the Commander of the 268 "faithful (6).' And he spoke thus: 'I went out to hunt yesterday evening when "the shower was over; the next morning a thick mist overwhelmed us and I "lost sight of my companions; I then suffered such cold, hunger, and thirst as "God only knows, and I lost my way besides. At that moment came to my "mind a form of prayer which my father (*al-Mansur*) had taught me, saying "that his father (*Muhammad*) had learned it from his grandfather (*Ali*), who "had been taught it by (*his father Abd Allah*) the son of Abbâs. It was this: "He who sayeth morning and evening: *In the name of God!* and: *by the* "*might of God! We have no power or force but in God! I fly to God for* "*protection! I confide in God! God sufficeth me! We have no power or*

"*force but in God, the High! the Mighty! He protecteth, sufficeth, direct-*
"*eth, and healeth—from fire and flood; from the fall of house and from evil*
"*death!* When I had uttered these words, God raised up a light before me,
"and I went towards it, and lo! I found this very Arab of the Desert in his
"tent, with a fire which he had been just lighting up (7). 'Arab of the Desert,'
"said I, 'hast thou withal to treat a guest?'—'Dismount,' said he. And
"I dismounted, and he said to his wife: 'Bring here that barley.' And
"she brought it. 'Grind it,' said he; and she began to grind it. I then said
"to him: 'Give me a drink of water;' and he brought me a skin in which
"was a little milk, mixed with more water; and I drank thereof a drink
"such as I had never drunk before, it was so sweet! and he gave me one of
"his saddle-cloths and I laid my head upon it, and never did I sleep a sounder
"or a sweeter sleep. On awaking, I saw him seize on a poor miserable sheep,
"and kill it, when his wife said to him: 'Beware, wretched man! thou hast
"slain thyself and thy children; your nourishment came from this sheep and
"yet thou hast killed it! What then have we to live on?' On this I said:
"'Do not mind! bring the sheep here;' and I opened it with the knife I wore
"in my boot, and I took out the liver, and having split it open, I placed it upon
"the fire, and I eat thereof. I then said to him: 'Dost thou want any thing?
"I shall give thee a written order for it.' On this, he brought me that piece
"of leather, and I wrote on it with a bit of burnt wood which I picked up at
"his feet, that very note; I then set this seal on it, and told him to go and ask
"for one ar-Rabi, to whom he was to give it.' This note contained an order
"for five hundred thousand dirhims (8), and al-Mahdi exclaimed, on learning
"it: 'By Allah! I meant only fifty thousand, but since five hundred thousand
"are written in it, I shall not diminish the sum one single dirhim; and were
"there no more in the treasury, he should have it. So give him beasts of bur-
"den and let him take it away.' In a very short time, that Arab had nume-
"rous flocks of camels and sheep, and his mansion became a halting-place for
"those who were going on the pilgrimage, and it received the name of the
"Dwelling of the host of al-Mahdi, the Commander of the faithful."—Ar-Rabi
died towards the beginning of the year 170 (July, A. D. 786), but at-Tabari
places his death in the year 169. Some say that he was poisoned by (*the new khalif*) al-Hàdi; but, according to another statement, he was ill for eight days

and then expired.—His ancestor was called Abû Farwa because he wore a furred cloak (*farwa*) when brought to Medina, where he was purchased by Othmân; having received his liberty from that khalif, he turned grave-digger (*haffâr*). He was one of the captives taken at Jabal al-Khalil (*the mountain of al-Khalîl*) (9). As for al-Fadl, the son of ar-Rabi, we shall give his life.—The great and well-known quarter of Baghdad, *the Grant of ar-Rabî*, was so called because the possession of it had been conceded to ar-Rabi by (*the khalif*) al-Mansûr.

(1) The *hâjib* was one of the principal officers at the courts of princes. He sat at the door of the great hall when his master gave audience, and he might admit or exclude (*hajab*) whom he pleased. A curtain (*hijâb*) was hung across the entrance of the hall, and the *hâjib* merely raised the corner of it up, when he chose to let an applicant enter,

(2) See the life of al-Farazdak, inserted by M. Caussin de Perceval in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1834.

(3) It was here necessary, for the sake of clearness, to paraphrase the text.

(4) Politeness and court-etiquette required that no words should be uttered before the sovereign which might call to his mind the idea of death.

(5) Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad al-Ansâri, surnamed *al-Ahwas* الاحوص, and not *al-Akhwas*, as all the MSS. of Ibn Khallikân have it, was a descendant, as his name indicates, of one of the Ansârs. He cultivated poetry, and such was the virulence of his satires, that Omar Ibn Abd al-Azîz banished him to the island of Dahlak, in the Red Sea. On the death of Omar, his successor Yazîd Ibn Abd al-Malik recalled him, and he died A. H. 179 (A. D. 795-6).—*Oiyûn at-Tawârîkh*.)—I perceive that in the autograph MS. his name is written correctly.

(6) Literally: *The Commander of the faithful is predominant in opinion on the subject.*

(7) According to the old Arabic custom. The dwellers in the Desert lit fires at night to guide travellers to their hospitable tents.

(8) Ten thousand pounds sterling, at the lowest estimation.

(9) According to Abû 'l-Fedâ, the river Abû Fotros or Aujâ has its source in the mountain of al-Khalîl, which must therefore lie to the north of Jerusalem. The town of al-Khalîl or Hebron is situated to the south of that city.

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## RAJA IBN HAIAT.

Abû Mikdâm Rajâ Ibn Haiat Ibn Jarwal al-Kindi (*of the tribe of Kinda*) was one of the learned (*in the law*), and the intimate companion of Omar Ibn Abd al-Azîz. "I was one night with Omar," said he, "and the candle was just go-

"ing out, when I stood up to trim it; but the khalif insisted on my remaining "seated, and he himself rose up to put it in order. On this I said: 'How, "Commander of the faithful! thou doest it thyself?' 'I do it,' replied he, "'(*not as the Commander of the faithful but*) as Omar; and as Omar I return "to my place.'" He related also the following circumstance: "(*One day*,) 269 "when Omar was preaching from the pulpit, I estimated that his dress was not "worth more than twelve dirhims (1); and he had on a waistcoat, a turban, a "shirt, trowsers, a mantle, a pair of boots, and a scull-cap." Many anecdotes are related respecting his intimacy with Omar. He was once with Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân when a person was spoken ill of in that khalif's presence; "By Allah!" said the prince, "if God deliver him up to me, I shall make him "feel the weight of my anger (2)!" When he got the man into his power, he was about to wreak his vengeance on him, but Rajâ Ibn Haiat rose up and said to him: "Commander of the faithful! God has done what was pleasing to "thee, so do thou what is pleasing to God and grant pardon." On hearing these words, the khalif not only pardoned the prisoner, but treated him with particular favour. Rajâ Ibn Haiat died A. H. 112 (A. D. 730-1). The colour of his hair was red and that of his beard white (3).

(1) About seven shillings.

(2) Literally: I shall do and act. See note (13), page 73.

(3) Rajâ Ibn Hait was one of the most eminent doctors of the law in the days of primitive Islamism. He taught Traditions on the authority of some of the principal *Tâbis*, and others, such as az-Zuhri and Katâda, gave some Traditions on his authority. All the doctors are unanimous in extolling his science and merits, and it is quite sufficient to say in his praise, that he was the companion, night and day, of the virtuous Omar Ibn Abd al-Azîz. The family of Rajâ inhabited Palestine, to which country they had removed from Maisân. —(*Tab. al-Fokahâ*, fol. 29.)

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## RUBA IBN AL-AJJAJ.

Abû Muhammad Rûba Ibn Abi 'sh-Shâthâ Abd Allah Ibn Rûba was a member of the tribe of Saad (*as-Saadi*), which is a branch of that of Tamîm (*at-Tamîmi*), and a native of Basra. He and his father (who was surnamed al-Ajjâj)

were both celebrated for their poetical pieces in that style of composition called *rajaz* (1); the productions of each, forming two separate volumes, are all of the *rajaz* class and testify the great abilities of their authors. Rûba was an able critic in philology and possessed a perfect acquaintance with the rare and obsolete terms of the language. The following anecdote is related by the grammarian Yûnus Ibn Habîb (2): "I was at Abû Amr Ibn al-Alâ's, when Shubail Ibn "Orwa ad-Dabui entered. Abû Amr rose up to receive him, and having "placed on the floor the saddle-cloth of his mule that his visitor might sit down "on it, he entered into conversation with him. During their discourse, Shu-"bail said to Abû Amr: 'I asked your friend Rûba the derivation of his name, "but he did not know it.' On hearing Rûba spoken of in this manner, I could "not refrain from saying: 'You must (*at least*) suppose that Maad the son of "Adnân spoke better Arabic than Rûba or his father (3): now, do you know "what four things are called *rûba*, and that I am the humble disciple of "Rûba?' Shubail was unable to reply, and retired highly offended; on which "Abû Amr turned to me and said: 'There is a respectable man who comes to "our conferences and shows us due deference, yet you have offended him by the "manner in which you addressed him.'—'But I could not contain myself,' "replied I, 'on hearing him speak of Rûba as he did.'—'And are you autho-"rised,' said Abû Amr, 'to correct the faults of others?'" Yûnus then gave the four meanings of the word *rûba,* which are: 1. Any substance employed as rennet to coagulate milk; 2. A portion of the night; 3. The wants of a person, ex. *He cannot supply the wants* (rûba) *of his family*, that is, things of which they stand in need and which they rely on him to procure; 4. Semen admissarii. The same word, with a *hamza* on the second radical letter means, a patch put on a skin for carrying water.—Rûba resided at Basra till the revolt of Ibrahîm Ibn Abd Allah, the descendant of Ali (4), against al-Mansur, an enterprise of which the results are well known: having then conceived apprehensions for his own safety, he withdrew into the Desert to avoid the scene of warfare, but died on reaching the very place which he had chosen as a refuge. This was in the year 145 (A. D. 762-3); he was then advanced in age.—When the word *rûba,* with a *hamza* on the second radical, serves as an appellative noun, it means a wooden plug used to stop up a hole in a water-pot (5); its plural is *riâb*. As a proper name, it designates the poet whose life is here given.

(1) " Ce mètre est de tous les mètres arabes celui qui offre le plus de facilité et qui se rapproche le plus " de la prose."—(De Sacy's *Traité sur la Prosodie arabe.*) Its rules and divisions may be found in Freytag's *Arabische Verskunst* and Samuel Clarke's *Prosodia Arabica.*

(2) His life is given in this work.

(3) Maad Ibn Adnân was the progenitor of the tribes of Azd, Koraish, and Tamîm. None ever spoke or understood Arabic better than he, and his talent became proverbial. As Rûba descended from the tribe of Tamîm, Maad was his ancestor.—It appears from the *Kâmûs* that Shubail Ibn Orwa was son-in-law to Katâda Ibn Diâma.

(4) This revolt took place A. H. 145. See Abû 'l-Fedâ's Annals; Price's *Retrospect*, vol. II. page 16.

(5) It means also a wooden skewer employed to pin up a rent in a water-skin.

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## RUH IBN HATIM AL-MUHALLABI.

Abû Hâtim Rûh was the son of Hâtim, the son of Kabisa, the son of al-Muhallab, the son of Abû Sufra, of the tribe of Azd: the remainder of the genealogy shall be given in the life of his great grandfather al-Muhallab. Rûh was 270 renowned for his nobleness of soul and his generosity. He served under five khalifs, namely: as-Saffâh, al-Mansûr, al-Mahdi, al-Hâdi, and ar-Rashîd. There is no other example, it is said, of such a circumstance having occurred except in the case of Abû Mûsa 'l-Ashari, who acted as governor for the Prophet, Abû Bakr, Omar, Othmân, and Ali. In the beginning of his reign, al-Mahdi conferred the government of Kûfa on Rûh Ibn Hâtim, and afterwards, in the year 159 (A. D. 775-6), he confided to him that of Sind. It is stated however by some, that Rûh was nominated to the government of Sind in the year 160. Al-Mahdi recalled him in 161 and named him governor of Basra, at the very time in which his brother Yazîd Ibn Hâtim was acting as that khalif's lieutenant in Ifrîkiya. Yazîd died at Kairawân on Tuesday, the 18th Ramadân, A. H. 170 (March, A. D. 787), after a government of fifteen years and three months, and was interred outside Bab Salm, one of the city-gates. The people of Ifrîkiya then said: "How far apart will the tombs of these two "brothers be! The one is now governor in Sind and the other is here." It so happened, however, that ar-Rashîd removed Rûh from the government of Sind and sent him to fill the place left vacant by the death of Yazîd: he arrived in Ifrîkiya on the first of Rajab, A. H. 171, and continued to govern that pro-

vince till his death, which took place on the 19th of Ramadân, A. H. 174 (end of January, A. D. 791). He was interred in the same tomb with his brother, and people were much struck with the singularity of their meeting at last, after having been so far asunder. Rabia Ibn Thâbit al-Asadi ar-Rakki (1) went to Yazîd and recited to him a poem in his honour, for which he was generously rewarded; he had also celebrated the praises of Yazîd Ibn Osaid as-Sulami (2), by whom he was treated in a manner inadequate to his merits: this induced him to compose a poem containing an eulogium on Yazîd Ibn Hâtim and a satire on Yazîd Ibn as-Sulami; from this poem we extract the following passages:

How different in generosity are the two Yazîds—he of the tribe of Sulaim and the illustrious son of Hâtim. Profusion is the Azdite's only aim, but the Kaisite's (3) passion is to gather up dirhims. Let him not think, the dunce! that I deign to make a satire on him; I am only extolling the men of generous deeds.

Son of Osaid! strive not to rivalize with the son of Hâtim, or thou shalt gnash thy teeth with repentance. His generosity is an ocean, and if you dare to enter it, thou shalt be overwhelmed by its impetuous waves.—Fool that I was! I hoped to find honour in the tribe of Sulaim! What an idle, what a visionary thought! But the family of al-Muhallab is a brilliant constellation, and on the day of battle they lead them of Sulaim (*into captivity*) as camels are led by the halter fixed in their nose.

We shall confine ourselves to these extracts, as the poem is of a considerable length.—Yazîd had at first paid little regard to this poet, and was therefore attacked by him in a piece containing this verse:

I render God due thanks; but here I am returning with the boots of Hunain (4), as a gift from the son of Hâtim.

On his second visit to Yazîd, he was received with extreme favour and attention. This Yazîd was the ancestor of al-Wazîr al-Muhallabi (see his life, *page* 410).

(1) Il y a dans *l'Aghâni*, vol. III. fol. 427, un article sur Rabia, fils de Thâbit. Ce poète était appelé communément *Rabiat Errakki*, parce qu'il était né à *Rakka* الرقة ; on le qualifie aussi d'*Elansâri*, comme appartenant à une famille de Médine. Rabia fut appelé par le kalife Mahdi à la cour; il reçut beaucoup de présens de ce prince, qu'il loua dans un grand nombre de pièces de vers. Ensuite il quitta la cour, s'éloigna de l'Irâk, n'eut plus aucun commerce avec les autres poètes et tomba dans une sorte d'oubli. Il était aveugle. Sous le califat de Haroun, Rabia fit un éloge d'Abbâs fils de Mohammad fils d'Ali fils d'Abdallah fils d'Abbâs

fils d'Abdelmottalib. Cet Abbâs lui envoya deux dinars. Rabia, irrité d'une telle parsimonie, s'en vengea par deux vers satyriques. Abbâs se plaignit au calife, qui fit venir Rabia devant lui. Instruit de la honteuse lésinerie d'Abbâs, Haroun le blâma vivement, renonça à un projet qu'il avait alors d'épouser sa fille et renvoya Rabia comblé de présens.—A. Caussin de Perceval.

(2) This is probably the Ibn Osaid as-Sulami mentioned by Ibn al-Athîr as having commanded an expedition into Armenia in the year 162 (A. D. 778-9).

(3) The tribe of Sulaim was descended from that of Kais.

(4) This is a common proverbial expression; it means: to be disappointed in one's expectations. Its origin and explanation are to be found in al-Maidâni's *Proverbs;* Freytag's edition, tom. I. p. 539. See also De Sacy's *Harîri*, p. 104.

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## AZ-ZUBAIR IBN BAKKAR.

Abû Abd Allah az-Zubair Ibn Abi Bakr Bakkâr Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Musab 271 Ibn Thâbit Ibn Abd Allah Ibn az-Zubair Ibn al-Awwâm, sprung from Asad (*al-Asadi*) (1), a member of the tribe of Koraish, and a descendant of Abd Allah Ibn az-Zubair, was one of the most learned men of his time. He filled the place of kâdi at Mekka and composed some useful works, such as the Genealogies of the tribe of Koraish; a most comprehensive treatise and a standing authority on the subject. His other writings display the extensive information and superior abilities of their author. He taught the Traditions which he had received from (*Sufyân*) Ibn Oyaina and others of the same class, and his own authority was cited for Traditions by Ibn Mâja al-Kazwini, Ibn Abi 'd-Dunya (2) and others. He continued to act as kâdi at Mekka till his death, which took place on the eve of Sunday the 23rd (or according to others, the 21st) of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 256 (October, A. D. 870), aged 84 years.—His father Bakkâr Ibn Abd Allah died A. H. 195 (A. D. 810-1).

(1) Abd Allah fils de Zobayr fils d'Ellawwâm est qualifié d'Açadi, parce qu'il appartenait, ainsi que Khadidja, première femme de Mahomet et sœur d'Elawwâm, à la famille d'Açad fils d'Abdelozza fils de Cossai, branche de Coraych.—A. C. de Perceval.

(2) Abû Bakr Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Obaid, a member by adoption of the tribe of Koraish, a client (*mawla*) of the Omaiyide family and surnamed Ibn Abi 'd-Dunia, composed some works on ascetic and other subjects. He learned the Traditions from a great number of Traditionists, and taught them to others. He was preceptor to some of the young princes of the Abbaside family, and one of his pupils obtained later the khalifat and was surnamed al-Motadid. He received for his services a pension of fifteen dinars a month. Died A. H. 281 (A. D. 894).—(*History of Baghdad* by the Khatîb, MS. fonds Asselin, No. 541, fol. 72.)

## ABU ABD ALLAH AZ-ZUBAIRI.

Abû Abd Allah az-Zubair Ibn Ahmad Ibn Sulaiman Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Aâsim Ibn al-Mundir Ibn az-Zubair Ibn al-Awwâm, surnamed az-Zubairi, was a jurisconsult of the sect of as-Shâfi, and the chief imâm and professor of that time at Basra, his native city. Perfectly acquainted with the legal doctrines of his sect, he possessed besides some knowledge of belles-lettres. Having removed to Baghdad, he taught the Traditions on the authority of Dâwûd Ibn Sulaimân al-Muwaddib, Muhammad Ibn Sinân al-Kazzâz (1), Ibrahîm Ibn al-Walîd, and others of the same class; his veracity and exactitude were universally acknowledged, and his own authority was given for Traditions by an-Nakkâsh the author of the Commentary on the Koran, by Omar Ibn Bishrân as-Sukkari, Ali Ibn Hârûn as-Simsâr, and others. This doctor, who was deprived of the sense of sight, composed many works, such as the *Kâfi* (*sufficient*) on jurisprudence, the *Kitâb an-Naiyat* (*liber intentionis*), the *Kitâb Satr il-Aura* (*liber de tegendis pudendis*), the *Hidâya* (*guide*), the *Kitâb al-Istishâra wa'l-Istikhâra* (*on taking advice and gaining favour*), the *Kitâb Riadat il-Mutaallim* (*instructions for a pupil*), the *Kitâb al-Imârat* (*the signal*), etc. (2) He treated some points of doctrine in a manner peculiar to himself. His death took place earlier than A. H. 320 (A. D. 932).

(1) Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Sinân, a Traditionist and native of Baghdad, died A. H. 223 (A. D. 838). — (*Tab. al-Muhaddithîn.*)

(2) Those works treated, most probably, some of jurisprudence and others of Traditions.

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## ZUBAIDA THE WIFE OF AR-RASHID.

Zubaida, surnamed Omm Jaafar (*mother of Jaafar*), was daughter to Jaafar the son of (*the khalif*) Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbâs Ibn Abd al-Muttalib Ibn Hâshim. She was the mother of Muhammad al-Amîn, the son of Hârûn ar-Rashîd. Her charity

was ample, her conduct virtuous, and the history of her pilgrimage to Mekka and of what she undertook to execute on the way is so well known, that it is useless to repeat it (1). Abû 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzi says in his *Kitáb al-Alkáb* (*book of surnames*), that she furnished the city of Mekka with water, the scarcity of which had been so great some time before, that the contents of a water-skin cost a gold piece (*dinár*). She had it brought thither from a distance of ten miles; this was effected by levelling hills and hewing through rocks, by which means a stream, situated without the sacred territory, was led into the precincts of it (2). She constructed also the Akabat al-Bustân (3), and when her intendant observed to her that the expense would be very great, she replied that she was decided to have it executed, were every stroke of a hatchet (*given during the work*) to cost a dinâr. The same writer says that she had one hundred slave girls, who all knew the Koran by heart, and that each of them had the task of repeating one tenth of it daily; so that her palace resounded with a continual humming like that of bees. He states also that her name was *Amat al-Azîz* (*handmaid of the Almighty*), and that, on account of her plumpness and freshness, the surname of Zubaida was given her by her grandfather al-Mansûr (4). At-Tabari says, in his History, that Hârûn ar-Rashid espoused 272 her in the year 165 (A. D. 781-2), and that she died at Baghdad in the month of the first Jumâda, A. H. 216 (June or July, A. D. 831). Her father Jaafar died in the year 186 (A. D. 802).

(1) The historian *Sibt* Ibn al-Jawzi says, in his *Miraât az-Zamân*, year 216, that Zubaida spent one million of dinars in her pilgrimage, and that her gifts to the learned in Mekka and Medina, and the expense of the works executed by her orders in these two cities, amounted to two millions of dinars.

(2) See Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, vol. p. 195.

(3) *Akabat al-Bustân* means *the ascent to the garden*. It is not mentioned in any of the historical and geographical works which I have consulted.

(4) Zubaida is the diminutive of *zubda*, *cream*, or *fresh butter*.

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## ZOFAR IBN AL-HUDAIL AL-HANAFI.

Abû 'l-Hudail Zofar Ibn al-Hudail Ibn Kais Ibn Sulaim Ibn Kais Ibn Mukammal Ibn Dohl Ibn Dûaib Ibn Jadîma Ibn Amr Ibn Hunjûr Ibn Jundub Ibn al-

on a noble charger; and being an excellent horseman in the hippodrome, he wheeled him about in different directions and brandished his lance with great skill. His adversary watched him for some time, spying a favorable moment to attack him, and then rushed in on him whilst a cloud of dust (*dark*) as night (*overshadowed the combatants*). Abû Dulâma then sheathed his sword and said to the man: "God forgive you! be not too hasty, but hear what I have "to say; I come to you on important business."—"What business?" asked the other, who now stopped facing him.—"I am Abû Dulâma."—"I have "heard speak of you; but, God preserve you, what can have induced you to "come out against me? why hope to conquer me after seeing so many of your "people fall by my hand?"—"I come neither to kill you nor to fight with you, "but having observed your skill and activity, I longed to make you my friend; "and I shall now point out to you what is better than fighting."—"Go on, "with the blessing of God!"—"I see that you are tired, and must be both "hungry and thirsty."—"That is the fact."—"What are Khorasan and Irak "to us? I have here some bread, meat, wine, and a dessert such as a man "could desire, and there is not far off a pond of pure water; let us go there and "breakfast, and I shall let you hear some of the songs which the Arabs of "the Desert sing to their camels."—"I desire nothing better."—"Here goes "then; I shall retreat, and do you pursue, till we get out of the crowd of com- "batants." They both started off, and Rûh looked about for Abû Dulâma, but in vain; and the Khorasanites sought their valiant horseman, but found him not. (*When the two worthies had taken their repast*) Abû Dulâma said to his new friend, who had now got into the best humour possible: "You know that "Rûh is a most generous man; it is enough to say that he is descended from "al-Muhallab; now, he intends to give you a magnificent pelisse, a fine horse, "a saddle (8) plated with silver, a sword mounted with precious stones, a long "lance, a Berber girl, and other gifts in abundance; as a proof of what I say, "I here give you his signet-ring which he sends to you."—"How can you "make me such a proposal? what am I to do with my family?"—"Let God's "will be done, and come with me; leave your family there, and God will give "you another in its stead."—"Well, let us go, with the blessing of God." They then entered at the rear of the army, and gallopped up to Rûh, who exclaimed: "Abû Dulâma! and where were you?"—"On business of yours.

"As for killing the man, I could not do it, and as for having my own blood "spilt, I felt no inclination for it, and yet I dared not return without doing "something: so I employed gentle means and have brought you the man (*as* "*a prisoner*), captivated by your generosity; for I promised him, in your "name, such and such things."—"That promise shall be executed," said Rûh, "provided he give me security for his fidelity."—"In what manner?" —"Let him bring his family with him."—On this the man said: "My family "are far away, and it is impossible for me to bring them here now; but stretch "forth your hand, I will place mine in it, and of my own free accord, make "an oath to divorce my wife if I prove a traitor to you. Now if I do not act "with good faith towards you, she is divorced by the very fact, and it would then be useless for you to have her in your power."—"Your remark is true," said Rûh; who immediately received his oath and entered into a pact with him, after which he fulfilled the promises made to him by Abû Dulâma, and conferred on him, moreover, additional favours. The Khorasanite then fought on their side against his countrymen, and the extreme bravery which he displayed **274** mainly contributed to the success of Rûh.——Al-Mansûr having once given orders to demolish a number of houses, among which was that of Abû Dulâma, the latter addressed to him these lines:

Cousin of the Prophet! (*hear*) the prayer of one who is on the verge of death and whose dwelling is on the point of being destroyed. As she suffers calmly whom repeated pregnancies have accustomed to the pains of parturition, so he is calm, but his tranquillity is affected. The whole earth belongs to you; lend then to your slave that portion of it which is enclosed by the walls of his house.

When al-Mahdi, the son of al-Mansûr, returned to Baghdad from Rai (9), Abû Dulâma went to salute him and congratulate him on his arrival. Al-Mahdi turned towards him and said: "How are you, Abû Dulâma?"—"Commander "of the faithful!" replied the other:

'I made an oath that if you returned in health and with riches to the abodes of Irak, 'you should implore God's blessing on the Prophet and fill my lap with dirhims.'

"For the first part, willingly," answered al-Mahdi; "but for the second, not "at all."—"May I die to save you!" replied Abû Dulâma, "but the two parts "cannot be separated."—"Let Abû Dulâma's lap be filled with dirhims," said al-Mahdi. Abû Dulâma then sat down and spread out his knees till his lap was

filled with dirhims. "Get up now," said al-Mahdi.—"Commander of the "faithful!" answered the other, "my robe will be torn with the weight; allow "me first to replace the money in the bags; then I shall be able to rise."—Abû Dulâma composed a great deal of poetry, and mention is made of him by (*Hârûn*) Ibn (*Ali*) al-Munajjim, in his work entitled *al-Bâri*, which contains a selection of pieces composed by poets who lived subsequently to the introduction of Islamism. He died A. H. 161 (A. D. 777-8); some say, however, that he lived till the reign of ar-Rashîd, who succeeded to the khalifat, A. H. 170.—It is said that his real name was *Zabd*, not *Zand;* but the latter is supported by better authority.——The following is one of the numerous anecotes related of him: He once called in a physician to attend his son who had fallen sick, and he agreed to pay him a certain sum of money in the event of the patient's recovery. When his son was restored to health, Abû Dulâma said to the physician: "By Allah! we have nothing to give you, but cite the rich Jew" (naming him) "before the judge, for a sum equal to that which I promised you, "and I and my son will serve as witnesses to prove the debt." The physician immediately took the Jew before the kâdi of Kûfa, Ibn Abi Laila (10), or, it is said, Ibn Shuburma (11), and claimed of him that sum. As the Jew denied the debt, his adversary said: "I shall go and bring my proofs." He then brought Abû Dulâma and his son into court. As Abû Dulâma apprehended that the kâdi would make an inquest into his character as a witness (12), he recited the following verses when in the anteroom, and pronounced them loud enough to be heard by the kâdi:

> If people wish to expose me, I shall expose them; if they search into my conduct, I shall search into theirs. If they remove the rubbish out of my well, I shall do the same to theirs, and let the public know what that rubbish is.

He then entered, and having given his evidence, the kâdi said: "I have re- "ceived your declaration and admitted your evidence." (*Being convinced, however, that they were false witnesses,*) he paid the money out of his own purse and dismissed the Jew; but he did not dare to refuse Abû Dulâma's testimony through dread of his evil tongue. He thus quieted at the same time his fears and his conscience.

(1) According to Hajji Khalifa, the remainder of the title is as follows: *fi fadl is-Sudân wa'l-Habash* (*being a treatise on the eminent merit of the Negro and Abyssinian races*).

(2) The word أحداث *Ahdâth* is employed by the Arabic historians of the crusades in the sense of *new levies*, or *recruits*; but it seems to bear here a different signification. Ibn al-Athîr says, under the year 257 (A. D. 870-1), that Saîd Ibn Dâlaj was at that time والى الاحداث والجوالى والشرط at Basra. As the word جوالى means *tribute*, or *capitation-tax*, I am inclined to think that the أحداث and the شرط were some other species of revenue. Saîd was deposed from his place A. H. 259 (A. D. 872-3.)

(3) Literally: May he, as a creditor, be covered with ignominy.

(4) Ibn Dâlaj was a member of that tribe by enfranchisement.—(*Kitâb al-Aghâni.*)

(5) All the manuscripts have here *Dâlaj*, not *Ibn Dâlaj*.

(6) According to Ibn al-Athîr, Rûh Ibn Hâtim was appointed governor of Basra, A. H. 165, and filled that place till 167, and before that, in A. H. 161, according to Ibn Khallikân; but none of the historians whom I have consulted, speak of this affair between Rûh and the Khorasanites. In the autograph MS. this anecdote and the preceding one are not to be found.

(7) Abû Dulâma was a *mawla*, or member by enfranchisement, of the tribe of Asad.—(*Kitâb al-Aghâni.*)

(8) This signification of the word مركب has been omitted in the dictionaries. Other examples of this signification will be found in the course of the work. In Ibn Khaldûn's History of the Berbers, MS. No. 2402, fol. 63, we find this passage وحمله على مقرباته بالمراكب الثقيلة.

(9) This was perhaps in A. H. 166; Ibn al-Athîr says that al-Mahdi visited Jurjân in that year.

(10) His life will be found in this work.

(11) Abd Allah Ibn Shuburma Ibn at-Tufail الطفيل ad-Dubbi, a celebrated imâm and *tâbi*, was an eminent jurisconsult of Kûfa. He learned the Traditions from Ans, as-Shabi, and Ibn Sîrîn, and his own authority was cited for Traditions by Sofyân ath-Thauri, Sofyân Ibn Oyaina, and others. His veracity and his eminence as a doctor of the law were universally acknowledged. He was an abstemious man, intelligent, devout, generous, of a handsome countenance and possessing a talent for poetry. He acted under the khalif al-Mâmûn, as kâdi of the cultivated country (*Sawâd*) around Kûfa. Born A. H. 92 (A. D. 710-1); died A. H. 144 (A. D. 761-2).—(*Tab. al-Fok.* Al-Yâfi.)

(12) The inquest into the character of witnesses is an important part of the Moslim trial. It is called *Tazkiyat* (*purification*), and is instituted by the kâdi when he has any doubts respecting the morality of the person who gives evidence. See Hamilton's *Hedaya*, chapter on *Evidence*.

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## IMAD AD-DIN ZINKI.

Abû 'l-Jawd Zinki, surnamed *al-Malik al-Mansûr Imâd ad-dîn* (*the victorious prince, the column of religion*), was son to Ak Sunkur Ibn Abd Allah, generally known by the title of *al-Hâjib*, and lord of Musul. (The life of his father has been already given, *page* 225.) Zinki was one of the most eminent emirs under the Seljûkides, and had been appointed governor of Baghdad in the 275

year 521 (A. D. 1127), by Mahmûd Ibn Muhammad Ibn Malak Shâh, the reigning sultan of that dynasty. (*At a later period, the city of Musul was granted to him as a fief under the following circumstances.*) After the assassination of Ak Sunkur al-Bursoki and the death of his son Masûd, which events we have already noticed (*page* 228), a decree was issued by the sultan Mahmûd, who was then in Khorasân, directing that the city of Mosul should be delivered over to Dubais Ibn Sadaka al-Asadi, the lord of al-Hilla, who immediately prepared to proceed to his new government. (The life of Dubais will be found, *page* 504). The citadel of Mosul was then in the hands of a powerful emir, named Jâwili, who had been entrusted by al-Bursoki with the command of the place. Prompted by the desire of obtaining the government of Mosul for himself, Jâwili dispatched to Baghdad two emissaries, Bahâ ad-dîn Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn al-Kâsim as-Shahrozûri and Salâh ad-dîn Muhammad al-Yaghîsâni (1), for the purpose of effecting that arrangement. On their arrival, they found that the khalif al-Mustarshid was decidedly adverse to the nomination of Dubais, and would by no means give his consent to it; and a number of letters passed between him and the sultan Mahmûd on the subject. He finally made choice of Zinki as a proper candidate for that office, and having called in the two emissaries sent from Mosul, he made an agreement with them that means should be taken to influence public opinion in favour of Zinki. To obtain this nomination, the khalif himself offered the sultan one hundred thousand dinars, and the two deputies also engaged to pay him a certain sum of money. The consequence was that the nomination of Dubais was annulled. Zinki then set out and obtained possession of Mosul on the 10th of Muharram, A. H. 521 (27th January, A. D. 1127). Such is the statement made by Ibn al-Okaimi in his History (2), but some say that Zinki proceeded to Mosul in the year 522; this, however, is not exact. When Zinki was established in his government, the sultan Mahmûd (whose life we shall give) confided to him his two sons Alp Arslân and Farrûkh Shâh al-Khafâji (3) that they might be brought up under his care, and it was for this reason that he received the title of Atâbek, which, as we have already observed in the life of Jakar (*page* 330), means *a bringer up of princes*. Zinki then became master of all the country around Mosul, and took Edessa from Joscelin the Armenian (4), on Saturday, 25th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 539 (23rd December, A. D. 1144). He afterwards marched against Kalât

Jaabar (5), which was then in the possession of Saif ad-Dawlat Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Mâlik, and having laid siege to it, he was on the point of taking it, when, on the morning of Wednesday, the 15th of the latter Rabî, A. H. 541 (22nd September, A. D. 1146), he was found dead in his bed; having been assassinated that night in his sleep by one of his eunuchs (6). He was interred at Siffîn. My preceptor Izz ad-dîn Ibn al-Athîr says, in his History of the Atâbeks, that Zinki was about ten years of age when his father was slain, and as this event happened in the year 487, as we have already said (*page* 225), he must have been born about 477 (A.D. 1084-5.)—*Siffîn* is a tract of land on the border of the Euphrates, at the distance of a parasang, or less, from Kalât Jaabar; it is situated on the Syrian side of the Euphrates, and Kalât Jaabar on the Mesopotamian. At Siffîn is a chapel erected on the spot where the celebrated battle was fought between Ali and Moawia (*in the year* 37 *of the Hijra*); it contains also the tombs of a number of those Companions (*of Muhammad*) who fell in the action; that of Ammâr Ibn Yâsir, for instance.—The kâdi Bahâ ad-dîn as-Shahrozûri died on Saturday, the 6th Ramadân, A. H. 532 (18th May, A. D. 1138), at Aleppo, whence his body was borne to Siffîn and there interred. 276

(1) Fuller details of these proceedings are given by Ibn al-Athîr in his Annals. This portion of Ibn al-Athîr's work will be found, text and translation, in the first volume of the collection published by the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, and entitled *Extraits des Historiens arabes relatifs aux Croisades.*

(2) This work is not noticed by Hajji Khalifa, and I have not been able to procure any information respecting its author.

(3) In the life of Ghâzi, the son of Zinki, Ibn Khallikân gives the title of al-Khafâji to Alp Arslân. In so doing he must have followed the authority of Ibn al-Athîr. See page 330 of this volume.

(4) It is singular that Ibn Khallikân should give the title of *the Armenian* to Joscelin count of Edessa.

(5) *The castle of Jaabar.* See page 329.

(6) For a fuller account of Zinki and his enterprises, see M. Reinaud's *Extraits des Historiens arabes relatifs aux Guerres des Croisades.*

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## ZINKI IBN MAUDUD.

Abû 'l-Fath Zinki, the son of Kutb ad-dîn Maudûd and grandson of Zinki (*Ibn Ak Sunkur*), whose life has been just given, was surnamed (*like him*)

Imâd ad-dîn, and was usually entitled the Lord of Sinjâr. He received the sovereignty of Aleppo on the death of his cousin al-Malik as-Sâlih Nûr ad-dîn Ismail Ibn Mahmûd Ibn Zinki, in the year 577 (A. D. 1181-2). The sultan Salâh ad-dîn Yûsuf Ibn Aiyûb then laid siege to Aleppo, A.H. 579, and obtained possession of it in the month of Safar of the same year (June, A. D. 1182); an arrangement having been made between him and Zinki, who received in exchange the city of Sinjâr and its dependencies (1). Zinki removed to Sinjâr and remained there till his death, which took place in the month of Muharram, A.H. 594 (November, A. D. 1197).

(1) Some account of the conquest of Aleppo is given by M. Reinaud in his *Extraits des Auteurs arabes relatifs aux Croisades.*

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## BAHA AD-DIN ZUHAIR AL-MUHALLABI.

Abû 'l-Fadl Zuhair Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Yahya Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Jaafar Ibn Mansûr Ibn Aâsim al-Muhallabi al-Ataki (1), surnamed *the kâtib* Bahâ ad-dîn (*splendour of religion*) was one of the most eminent men of the age for his talent in prose, verse, and penmanship, and the nobleness of his character. Having entered into the service of al-Malik as-Sâlih Najm ad-dîn Abû 'l-Fath Aiyûb, the son of al-Malik al-Kâmil and (*afterwards*) sultan (*of Egypt*), he accompanied him from Egypt to the *Eastern Countries* (*Mesopotamia*), where he remained for some time and then followed him to Damascus, of which he had obtained possession. He continued to reside at Damascus till his master lost that city under the circumstances which are so well known (2). Soon after, when al-Malik as-Sâlih was at Nâblus (*Naplous*), his troops treacherously deserted him, and he was taken prisoner by his cousin al-Malik an-Nâsir Dâwûd, prince of Karak, and imprisoned in the citadel of that place. As for Bahâ ad-dîn Zohair, he remained at Nâblus through respect for his patron, and abstained from entering into the service of another. When al-Malik as-Sâlih obtained possession of Egypt, Zuhair accompanied him to that kingdom in the same capacity as before, and arrived there towards the end of the month of Zû 'l-

Kaada, A. H. 637 (June, A. D. 1240). We shall speak again of these events in the life of his father al-Malik al-Kâmil Muhammad, to which article we therefore refer the reader. I was then dwelling at Cairo, and having felt a strong desire of meeting Bahâ ad-dîn from what I had heard respecting him, I obtained an interview with him after his arrival, and I found that his noble character, profound instruction, and mildness of manners far surpassed what I had been told. He was in high favour with his master, by whom he was esteemed to such a degree, that he became the sole confident of his secret thoughts, and with all this, he never employed his influence but to do good: many were the persons whom he obliged by his recommendations and protection. He often recited to me fragments of his own poetry, one of which was as follows:

O thou (*who art a*) garden of beauty! take me to thee; thou shalt suffer no wrong. Didst thou ever see a garden without a *little flower* (*Zuhair*)?

He recited to me also this piece, as being of his own composition: 277

How can I be delivered from love, which is mixed and combined with my soul? I strived to controul my passion for that fickle nymph, who never yielded me a favour. Did the moon wish to equal her (*in beauty*), I should say to the moon: "Thy wish is "vain." And thou, pliant branch waving over the sands of the desert! (*think not to rival the thinness of her waist;*) between her and thee how wide a difference! When my friends blamed the folly of my love, her face was for me an ample excuse. What divine pen hath traced on that neck the letter *waw* و with her ringlets! How express my admiration for the dimples on those cheeks! On passing by me, she turns round her head—didst thou ever see a gazelle (3)? There is nothing faulty in her but the languor (4) of her eyes. O moon of happiness, at whose aspect my star has set! O thou who refusest me the sweetness of thy favour, and grantest me the bitterness of thy dislike! O desire not my death! and yet, if by chance thou showest me love, I die.

I heard also from him these lines, which he told me were his own:

I am truly your *Zuhair*, for the *Muzaina* (5) to whom I owe my existence is the liberality of your hand. I like to hear handsome (*jamîl*) mention made of you; that is for me as a (*beloved*) *Buthaina* (6). Ask your recollection concerning my affection towards you; for therein your recollection is a *Juhaina* (7).

He recited to me also another of his pieces, but I recollect only two lines of it; they are as follows:

Narcissus of his eyes (8)! hōw long wilt thou drain my heart's blood? O, how thou art languishing! In beauty nothing resembles thee; nought in the world can equal thy perfection.

All his poetry is remarkable for its delicate turn of thought, and the graceful ease of its composition may be really called unattainable (9). He gave me a certificate declaring that I was perfectly master of the poems contained in his *diwân*; but as this collection is of frequent occurrence in the hands of the public, I shall abstain from citing any further extracts.—I was informed by an intimate friend of his, Jamâl ad-dîn Yahya Ibn Matrûh, (whose life shall be given in this work,) that he once addressed *the kâtib* in the following lines:

> When the marks of your kindness and favour came to me in a constant succession, I exclaimed: "Mayest thou live for ever to do good." Speak no more of Harim's generosity; Zuhair is more generous than he (10).

Bahâ ad-dîn Zuhair informed me that his master al-Malik as-Sâlih once sent him from the East countries to Mosul on a mission, and that he there met with 278 my friend the emir Sharaf ad-dîn Abû Abbâs Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abi 'l-Wafâ Ibn Khattâb, surnamed Ibn al-Halâwi, whose family were originally of that city, but who himself was born and resided at Damascus. This emir having gone to pay his respects to him, recited in his presence a long and most beautiful poem, of which one of the verses was:

> You compose in verse and you reward those who praise you in verse; tell us then whether you are Zuhair or Harim.

"On my return from Mosul," said Zuhair, "I met Jamâl ad-dîn Ibn Matrûh, to whom I gave the poem to read. He was much struck with this verse, "and he afterwards wrote to me these two lines, *When the marks of your* "*kindness, etc.*"—Ibn al-Halâwi's verse is an imitation of the following, which were composed by Abû 'l-Kâsim, an excellent poet, in honour of the missionary and prince of Yemen, Sabâ Ibn Ahmad as-Sulaihi (11):

> When I praise the noble chief Ibn Ahmad, he rewards me and gives me praise in return. For my poetry he gives me his and presents besides; so he repays me my capital with interest.

I learned from Bahâ ad-dîn that his birth took place at Mekka on the 5th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 581 (February, A. D. 1186); and he informed me, on another occasion, that he was born at Wadi Nakhla, a valley near that city. It was from his own mouth that I received the genealogy inserted above, and he told me that he descended from al-Muhallab Ibn Abi Sufra.—I had sketched

out the foregoing notice whilst he was yet alive and confined to his house (*from grief*) after the death of his master (*A. H.* 647); but he was carried off later, by the dreadful sickness which prevailed in Egypt and Cairo, A. H. 656, and from which very few recovered. It began on Thursday, the 24th of Shawwâl, and Bahâ ad-dîn was one of those who were taken ill; he suffered a few days and then expired towards the afternoon of Sunday, 4th of Zû 'l-Kaada of that year (November, A. D. 1258). The next day, after the prayer of noon, his corpse was borne to the Lesser Karâfa and interred near the south side of the chapel which covers the imâm as-Shâfi's tomb. I was not able to attend his funeral service, being then confined with the epidemic; but on my recovery, I visited his grave, on account of our mutual friendship, and I prayed to God to have mercy on him; after which I read over him a portion of the Koran.

(1) Al-Ataki means descended from al-Atik, a member of the tribe of Azd.

(2) See the Annals of Abû 'l-Fedâ under the year 637 of the Hijra.

(3) By this apostrophe he means that his mistress turned round her head with the grace of a gazelle. This is a very common image in Arabic poetry.

(4) See page 28, note (3).

(5) Zuhair the author of one of the *Moallakas*, descended from Muzaina Ibn Udd Ibn Tabikha.

(6) Buthaina was the mistress of *Jamîl*. See the life of the latter, page 331.

(7) An allusion to the ancient proverb عند جهينة الخبر اليقين *Exact information may be had from Juhaina*. See Pocock's *Specimen*, p. 329.

(8) See Introduction.

(9) This seems to be the idea which the author meant to express by the words السهل الممتنع, but some doubts remain on the translator's mind.

(10) The poet Zuhair celebrated in his *Moallaka* the generosity of Harim.—This is another play on the similitude of names.

(11) A sketch of this prince's history is given in Johannsen's *Historia Yemanæ*, p. 131.

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## ZIAD IBN ABD ALLAH AL-BAKKAI.

Abû Muhammad Ziâd al-Aâmiri was the son of Abd Allah Ibn Tufail Ibn Aâmir al-Absi (1), and descended from the family of al-Bakkâ, a branch of the tribe of Aâmir Ibn Sâsâ. Ziâd knew by heart *the Sirat ar-Rasûl*, or History of the Prophet by Muhammad Ibn Ishak, and taught it with the permission of the

author, and it is his authority which is cited by Abd al-Malik Ibn Hishâm in the remodelled edition of that work, entitled *Sirat Ibn Hishâm*. Al-Bakkâi was born at Kûfa; his veracity and exactitude as a traditionist are well established, having been cited by al-Bokhâri, in that chapter of the *Sahîh* which treats on war with infidels, and by Muslim in different places of his work bearing the same title. Al-Bokhâri mentions in his History this saying of Wakî (*Ibn al-Jarrâh*): *Ziâd is too eminent to have his veracity as a traditionist impeached;* and at-Tirmidi, having misunderstood it, wrote in his collection of Traditions: "Al-"Bokhâri states that Wakî said: *Ziâd Ibn Abd Allah, notwithstanding his* "*eminence, has had his veracity as a Traditionist impeached.*" This is, however, a mistake, as Wakî said nothing more of him than what al-Bokhâri mentions, and had Wakî impugned his veracity, neither al-Bokhâri nor Muslim would have cited a single Tradition on his authority; since they rejected that **279** of al-Harith al-Aawar and Abbân Ibn Aiyâsh because as-Shâbi accused them of falsehood. Ziâd received his Traditions from al-Aamash and transmitted them to Ahmad Ibn Hanbal and others, by whom his authority is cited. He died at Kûfa, A. H. 183 (A. D. 799).—*Bakkâi* is derived from *Bakkâ* (*the weeper*), a surname given to his ancestor Rabîa Ibn Aâmir Ibn Sâsâ on account of a circumstance too improper to be mentioned (2).

(1) It is impossible that Ziâd could have belonged to the tribe of Abs, as the surname here given him seems to indicate. There is every reason to think that, for *Absi* العبسى we must read *Kaisi* القيسى (*descended from Kais Ghailân*). The latter, as I have since discovered, is the reading of the autograph MS.

(2) This circumstance is not mentioned in the *Kitâb al-Aghâni*, the only work in which there was any probability of finding it.

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## TAJ AD-DIN AL-KINDI.

Abû 'l-Yomn Zaid Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Zaid Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Saîd al-Kindi (*belonging to the tribe of Kinda*), surnamed *Tâj ad-dîn* (*the crown of religion*), was born and brought up at Baghdad, but he fixed his residence at Damascus and died in that city. He was a *koran-reader*, a grammarian, and

a man of letters; the first of his age in all the branches of erudition, deeply imbued with traditional information received from the best authorities, and so illustrious by his reputation that it is useless for us to expatiate on his merits. Having studied under the most eminent masters, and among the rest, Abû 's-Saâdât Ibn as-Shajari, Abû Muhammad Ibn al-Khashshâb, and Abû Mansûr al-Jawâliki (1), he left Baghdad when yet a youth, and he revisited it for the last time in the year 563 (A. D. 1167-8). Having fixed his residence at Aleppo, he traded in old clothes, which he took to sell in Asia Minor. He afterwards removed to Damascus, where he gained the friendship and special favour of the emir Izz ad-dîn Farrûkh Shâh, son to Shâhân Shâh and nephew to the sultan Salâh ad-dîn Yûsuf Ibn Aiyûb. Having accompanied his patron to Egypt, he got into his possession the most valuable works preserved in the libraries of that country, and then returned to Damascus, where he settled. He was visited by numbers for the purpose of studying under his tuition, and the list of *(his own)* masters, drawn up by himself in alphabetical order, forms a large volume. One of his scholars related to me the following circumstance: "I was sitting at the "door of the grammarian Abû Muhammad Ibn al-Khashshâb, when the cele- "brated imâm, az-Zamakhshari, came out and advanced towards me. He "supported himself on a crutch in walking, (having lost one of his feet, which "had been frost-bitten;) and the people said: *There is az-Zamakhshari.*" The same person furnished *(me with a note copied by him)* from *(a paper in)* the handwriting of Tâj ad-dîn, and which I here give: "Az-Zamakhshari was the "most learned Persian of his time in the Arabic language, having surpassed "them all by the knowledge which he obtained of it *(by practice)* and by the "study of works treating on the subject. He was the last of their men of talent, "and was well known to be a *Motazelite*. He came to us at Baghdad in the "year 533 (A. D. 1138-9), and I saw him twice at the house of my master "Abû 'l-Mansûr al-Jawâliki, under whose tuition he was reading some intro- "ductory works on philology (2), with the design of procuring from him a "licence to teach them; for az-Zamakhshari, with all his learning, had never "met *(with masters of repute so as to study under them)*, neither had he re- "ceived any oral information *(which he was authorised to communicate to "others)*." When I was at Cairo, the *shaikh* Muhaddab ad-dîn Abû Tâlib

Muhammad, surnamed Ibn al-Khaimi, related to me this anecdote: "The *shaikh* "Tâj ad-dìn al-Kindi wrote to me, from Damascus, a poem containing these "lines:

'O my friend! you so sedulous to fulfil the duties of friendship! you have kept 'your promise towards us and laid upon us a heavy debt (*of gratitude*). We are here 'in Syria, possessed with the desire of seeing you (3); do you, in Egypt, feel desire 'to see us? In withholding from you the respect due to your merit, there we held 'the first rank; but you hold the first rank in the bestowing of favours upon us. It 'is out of our power that you should see us with you, and it is out of yours that we 'should see you with us. May God fulfil his promise towards those who keep theirs; 'may he grant (*to our friend*) as full a recompense as the fidelity we have shown.'

280 "To this," said Ibn al-Khaimi, "I replied in a piece of verse which con- "tained these lines:

'O you, descendants of Kinda who inhabit Syria! we have failed in our duty towards 'you. To fulfil the obligations of friendship, we should have died on your departure 'from us.'"

Ibn al-Khaimi recited to me also the following verses as Tâj ad-dìn's:

Let the astrologer grovel in his delusion, if he pretend to the knowledge of events brought round by the revolution of the sphere. To God alone pertains eternal knowledge, and neither man nor angel shares with him therein. Astrologers make of their impiety a net to catch wealth; what evil means they employ,—a net and infidelity!

The following lines were written to Tâj ad-dìn by Abû Shujâ Ibn ad-Dahhân al-Faradi, whose life shall be given later:

May the Lord in his bounty grant thee, Zeid! such additional favours as may surpass thy utmost hopes! May God never work a *change* in thy happy *state* as long as *state* and *change* shall be discussed by grammarians (4). It is to thee, above all men, that a grammatical allusion should be addressed; have not grammatical examples been formed with thy name (5)?

When the shaikh Tâj ad-dìn was far advanced in years, he composed these lines:

I see men desire long life, but length of life proves only the nothingness of the past, and bringeth with it misery. In the season of youth I wished that God might lengthen my days, and truly such a gift is a favour. But when I obtained my wish, that age which I desired so much became an affliction. When alone, my imagination sets before my mind the image of myself borne on the shoulders of men who walk with rapid pace (6). When the Zephyr flits past me, its breath reminds me (*not of gardens, but*) of those excavations which are covered over with earth (7). Here I am now, exposed

to the fearful thunders and lightnings (8) of one and ninety years. People say: "Medicine will do thee good," but for me there is one medicine only—the mercy of God.

Tâj ad-dîn was born at Baghdad on the morning of Wednesday, 25th Shâbân, A. H. 520 (September, A. D. 1126); he died at Damascus on Monday, the 6th of Shawwâl, 613 (January, A. D. 1217), and was interred the same day at Mount Kâsiûn. As for the *shaikh* Muhaddab ad-dîn (*Ibn al-Khaimi*), he told me himself that his genealogy was as follows: Abû Tâlib Muhammad Ibn Abi 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Ali Ibn al-Mufaddal Ibn at-Tâmaghâz. He recited to me a great deal of poetry composed by himself and by others. I got acquainted with him at our assemblies in Kairo, and was informed by him that he was born at al-Hilla al-Mazyadiya (9) on the 28th of Shawwâl, A. H. 549 (January, A. D. 1155). He died (*at Cairo*) on Wednesday, 20th of. Zû 'l-Hijja, 642 (May, A. D. 1245), and was interred the next morning in the cemetery of the Lesser Karâfa. I attended his funeral service. He was considered to be a perfect master of (*the pure Arabic*) language, and a correct transmitter of poetical pieces and of (*phrases illustrative of*) philology.—*Kâsiûn* is a mountain which overlooks Damascus; 281 it contains the tombs and mausoleums of the inhabitants, with a mosque, a number of colleges and of Moslim monasteries. (*Two of the rivers which water Damascus,*) the Thaura and the Yazid have their sources in this mountain.

(1) The lives of these three persons will be found in this work.

(2) The words من فواتحها are so vague in their meaning, that the phrase to which they belong may be translated thus: *Under whose tuition he was reading the introductions of some philological works*, or *under whose tuition he was reading some philological works, from beginning to end.*

(3) Literally: Pledges in the possession of desire towards thee.

(4) *State* and *change*, or, as the original words are sometimes translated, *the term of circumstance* and the *exchange* or *permutative*, are two subjects which the Arabian grammarians have treated with great ability.

(5) Alluding to the usual examples, قام زيد *stetit Zeidus*, ضرب زيد عمرا *verberavit Zeidus Amrum*, etc.

(6) That is: The image of his own funeral. The rapid march of a Moslim funeral procession is well known.

(7) He means *the graves*, but is unwilling to pronounce a word of such sinister meaning.

(8) A metaphor for *threats*. It is employed in the Koran.

(9) See page 504.

## ZIRI IBN MANAD.

The emir Zîri Ibn Manâd, a member of the tribe of Sinhâja (1), and sprung from Himyar, was the ancestor of al-Moizz Ibn Bâdîs (whose life will be found in another part of this work). Mention has been already made of his son Bolukkîn (*page* 267), of his great-grandson Bâdîs (*page* 248), and of his descendant Tamîm (*page* 281): in this last article, we have traced up, in the fullest manner, the descent of the family; Zîri was the first of them who attained supreme power. It was he who founded and fortified the city of Aashîr; he commenced that undertaking during the revolt of Abû Yazîd against al-Kâim Ibn al-Mahdi and his son Ismaîl al-Mansûr (*see page* 219). Zîri having established his power at Aashîr and subdued the surrounding country, received from al-Mansûr the gift of the town of Tâhart and its dependencies. He was an able ruler, brave and enterprising. The secret jealousy and hatred which subsisted between him and Jaafar al-Andalusi (*see page* 326) led to a battle which terminated by the death of Zîri. This event occurred in the month of Ramadân, A. H. 360 (July, A. D. 971): it is said that his horse having stumbled, he was thrown to the ground and then killed. His reign lasted twenty-six years.——We have already spoken of Aâshîr in the life of Ibn Kurkûl (*page* 43) (2).——*Tâhart* is a city in North Africa: there are two places which bear this name, one *Old Tâhart* and the other *New Tâhart*, but I do not know which of them it was that came into the possession of Zîri (3).

(1) Ibn Khallikân pronounces this word *sunhâja*, or *sinhâja*, but the manuscripts of the History of the Berbers by Ibn Khaldûn write it Sanhâja. It is an Arabic corruption of the Berber name *Zanâk* زناك or *Sanâk* صناك.

(2) This is an oversight; the author merely refers back to the present article.——In my translation of the Arabic historians who treat of the dynasties of North Africa, will be found a note on the precise situation of Aashîr, a point which had not been hitherto ascertained. It is sufficient to state here that this city was built on the range of those precipitous hills to the south of Algeria, which are named in modern maps *Tittery Doch*.

(3) New Tâhart was founded by Abd ar-Rahman the Rustemide, A. H. 144. It was this city which was given to Zîri by al-Mansûr.

## ZAINAB THE DAUGHTER OF AS-SHARI.

Zainab, called also Hurra, and surnamed Omm al-Muwaiyad, was the daughter of Abû 'l-Kâsim Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Ahmad Ibn Sahl Ibn Ahmad Ibn Abdûs the Sûfi, a native of Jurjân and an inhabitant of Naisapûr, who was generally known by the surname of as-Shâri. His daughter Zainab was a woman of great instruction, having met (*and studied under*) a number of persons eminent for their learning, and from whom she obtained certificates authorising her to teach that information and traditional knowledge which she had acquired under their tuition. Among those from whom she took lessons were Abû Muhammad Ismaîl Ibn Abi 'l-Kâsim Ibn Abi Bakr the *koran-reader* and a native of Naisâpûr, Abû 'l-Kâsim Zâhir as-Shahhâmi and Abû Bakr Wajîh as-Shahhâmi the sons of Abû Tâhir, Abd al-Munim al-Kushairi, and Abû 'l-Futûh Abd al-Wahhâb Ibn Shâh as-Shâdiyâji (*native of Shâdiyâj near Naisapûr*). She received also licences to teach from the *hâfiz* Abd al-Ghâfir al-Fârisi, the very learned az-Zamakhshari, author of the *Kashshâf*, and other masters of traditional learning. I possess a licence which she granted me in the year 610 (*A.D.* 1213-4. *I was then little more than two years of age, as*) my birth took place on Thursday afternoon, 11th of the latter Rabî, A. H. 608 (22nd September, A. D. 1211) (1). I was born at Arbela, in the college founded by the sultan of that city, al-Malik al-Moazzam Muzaffar ad-dîn, the son of Zain ad-dîn. Zainab was born at Naisapûr, A. H. 524 (A. D. 1130), and died **282** in the same city, in the month of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 615 (A.D. 1218-9). —*Shâri* means *one who prepares or sells camel's hair;* I do not know, however, which of her ancestors it was who, by following this profession, obtained that surname.

(1) It is possible for a child of that age to learn by heart some of the shorter Traditions, some of which consist only in a few words.

## SALIM IBN ABD ALLAH AL-ADAWI.

Sâlim, the son of Abd Allah and surnamed Abû Omar or Abû Abd Allah, was grandson to the khalif Omar Ibn Khattâb (*through whom he descended from Adi Ibn Caab Ibn Luwai, for which reason he bore the surname of*) al-Adawi. He was one of the chief jurisconsults of Medîna and also one of the principal *Tâbîs* by his birth, his learning, and his veracity as a Traditionist. He gave the Traditions on the authority of his father and others, and his own authority was cited by az-Zuhri and by Nâfi. He died towards the end of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 106 (May, A. D. 725), or 108 according to another statement. The khalif Hishâm Ibn Abd al-Malik had presided at the pilgrimage that year, and on his return from Mekka, he entered Medina at the moment of Sâlim's death. It was he who pronounced the funeral service over the body, and he proceeded to the burying-ground of al-Baki for that purpose; the crowd being so great (*that it was impossible to perform it at the house of the deceased*). Hishâm, on seeing the multitude of people which had assembled there, said to Ibrahim Ibn Hishâm al-Makhzûmi: "Make a levy of four thousand men from among these "people, to serve me as soldiers;" and for this reason it was, that the year of Sâlim's death was called *the year of the four thousand*. Muhammad Ibn Ishak, the author of the work entitled *al-Maghâzi wa 's-Siar*, relates as follows: "I saw Sâlim the son of Abd Allah and the grandson of Omar Ibn al-Khattâb; "he always wore woollen (1); he was a corpulent man and lived by the labour "of his own hands. (*The khalif*) Sulaimân Ibn Abd al-Mâlik entered one "day into the Kaaba, and seeing Sâlim, told him to ask whatever he desired, "on which Sâlim answered: 'By Allah! I shall ask of God only, when I am in "God's house.'"

(1) This would seem to prove that he belonged to the fraternity of the Sûfis.

## ABU BAKR IBN AIYASH.

Abû Bakr Sâlim Ibn Aiyâsh Ibn Sâlim al-Khaiyât al-Asadi al-Kûfi (*a member of the tribe of Asad, a native of Kûfa*), an eminent Traditionist and celebrated for his learning, was one of those who received from Aâsim the *readings* of the Koran, and handed them down. He had been enfranchised by Wâsil Ibn Haiyân al-Ahdab. The following anecdote respecting him is related by al-Mubarrad in his *Kâmil:* Abû Bakr Ibn Aiyâsh said: 'I was suffering from an "anxious desire (*of meeting one whom I loved*), when I called to mind the "verse of Zû 'r-Rumma's :

'Perhaps a flow of tears will give me ease from pain; perhaps it may cure a heart 'whose sole companion is sad thoughts.'

"On this I withdrew to a private place and wept, by which means my sufferings were calmed.'" A number of other anecdotes are related concerning him. Some say that Abû Bakr was his real name and not a surname, but others mention that he was called Shoba. The following relation has been handed down in his own words: "When a misfortune befel me in my youth, I "bore it with firmness and kept from weeping by strength of endurance (1); this "however was hurtful to me, and I suffered much from it; but one day, being "at al-Konâsa (2), I saw an Arab of the Desert mounted on a camel, who stopped and recited these lines:

"My two friends (3)! (*rein over your camels and*) turn their breasts towards Huzwa, "that spot so long abandoned. There we shall weep over the abodes (*of our friends, "now in ruins*)! Perhaps a flow of tears may give me ease from pain; perhaps it "may cure a heart whose sole companion is sad thoughts.

"I asked who he was, and they told me he was Zû 'r-Rumma. Some time 283 "after, misfortunes fell upon me, and having wept, I obtained relief. On this "I said: 'That scoundrel of a wild Arab! how knowing he was.'" Eighteen days after the death of ar-Rashid, Ibn Aiyâsh died at Kûfa, A. H. 193 (April, A. D. 809), at the age of ninety-eight years. Ar-Rashîd died at Tûs on the eve of Saturday, the 3rd of the latter Jumâda of that year (23rd March, A. D. 809).—It is also said that Ibn Aiyâsh was a *mawla* to the tribe of Kâhil Ibn Asad Ibn Khuzaima.

(1) Here the author relates, perhaps through inadvertence, another version of the same anecdote.

(2) Al-Konâsa, a village near Kûfa.—(Kâmûs. Marâsid.)

(3) See page 115, note (1).

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## SABUR IBN ARDASHIR THE VIZIR.

Abû Nasr Sâbûr Ibn Ardashîr, vizir to the Dailemite sultan Bahâ ad-Dawlat Abû Nasr son of Adad ad-Dawlat Ibn Bûwaih, was illustrious as a powerful chief and eminent as a vizir, equally remarkable for his abilities and for his learning. His palace was the constant resort of the poets of the day. Ath-Thâlibi mentions him in the *Yatîma,* and devotes a special chapter of that work to the poets who celebrated his praise. Among the number was Abû 'l-Faraj al-Babbaghâ, who composed these lines in his honour:

I blamed Fortune for withholding the accomplishment of my desires, and she answered: "Your reproaches are unreasonable; that which you ask cannot be granted." I replied: "It depends on you that my hopes of riches be not frustrated."—"You "are mistaken," said she, "it depends upon Sâbûr. Apply to the vizir Abû Nasr "and make an exorbitant demand; the extravagance of your suit will be easily par-"doned." I followed the advice which Fortune gave me; and good advice, even from an enemy, deserves thanks.

Another of those poets, Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al-Harûn, addressed him in a poem containing this passage:

O thou who ensurest the repose of the empire in those days of trouble! thou who art firm in heart when fate itself trembles! Why does the world treat me so cruelly? I cannot obtain therein a place of abode, and I (*wander from one country to another*) like a novel thought when it passes into a proverb. Were fortune just, were she indulgent, I should have possessed, under thy protection, horses and servants. For how admirable are the words which I have scattered abroad! those precious pearls! —did maidens possess them, they would not consent to remain without necklaces;— and those brilliant thoughts!—did maidens read them, their eyes would require no *kohl* to increase their brightness (1).

The vizir having been deposed and afterwards reinstated, Abû Ishak as-Sâbi wrote to him these lines:

Wedded to the vizirat, you divorced her (2) from you when she was in fault and acted wrong. It was then necessary that she should belong to another before she

could legally return to you (3). She is now yours again, and she made an oath that no bridegroom, excepting you, should pass a night with her and live.

He founded at Baghdad a *house of learning* (*or college*), and the poet Abû 'l-Alâ al-Maarri alludes to it in this passage from one of his most celebrated *kasîdas*:

And in the house of Sâbûr, a sprightly songstress enlivened our evenings with a voice melodious as the dove's.

Sâbûr died at Baghdad, A.H. 416 (A. D. 1025-6); he was born at Shîrâz on 284 the eve of Saturday, the 15th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 336 (May, A. D. 948). His sovereign Bahâ ad-dîn died at Arrajân in the month of the first Jumâda, A.H. 403 (November-December, A.D. 1012), aged forty-two years, nine months and twenty days.—*Sâbûr* is an Arabic alteration of the Persian words *shâh pûr*, *the king's son*. Here, according to the custom of the Persians, the noun governed in the genitive is placed before the governing noun (*which is not the case in Arabic*). The first who bore this name was Sâpûr Ibn Ardashîr Ibn Babek Ibn Sâsân, one of the kings of Persia.—Ad-Dârakutni says that we must pronounce *Ardashîr;* a second author states that this word means in Persian *flour, milk,* but another says *flour, sweet*. *Ard* signifies flour, *shîr* milk, and *shîrîn* sweet.—Some pronounce this name *Azdashîr* (4).

(1) Such is the real meaning of a verse containing a series of quibbles impossible to be translated. In the Arabic text we find the word عيون with the sense of *eyes*, of *excellent things*, and of *essence* or *constituent substance;* in the two last cases it is opposed to the word معان which means *reality* and *thoughts*.

(2) To maintain the propriety of the metaphor, it was necessary, in making the translation, to consider *vizirat* as of the feminine gender.

(3) It is well known that by the Moslim law, a man cannot take back his wife, when he has repudiated her by an absolute divorce, until she has been married and divorced by another.

(4) In Arabic manuscripts, this name is generally written in the last manner. See additions and corrections.

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## SARI AS-SAKATI.

Abû 'l-Hasan Sari Ibn al-Mughallis as-Sakati (*the seller of cast clothes*), was one of the *men of the path* (1), and of the *masters of the truth* (2); the

first person of his time by his devotion and his acquaintance with the doctrines of Sûfism (3). He was maternal uncle to Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Junaid and his master (*in Sûfism*); his own master was Mârûf al-Karkhi. It is said that as-Sakati was one day in his shop, when Mârûf came to him with an orphan boy and said: "Clothe this orphan."—"I clothed the boy," said as-Sakati, "and "Mârûf was rejoiced thereat and said: 'May God render the world hateful to "thee and grant thee repose from all thy cares!'—I immediately left my shop, "hating nothing so much as the world; and I owe my present state (*of qui-"etude*) to the blessed merits of Mârûf."—The following anecdote is related on good authority: Sari said that for thirty years he never ceased imploring divine pardon for having once exclaimed: *Praise be to God!* and on being asked the reason, he said: "A fire broke out in Baghdad, and a person came up to me and "told me that my shop had escaped, on which I uttered those words; and even "to this moment I repent of having said so, because it showed that I wished "better to myself than to others."—Al-Junaid relates as follows: "I went one "day to see my uncle as-Sakati and found him in tears. 'What causeth thee "to weep?' said I.—'Yesterday,' replied as-Sakati, 'my little girl came and said "to me: Father! the night is warm and I have brought a pitcher (*of water*) to "hang it up here for thee (4).—A heaviness then came over my eyes and I fell "into a sleep, during which I saw the most beauteous maid of God's creation "descend from heaven. 'For whom art thou destined?' said I. 'For him,' "she replied, 'who drinketh not of water cooled in a pitcher.' I immediately "took the pitcher and dashed it to the ground." Al-Junaid said that he saw the fragments lying about and that as-Sakati left them there till they were covered by the accumulation of dust.—Sari as-Sakati died at Baghdad, A. H. 251; or, by another account, on Wednesday, the 6th of Ramadân, after daybreak, A. H. 256 (August, A. D. 870); but some place his death in the year 257.—He was interred in the *Shûnîzi cemetery*. The *Khatîb* says in his history of Baghdad: "The Shûnîzi burying-ground is situated behind the place "called at-Tûtha and near the canal made by Isa Ibn Ali the Hashimite, and "called after him the river Isa. I heard one of my masters say that the Ko-"raish grave-yard (*at Baghdad*) was known in old times by the name of *the "lesser Shûnîzi*, and that the cemetery at the back of at-Tûtha bore that of "*the greater Shûnîzi*. They were so called after two brothers, one of whom

"was buried in each." The tomb of Sari as-Sakati is a conspicuous and  well-known object; close beside it is that of al-Junaid.—As-Sakati used frequently to recite these lines:

> When I complained of the pains of love, my mistress said: "Thou tellest me a "falsehood; why do I see thy bones clothed with flesh? There can be no love (*in a* "*man*) unless his skin cleave to his entrails, and his mind be so greatly troubled, that "he answers not when called."

(1) See page 259, note (3).

(2) See page 340, note (3).

(3) Literally: "With the sciences of the profession of the divine unity." Every necessary information on this abstruse subject will be found in M. de Sacy's analysis of Jâmi's Lives of the Sûfis; *Notices et Extraits*, tom. XII. page 345.

(4) Water placed in a porous earthen jar cools by evaporation.

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## AS-SARI AR-RAFA.

Abû 'l-Hasan as-Sari Ibn Ahmad Ibn as-Sari al-Kindi al-Mausili (*member of the tribe of Kinda and native of Mosul*), surnamed ar-Raffâ (*the darner*), was a poet of celebrity. In his youth, he wrought as a lace-maker at a shop in Baghdad, but at the same time, he composed poetry and cultivated belles-lettres with assiduity. By his perseverance he succeeded in attaining great proficiency as a poet, and having visited Saif ad-Dawlat Ibn Hamdân at Aleppo, he made poems in his honour and remained there for some time. After the death of that prince, he proceeded to Baghdad and celebrated the praises of al-Wazîr al-Muhallabi and other persons of eminence, by whom his poetic talents were highly appreciated and generously rewarded. The enmity which he bore towards the two Khâlidites, Abû Bakr Muhammad and Abû Othmân Saîd was so great that he accused them of stealing his verses and those of others; he even went so far that, in transcribing the *diwân* of Koshâjim, the celebrated poet (1), who was then considered in those countries as the pink of excellence in literature, and whose compositions as-Sari took as models for his

own, he inserted, in the copies which he wrote out, the best of the poems made by himself and by the Khâlidites: in this, his object was not only to augment the size of the book so as to get a higher price for it, but also to give value to his own poetry and to cast discredit on the Khâlidites, by making it appear that what he had said of their plagiarisms was true. To this circumstance must be attributed the interpolated pieces in Koshâjim's *diwân*, and which are not to be found in the original copies. As-Sari was by nature a poet; his style is sweet, his thoughts are elegant, and he is particularly copious in the variety of his comparisons and descriptions. But he had neither a pleasing countenance nor a graceful figure; he did not possess even a tolerable skill in any other science but poetry. Previously to his death, his poetical compositions filled nearly three hundred leaves, but since that, the collection has increased, and a philologer of later times has arranged it in alphabetical order. As-Sari mentions his (*former*) profession in a piece of verse, from which we extract these lines:

By means of my needle I formerly preserved my self-respect, and avoided the prostituting of my poetic talent. It furnished me with sustenance, so slight indeed, that it seemed to come to me through the needle's eye.

The following verses, taken from one of his *kasîdas,* are among the best specimens of his talent for eulogy:

When he pours forth his liberality, his looks are mild and his face beams with pleasure, but in the shock of adverse hosts, they become stern. When he halts, his dwelling is spacious (*for his guests are many*), but when he marches to battle with his squadrons, he makes the plain (*too*) narrow for the enemy (2).

Ath-Thâlibi, in the *Muntakhil*, cites these verses as by as-Sari:

Thou hast conferred on me such a favour, that thy beneficence makes the darkness seem to me as light; to me who before found the brightness of day obscure (*and cheerless*). Now I am the envy of my friends; and before, I was the pity of my enemies.

One of his finest passages on the beauty of his mistress is the following:

286 I should lay down my life for her who costs me my life and yet refuses me a simple salutation! The death which awaits me lies in ambush in those eyes! it is thus that death lies hid in the sharp edge of the sword.

As-Sari's collected poetry is all very good; he composed also the works entitled: *al-Muhibb wa 'l-Mahbûb* (*the lover and the beloved*), *al-Mashmûm wa*

*'l-Mashrûb* (*perfumes and liquors*), and the *Kitâb ad-Dîra* (3). He died at Baghdad between the years 360 and 370, according to the *Khatîb* in his History of that city; and others state that the year of his death was A. H. 362 (A. D. 972-3), or A. H. 364. Ibn al-Athîr says in his Annals that he died A. H. 366 (A. D. 976-7).

(1) See note (4), page 301.

(2) That is, he reduces his enemies to the last extremity. This verse reproduces the idea which is expressed in the *Koran*, surat 9, verse 119.

(3) The word *Dîra* ديرة is so uncertain in its signification that it is impossible, without having examined the work itself, to explain its title. Hajji Khalifa does not mention it in his Bibliographical Dictionary.

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## HAIS-BAIS AS-SAIFI.

Abû 'l-Fawâris Saad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Saad Ibn as-Saifi, a celebrated poet and a member of the tribe of Tamîm, bore the surname of Shihâb ad-dîn (*flambeau of religion*), and was generally known by the appellation of Hais-Bais. He was a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, having studied jurisprudence at Rai under the kâdi Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Karîm al-Wazzân and maintained (*the usual*) discussions on points of controversy. He yielded, however, to his passion for literature and composed verses of which the merit was enhanced by a dignified style; he drew up also some epistles remarkable for their precision and elegance of expression. The *hâfiz* Abû Saad as-Samâni mentions him with high commendation in the *Kitâb az-Zail* and gives some of the pieces (*or sentences*) which he, Hais-Bais, had learned by oral transmission; the same *hâfiz* had read the collected poetical works and the epistles of Hais-Bais under the direction of their author. By his learning and talent Abû 'l-Fawâris contributed to the instruction of many, and by his acquaintance with the poetry and the various dialects of the desert Arabs, he held the first place amongst his contemporaries; but it is said that he was full of arrogance and presumption. He never addressed any person but in the purest Arabic (1): having once obtained an order for a sum of money payable in the city of Hilla, he proceeded thither to

receive the amount of the bill, which was drawn on the farmer of the revenues in that district. On his arrival he sent his boy to this person, who not only refused listening to his claim, but called his master a scoundrel. On this Hais-Bais went to the governor of the town, Diâ ad-dîn Muhalhil Ibn Abi 'l-Askar al-Jâwâni, an old and intimate friend of his, and the latter sent one of the ushers of his court with Hais-Bais to enforce payment. Abû 'l-Fawâris was not satisfied, however, with what his friend the governor had done for him, and he reproached him with his conduct in the following letter: "I did not ima-"gine that an acquaintance and a friendship of so many years could have left "on the heart that (*slight*) degree of impression which I have here discovered; "nay, I even thought that, were the mightiest army to bear a hostile design "against me, warriors in armour, thick-necked lions of the family of Abû 'l-"Askar, had risen to my assistance; how then should it not be with an agent "who levies taxes on poor market-people? with one who farms the revenues of "that miserable place Hilla and of its petty circumscription (2)? Yet the only "answer which I received to my complaint was this: he sent, forsooth, a hire-"ling to reprimand him and exact from him a payment which he was bound "to make!—So shall it not be, by Allah!

> "The lions, the lions of the forest think not of spoil in the day of battle, but of him "whose spoils they are to win.

"And I swear by Allah, and by his Prophet, and by the Prophet's household! "that if thou givest me not such a token of respect as shall be a subject of con-"versation for the females of Hilla at their weddings and assemblies, thy friend "shall not remain in this, thy Hilla, should he be even obliged to pass the "night on the causeway or on the bridges. Suppose that I did lose my mo-"ney (3); must I then lose my honest pride! O what an insult! what an in-"sult! Adieu!" He always wore the Bedwîn dress with a sword suspended from his shoulder; this circumstance induced Abû 'l-Kasim (*Hibat Allah*) Ibn al-Fadl, whose life shall be given later, to compose on him the lines which follow; we must however observe that Imâd ad-dîn, in his *Kharîda*, attributes them to the *raîs* (4) Ali Ibn al-Aarâbi, who died, according to him, in the year 547 (A. D. 1152-3):

Affect as you may the manners of the desert Arabs and wear (*like them*) a high-peaked cap, there is not in you a single hair of the tribe of Tamim. Eat the lizard which burrows in the sands, cut up the dried fruit of the colocynth (5), and drink as you please of the urine of the ostrich,—yours is not the face of one accustomed to give hos- 287 pitality, and ready to protect his honour from insult.

When these verses came to the knowledge of Abû 'l-Fawâris, he composed the following in reply:

Strive not to abase exalted worth, when you yourself are pointed at with respectful admiration. The noble and generous man injures his character by hostility towards one who is equally noble and generous. Wine (*though it possesses good qualities*) was declared impure, and forbidden because it attacked the reason.

Al-Bujairi, the *khatîb*, or public preacher at the town of al-Huwaira, addressed him in these lines:

It is true, Hais Bais! that we are not of the true Arabic race, yet you belied the family of Bujair as you have already belied the tribe of Tamîm (6).

The following relation was made by the *shaikh* Nasr Allah Ibn Mujalli, inspector of the arsenal (7) (*at Baghdad*), a man of unimpeached veracity and a strict *sunnite*: "I saw in a dream Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib, and I said to him: 'Com-" mander of the faithful! you (*and Muhammad*) took Mekka and proclaimed " that whoever entered the house of Abû Sofyân should be in safety, yet you " know what happened to your son al-Husain (8) on the (*fatal*) day of at-" Taff (9).' To this he replied: 'Did you hear Ibn as-Saifi's verses on this sub-" ject?'—'No,' said I.—'Go then,' he rejoined, 'and hear them from him!' " —On awaking, I hastened to the house of Hais-Bais, and having called him " out, I told him my dream, on which he sobbed aloud and began to shed " tears: 'By Allah!' he exclaimed, 'I never communicated these verses by word " or writing to any human being, and it was only this very night that I com-" posed them!' He then recited them to me, and they were as follows:

'When we ruled, mercy was our very nature; but when you came to power, the 'plains flowed with blood. You declared it lawful to massacre your prisoners; but 'we were always humane and pardoned ours. Therein lies the difference between 'us; but each vase can exude only the liquor it contains.'

Abû 'l-Fawâris having one day remarked a great commotion among the people, he asked what had brought them into such confusion (or *hais-bais*, as he

called it), and (*as this expression was considered most singular*) it continued ever after to be given him as a nickname. These two words (*when thus united*) signify *trouble* or *calamity*: it is thus that the Arabs of the Desert say, in speaking of persons under misfortune, that they have fallen into *hais-bais*. He died at Baghdad on the eve of Wednesday, the 6th of Shâbân, A. H. 574 (January, A. D. 1179), and was buried the next morning in the cemetery of the Koraish, situated on the west side (*of the Tigris*). When asked concerning his age, he would reply that he was living in the world at random; the fact being, that he did not know the date of his birth. He used to assert that he descended from Aktham Ibn Saifi at-Tamimi, the philosopher of the Arabs (10). He left no posterity.—*Al-Huwaira* is a village in the province of Khûzestân, twelve miles distant from al-Ahwâz.

(1) Literally: *In the Arabic language;* that is to say, in the dialect of the desert Arabs.

(2) This passage is incorrectly given in all the copies. The true reading exists in the autograph alone; it is as follows: فكيف بعامل سُوَيْقة وضامن حُلَيْلة وحُلَيْقه

(3) The expression حمر النعم signifies literally: *rubra deliciarum*, which, in Arabic, is equivalent to *deliciæ rubræ* or *deliciæ aureæ*.

(4) The word *rais* (*chief*) was the title usually given to persons holding a high rank in the civil service.—See page 444, note (2).

(5) The colocynth was much used as a medicine by the Arabs of the desert, but the poet here pretends that they made it into soup.

(6) The author should have given a word of explanation relative to these verses of al-Bujairi, and stated the reason which induced him to compose them; their drift would then be understood. It is necessary to observe that the autograph writes البُجَيْرى (*al-Bujairi*) and بُجَيْر (*Bujair*).

(7) Literally: Inspector of the manufactory at the magazine.

(8) Literally: And was consummated on your son al-Husain what was consummated.—He alluded to his murder, but did not choose to pronounce the word, lest he should hurt still more the parental feelings of Ali.

(9) "AT-TAFF, a region in the open country near Kûfa; it was there that al-Husain was slain."—(*Marâsid*.)

(10) Aktham Ibn Saifi, the philosopher or the judge of the Arabs, was one of the most influential men of the tribe of Tamim. When Muhammad announced his doctrines, Aktham recommended his people to adopt them, but he did not set them the example. He died at one of the stations of his tribe in the desert, towards A. H. 44.—See Rasmussen's *Historia Anteislamica*, p. 116.

## ABU 'L-MAALI 'L-HAZIRI.

Abû 'l-Maâli Saad Ibn Ali Ibn al-Kâsim Ibn Ali Ibn al-Kâsim al-Ansâri al Khazraji (*descended from the Ansârs of the tribe of Khazraj*) al-Warrâk al-Haziri (*the book-copyist of al-Hazîra*), and generally known by the appellation of 288 *Dallâl al-Kutub* (*the book-broker*), was a man possessed of considerable information and a good talent for poetry. He compiled a number of works in which he displayed no inferior abilities, particularly his *Zînat ad-Dahr, etc.* (*ornament of the age, refuge of contemporaries, and citation of the beauties contained in modern poetry*). In this work, which he designed as a continuation to Abû 'l-Hasan al-Bâkharzi's *Dumyat al-Kasr,* he mentions a great number of his contemporaries and predecessors, with a sketch of their lives and some extracts from their poetry. The *kâtib* Imâd ad-din speaks of him in the *Kharîda* and gives numerous pieces of verse which he had learned from him; some of these were by Abû 'l-Maâli himself and the rest by other persons, for he was particularly diligent in collecting the poetry of others and inquiring into their history. His *Lumah al-Mulah* (*flash of anecdote,* or rather *flashes of anecdotes*) is a proof of his extensive acquirements (1). The following verses are by Abû 'l-Maâli (2):

Sæpè evenit ut juvenis, in cujus genâ rosa fuit et in cujus ore vinum, haud mihi mitem se præberet donec super auroram faciei ejus irrepuissent tenebræ. Pulli equini ad instar refractarius fuit donec eum compescuisset frenum.

By the same:

Tenebræ lanuginis circumdederunt genas ejus et amore ejus captus suspiria duxi, dicens: Aqua vitæ in ore ejus dulci sita est; sinite me in tenebras ingredi.

This idea bears some resemblance to that which Ibn Rashik has expressed in the following piece:

Sæpe juvenis fuscus, aureo colore, ex oculis siccis imbres eliciens (*crudelitate sua*), frenum lanuginis sustinere nesciens, sicut pullus equinus habenam adhuc insuetam repellens, opinatus est lanuginem illam e corpore meo ægritudinem expellere posse, et caput avertit me videns, præ molestia et pudore. Sed nescivit illam (*lanuginem*) viridarium esse in corde meo cupidinem germinare faciens. Videsne genam ejus nil aliud esse quam balteum cui ensis appensus est?

In the life of Ibn Abd Rabbih, the author of the *Ikd*, we have given a passage which contains an idea similar to that expressed in this last verse (*see page* 92). —The following lines are by al-Haziri:

> Pons lanuginis extensus super aquam juventutis quæ genas suas permeat, mihi viam præbuit ad obliviscendum amorem, cum jam essem vinctus et captivus.

By the same:

> I complained of the pains I suffered for the love of one whose absence tortured my heart;—(*pains like*) a glowing fire not to be extinguished! "My absence," replied she, "can best give you respite from your sufferings; did the sun not retire, his light "would burn (*the world*)."

The compositions of this poet abound with graceful thoughts expressed with great elegance. He died at Baghdad on Monday the 25th (some say the 15th) of Safar, A. H. 568 (October, A. D. 1172), and was buried in the cemetery at the 289 Gate of Harb.—*Haziri* means *belonging to Hazîra,* a place higher up (*the river*) than Baghdad; it has produced many learned men, who all bore this surname, and it gives its name to the *Hazîra cloth.*

(1) According to Hajji Khalifa, this work is a collection of pieces in prose and verse.

(2) The pieces which Ibn Khallikân has here inserted would not have been reproduced in this translation, did they not serve to prove either the extreme corruption of the age in which he lived, or the singular influence which the platonic fancies of the Sufis exerted over the poetry of the period.

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## SAID IBN JUBAIR.

Abû Abd Allah (some say Abû Muhammad) Saîd Ibn Jubair Ibn Hishâm, surnamed al-Asadi, was a black and a client by enfranchisement to the tribe of Wâliba Ibn al-Harith, a branch of that of Asad Ibn Khuzaima. This eminent *Tâbî* was a native of Kûfa; he acquired his learning under the tuition of Ibn Abbâs and Abd Allah Ibn Omar (1), the former of whom told him one day to teach the Traditions. "I teach the Traditions?" exclaimed Saîd, "and you "here!"—"Is it not a favour which God grants you," replied Ibn Abbâs, "in

"procuring you the opportunity of teaching them in my presence? For if "you do it right, it is well; and if you make mistakes, I correct you." When Ibn Abbâs lost his sight, Saîd was inscribed on the list of the *muftis*, an honour which he had always refused to accept, and which now gave him great dissatisfaction. He learned the *reading* of the Koran from Ibn Abbâs, not directly (*from himself, but from one of his disciples*) (2); he received from him also the explanation of the Koran and most of the Traditions which he transmitted to others. His own authority was cited for the *reading* of the Koran by al-Minhâl Ibn Amr (3) and Abû Amr Ibn al-Alâ, who had learned it from him, but indirectly. Wafâ Ibn Aiyâs relates that Saîd once asked him, during the month of Ramadân, to hold the Koran for him till he read it, and that he did not rise from his place till he had read it through: Saîd himself mentioned that he once recited the whole of it in one of the *rakâs* (4) which he made in the temple of Mekka. It is related by Ismaîl Ibn Abd al-Malik (5) that Saîd Ibn Jubair once acted for them as imâm in the month of Ramadân, and that one night he recited the Koran according to the *reading* of Abd Allah Ibn Otba Ibn Masûd (6); another night, according to that of Zaid Ibn Thâbit; following thus, eaeh successive night, a different mode of *reading*. A person having once asked Saîd to put down for him in writing the explanation of the Koran, he flew into a passion and exclaimed: "I should rather be palsied in one half of my body than do so." It was said by Khasîf that the best acquainted among the *Tâbîs* with the laws of divorce was Saîd Ibn al-Musaiyab,—with the rites of the Pilgrimage, Atâ (7),—with the distinction between what was lawful and what was forbidden, Tâwûs,—and with the interpretation of the Koran, Abû 'l-Hajjâj Mujâhid Ibn Jubair (8), but he observed that Saîd Ibn Jubair had a more general knowledge than them all of the whole of these sciences. Saîd began the world as a secretary to Abd Allah Ibn Otba Ibn Masûd and then served Abû Borda Ibn Abi Mûsa al-Ashari (9) in the same capacity. Abû Noaim (10) says, in his History of Ispahan: "Saîd came to this city and sojourned in it for a time, after which he "went to Irak and took up his residence in the village of Sunbolân (11)." It is related by Muhammad Ibn Habîb that when Saîd Ibn Jubair was at Ispahan, they asked to hear from him the Traditions, but he would not communicate any to them, yet when he returned to Kûfa he taught them publicly; on this some one said to him: "Abû Muhammad! you would not teach the Traditions when

"at Ispahan, and here you are now, teaching them in Kûfa!" Said replied: "*Set forth your wares where you are best known* (12)." Said joined Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Ashâth Ibn Kais in his revolt against Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân (13). When Ibn al-Ashâth lost his life after the defeat of his partisans at Dair al-Jamâjim (14), Said fled to Mekka, but was arrested by Khâlid Ibn Abd Allâh al-Kasri (15), the governor of that city, and sent to al-Hajjâj Ibn Yûsuf with Ismail Ibn Awsat al-Bajali (16). Al-Hajjâj, on seeing him, said: "Wretch, son of Wretched! didst thou not come to Kûfa when a vile Arab of "the desert was imâm there (17), and did I not put thee in his place?"—"Yes."—"And did I not appoint thee kâdi? and when the people of Kûfa murmured and "said that none but an Arab of the desert was fit for that office, did I not replace "thee by Abû Borda Ibn Abi Mûsa, ordering him, however, not to decide any "question without consulting thee?"—"Yes."—"Did I not admit thee to my "evening parties as a companion, though the company were all Arab chieftains?" "—Yes."—"The first time I saw thee, did I not give thee one hundred thousand "dirhims to distribute among the needy, without questioning thee afterwards "about the manner in which the money was employed?"—"Yes."—"What "then made thee revolt against me?"—"An oath which bound me to Ibn al-Ashâth." Here al-Hajjâj grew angry and said, after a pause: "And before that, "wert thou not bound by an oath to the Commander of the faithful, Abd al-Malik? By Allah! I shall put thee to death; guard, strike off his head." This passed in the month of Shâbân, A.H. 95 (April-May, A.D. 714), or 94, at Wâsit, outside of which place Said was interred; his tomb is still visited by pilgrims. He was forty-nine years of age at the time of his execution. On the day in which he was arrested, he said: "An informer has denounced me in God's holy "city, but I call him to an account for it before God!" The person whom he meant was Khâlid al-Kasri (18). Ahmad Ibn Hanbal said: "Al-Hajjâj killed "Saîd Ibn Jubair, yet there was not a man on the face of the earth who did not "stand in need of (*Saîd and*) his learning." Al-Hajjâj died the same year, in the month of Ramadân, or, by another account, six months after Said, and during that interval, God did not put it in his power to slay another human being. When Said was decapitated, a great quantity of blood flowed from the trunk, and al-Hajjâj called in physicians to consult them about it, and to know why all the other persons whom he had executed before that, bled very little;

to this they made answer: "When you put this man to death, his soul was still "in his body, and the blood follows the soul; but as for the others, their soul "was gone with fright before you killed them, and therefore their blood was "diminished."—(*The khalif*) Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân having dreamt that he made water four times in the *mihrâb* (19) of the mosque, he sent for Saîd and having spoken to him about it, he received this answer: "Four sons, sprung "from your loins, shall govern the empire." This prediction was fulfilled by the accession of his sons al-Walîd, Sulaimân, Yazîd, and Hishâm.—When al-Hasan al-Basri was informed that Saîd Ibn Jubair had been put to death by al-Hajjâj, he exclaimed: "O God! be (*turned*) against this reprobate of (*the* "*tribe of*) Thakîf! Almighty God! if there be any persons on earth, from "east to west, who were accessory to his death, lay them prostrate into the "fires of hell!" It is related that al-Hajjâj, when on the point of death, would faint away, and on recovering, cry out: "But what business has Saîd Ibn Jubair "with me?" The report was, that whenever he fell asleep during his last illness, he saw Saîd come up and seize him by the girdle, saying: "Enemy of God, "arise! why didst thou murder me?" On which he would awake in terror and exclaim: "What business has Saîd Ibn Jubair with me?" It is related also that a person saw al-Hajjâj in a dream, after his death, and asked him what God had done to him. "He put me to death," replied al-Hajjâj, "once for each "person whom I put to death, and seventy times for Saîd Ibn Jubair."—The *shaikh* Abû Ishak as-Shirâzi mentions in his book, entitled *al-Muhaddab*, that Saîd Ibn Jubair could play at chess with his back turned to the chess-board, and in the chapter on evidence, he cites this fact under the head of chess-playing, (*it being questioned whether a chess-player's evidence could be received in a court of law*).

(1) Abû Abd ar-Rahmân Abd Allah, son of Omar Ibn al-Khattâb, was one of the most eminent among the *Companions* of Muhammad by his piety, his generosity, his contempt of the world, his learning, and his virtues. Though entitled by birth to aspire to the highest places in the empire, he never hearkened to the dictates of ambition; possessing a vast influence over the Moslims by his rank, his instruction, and his holy life, he neither employed nor abused it in favour of any party, and during the civil wars which raged among the followers of Islamism, he remained neuter, solely occupied with the duties of religion. For a period of sixty years, persons came from all parts to consult him and learn from him the Traditions. His generosity was equal to his piety, and it is stated that he would frequently distribute thirty thousand dirhims in charity on the days in which he gave audience. His slaves well knew the extent of his kindness, and many of them af-

fected an extreme devotion with the well-grounded hopes of obtaining their liberty. When his friends remonstrated with him on this subject, telling him that his slaves were only deceiving him, he used to answer: "I let myself be deceived by him who essays to do it in pretexting God's name." He died at Mekka, A. H. 73 (A.D. 692-3), aged 84 years. Al-Bokhâri says: "The most authentic Traditions are those given by Malik, after Nâfi, on the authority of Ibn Omar. - (*Tab. al-Fokahâ*, fol. 5.)

(2) In the style of the Traditionists and Koran-readers, the word عرضا is opposed to سماعا.

(3) The author of the *Tabakât al-Muhaddithîn* gives a short account of al-Minhâl Ibn Amr. According to his statement, al-Minhâl was a client by enfranchisement to the tribe of Asad Ibn Khuzaima and a native of Kûfa. He then mentions the names of the doctors under whom he studied and those of his pupils, but he does not give the date of his death.

(4) For the pronunciation of this word I follow the *Kâmûs*.

(5) This Ismail was probably a son of Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân, the fifth Omaiyide khalif.

(6) This was a nephew of the celebrated *Koran-reader* Abd Allah Ibn Masûd. His father, Otba, was one of the Ansars.—(*Talkîh*.)

(7) There were two celebrated Tâbis who bore this name; the most eminent was Atâ Ibn Abi Rabâh, whose life is given in this work. The other, named Atâ Ibn Yasâr, is noticed in the life of his brother Sulaimân; see page 586 of this volume.

(8) The celebrated imâm and *Tâbi* Abû 'l-Hajjâj Mujâhid Ibn Jubair was a doctor of the highest authority in jurisprudence and the explanation of the Koran. He received his instruction from some of the principal Companions of Muhammad. Abd Allah Ibn Omar respected him to such a degree that he held his stirrup when he was getting on horseback and arranged his clothes. He died A. H. 101 (A. D. 719-20) or 111. —(*Tab. al-Fokahâ*.)

(9) The life of Abû Borda is given in this work.

(10) The life of Abû Noaim has been already given, page 74.

(11) Sunbolan, a place at Ispahan.—(*Marâsid*.)

(12) Literally: Spread open your cloth where you are known.—This is evidently a proverbial expression, but I do not find it in al-Maidâni.

(13) See Price's *Retrospect*, tom. I. p. 455; Abû 'l-Fedâ, year 77; Al-Makîn, p. 65, etc.

(14) Dair al-Jamajim lies at seven parasangs from Kûfa, on the road leading to Basra. This convent, or *dair*, received its name from the wooden cups, or drinking-vessels (*jamâjim*), which were made there.—(*Marâsid*.)

(15) His life has been already given, page 484.

(16) This Ismail was probably sent with the prisoner to guard him.

(17) Al-Hajjâj alluded to Shabîb Ibn Yazîd; see his life in this volume.

(18) See the account of Khâlid's death, page 486.

(19) See page 37, note (3).

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## SAID IBN AL-MUSAIYAB.

Abû Muhammad Saîd Ibn al-Musaiyab Ibn Hazn Ibn Abi Wahb Ibn Amr Ibn Aâiz Ibn Imrân Ibn Makhzûm, a member of the tribe of Koraish and a native

of Medina, was one of the seven great jurisconsults of that city. We have already given the lives of two; that of Abû Bakr (*page* 263) and that of Khârija (*page* 481). This Saîd was the chief of the first series of the *Tâbis*, and united to the knowledge of the Traditions and of jurisprudence, the fear of God, profound piety, and contempt for worldly goods. He received instruction from the lips of Saad Ibn Abi Wakkâs (1) and Abû Huraira (2). Abd Allah Ibn Omar (3) once said to a person who questioned him (*on a point of religion*): "Go and ask "that man about it," meaning Saîd, "and then come and relate to me his an-"swer." The other obeyed his orders and Ibn Omar said: "Did I not tell thee "that he was one of the learned?" Another time, when speaking of him, he observed to his disciples that if the Prophet were to see Saîd, he would feel joy at the sight. This doctor met a number of Muhammad's companions and learned (*Traditions*) from them; he visited also the Prophet's widows and gathered from them information. The greater part of the authenticated Traditions given on his authority were received by him from Abû Huraira, whose daughter he had married. Az-Zuhri and Mak'hûl being asked who was the 291 ablest jurisconsult they had ever met, they replied that it was Saîd Ibn al-Musaiyab. By his own declaration, he performed the pilgrimage forty times, and it is stated that he said: "For the last fifty years I have not missed the first "*Takbîr* (4) nor seen the back of a man during the public prayer;" such was his punctuality in arriving sufficiently early to obtain a place in the first rank of the congregation. It is related also that during the space of fifty years he said the morning prayer without making any ablution since that of the preceding evening (*when he said the last prayer of the day*) (5). Saîd was born in the third year of the khalifat of Omar (A.H. 15-16, A.D. 636-7); he came to manhood during the khalifat of Othmân, and died at Medina, A.H. 91 (A.D. 709-10), or, by other accounts, A.H. 95, or one of the intervening years: some even say that his death did not take place till the year 105. His father's name must be pronounced *Musaiyab* (*as being the passive participle of the verb* Saiyab), but it is related that Saîd himself pronounced it *Musaiyib* (*as the active participle*), because he had said: "May God reward (*saiyab*) him who "pronounces my father's name *Musaiyib* (6)."

(1) Abû Ishak Saad Ibn Abi Wakkâs Mâlik Ibn Wahib, a descendant of Abd Manât, was, by his own account, the third person whom Muhammad converted to Islamism, being then seventeen years of age. He fought in all the Prophet's battles, and was employed as governor by Omar and by Othman. He died at his castle in Akîk, العقيق a town ten miles from Medina, and was interred at the Bakî, or cemetery of this latter city. His death occurred between A. H. 50 and 58. (*Majmâ al-Ahbâb*, MS. fonds St. Germain, No. 131.)

(2) Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Sakhr ad-Dawsi (member of the tribe of Daws, a branch of that of Azd), and surnamed Abû Huraira (*the man with the kitten*), was a contemporary of Muhammad and one of his most devoted followers. He bore the name of Abd Shams before his conversion. The surname of Abû Huraira was given him by his people because he brought them home one day, in the sleeve of his cloak, the young of a wild cat which he had found whilst tending his flocks. Muhammad sometimes called him Abû Hirr (*the man with the cat*). It is related that his mother resisted all his efforts to convert her to Islamism, on which he begged of the Prophet to pray that her heart might be opened to the truth: the prayer was effectual; on returning home, he was informed by her that she now acknowledged one only God and his apostle Muhammad. He embraced islamism, A. H. 7, and died at Medina, A. H. 57 (A. D. 676-7), at the age of 78.—(*Siar as-Salaf.* Matthew's *Mishcât al-Masâbih.*)

(3) See page 567, note (1).

(4) The *takbîr* consists in the repetition of the *izân* immediately before the prayer.

(5) This is a proof that he did not take any sleep during the interval; for, in that case, the ablution would have been necessary. He most probably passed the night in devotional exercises.

(6) There is here a grammatical quibble in the original text which disappears in the translation. Indeed on examining the passage attentively, I think it may very well signify: May God reward him who *rewards* my father! In which case his father's name should be pronounced *Musaiyab*, for this word means *rewarded*. Ibn Khallikân's statement is confirmed, however, by the author of the *Tabakât al-Fokahâ*, who says that Saîd was well pleased when he heard his father's name pronounced *Musaiyib*.

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## ABU ZAID AL-ANSARI.

Abû Zaid Saîd was son to Aûs Ibn Thâbit Ibn Zaid Ibn Kais Ibn Zaid Ibn an-Nomân Ibn Mâlik Ibn Thâlaba Ibn Kaab Ibn al-Khazraj; but Muhammad Ibn Saad says, in his *Tabakât*, that Thâbit, Abû Zaid's grandfather, was the son of Bashîr Ibn Abi Zaid Thâbit Ibn Zaid Ibn Kais; the former genealogy is given by the *Khatîb* in his History, and God knows which of the two is correct. Abû Zaid, surnamed al-Ansâri (1), was a native of Basra and a philologer; he held the first rank among the literary men of that time, and devoted his attention principally to the study of the philology of the Arabic language, its singular terms and rare expressions. In his religious opinions he was a Kadarite (2), but his authority as a correct transmitter of pieces preserved by tradition is

admitted. Abû Othmân al-Mâzini related that he was once present when al-Asmâi went up to Abû Zaid who was then surrounded by his pupils, and after kissing him on the head (3), sat down among them and said: "Thou hast been our "lord and master for the last fifty years." Ath-Thauri relates that Ibn Munâdir said to him: "Shall I give you the characters of your pupils?—Al-As-"mâi has the best-stocked memory of them all; Abû Obaida surpasses them in "general information; and Abû Zaid al-Ansari is the surest authority in tra-"ditional knowledge." An-Nadr Ibn Shumail mentions that he, Abû Zaid al-Ansari and Abû Muhammad al-Yazîdi studied all three together in the same book. The following anecdote is told by Abû Zaid, to whom it was related by Khalaf al-Ahmar (4): "I went to Kûfa," said Khalaf, "to take down in "writing whatever pieces of (*ancient*) poetry the learned men of that city might "communicate to me (*by oral tradition*); but as they were very tenacious of "their information, I offered them forged pieces, and obtained from them "genuine ones in exchange. Some time after, I had a severe sickness and "(*repenting of my imposture*) I said to them: 'Alas, sirs! I have now turned "myself wholly to God, and I must confess that the verses which I gave you "were made by myself.' They would not, however, believe me, and these "pieces still continue to be attributed to the Arabs of the desert." Abû Zaid composed a number of useful philological works, such as his treatises on the bow and the shield, on camels, on the natural constitution of man, on springs of water, on the dialects, on rare expressions, on the plural and dual, on milk, on the tents of the Arabs, on the softened pronunciation of the *hamza*, on the (*shepherd's*) rod, on wild animals, on the difference (*between the parts of the human body and those of animals*) (5), on the first and fourth forms of certain verbs, on names rarely borne, on the *hamza*, on nouns of action (6), etc. I have seen a fine work of his, a treatise on plants, which contained a number of curious passages. It is related of Shôba Ibn al-Hajjâj that, as he was one day dictating Traditions to a circle of pupils, he got fatigued with his occupation, and looking around, he saw Abû Zaid al-Ansâri in the last rank of his auditors and called to him, saying: "O Abû Zaid:

'It is dumb, the dwelling of (*my beloved*) Maiya, and answers us not! Could it 'speak, it would give us news in abundance (7).'

"Come here to me, Abû Zaid!" The disciple then drew near to his master, and they began to converse together and recite poems, on which one of the 292 students who were learning the Traditions said to him: "O Abû Bistâm! we "wear the skin off the backs of our camels in journeying hither, that we may "learn from your mouth the Traditions respecting the blessed Prophet, and "yet you neglect us and amuse yourself with poetry." Shôba, on hearing this reproach, flew into a rage and exclaimed: "I know best, fellow! what is "fitted for me; and I swear by the one only God! that I have a sounder know- "ledge of this (*meaning poetry*) than of that (*meaning the Traditions*)." Abû Zaid lived to a very advanced age, having nearly attained his hundredth year; he died at Basra, A. H. 215 (A. D. 830-1), or by other accounts in 214 or 216; aged, it is said, 93 years; some say 95 or 96.

(1) He was so called because he drew his descent from the *Ansârs*.

(2) The Kadarites held the heretical doctrine of man's free-will. See Pocock's *Specimen* and M. de Sacy's *Exposé de l'Histoire des Druzes*, Introduction, page x, note.

(3) It must be recollected that the master and the scholars were seated on the ground.

(4) Abû Muhriz محرز Khalaf al-Ahmar Ibn Haiyân was a descendant from one of the prisoners whom Kutaiba Ibn Muslim carried off from Khorasân on conquering that province. He was a poet of some talent, and made verses which he attributed to the Arabs of the desert; he composed also a work treating of them and containing poems descriptive of their manners.—(*Fihrest*, fol. 66.) The year of his death is not given, but, by what Ibn Khallikân says, he must have lived in the latter half of the second century of the Hijra. In the *Hamâsa*, p. 382, is a poem attributed to *Taabbata Sharran*, but in reality composed by Khalaf al-Ahmar.

(5) See the *Handschriften*, or catalogue of M. de Hammer's manuscripts, page 50.

(6) The greater part of these treatises were only collections of passages in prose and verse, composed by celebrated authors and selected by the compiler as applicable to his subject. M. de Hammer possesses a volume of al-Asmâi's works containing six pamphlets of this kind. See his *Handschriften*, No. 61.

(7) This is the beginning of some ancient poem.

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## AL-AKHFASH AL-AUSAT.

Abû 'l-Hasan Saîd Ibn Masâda, surnamed al-Akhfash al-Ausat (or *the second*), was a client, by enfranchisement, to the tribe of Mujâshi and a native of Balkh. He and al-Akhfash al-Akbar (*Akhfash major*) Abû 'l-Khattâb were both grammarians of the school of Basra: Abû 'l-Khattâb was a native of Hajar (or *Bah-*

*rain*) and a client to one of the tribes of that country; his real name was Abd al-Hamîd Ibn Abd al-Majîd, and he had Abû Obaida and Sîbawaih among his pupils. Al-Akhfash al-Ausat was one of the great Arabic grammarians; though older than Sîbawaih, he had studied grammar under him, and he used to say: "Sîbawaih did not insert a single passage in his *Book* (1) till he had submitted "it to my examination: he then showed that he understood the subject bet- "ter than I; now, however, I know it better than he." The following anecdote was related by the family of Saîd Ibn Sâlim (2) to Abû 'l-Abbâs Thalab, by whom it has been handed down: "Saîd, having one day received the visit "of al-Farrâ, said to us: 'Here is the chief of the philologers and of the "grammarians who is come to our house.' To which al-Farrâ replied: 'Not "so, whilst al-Akhfash lives." It was this al-Akhfash who added a new measure, called *al-khabab,* to those already known in prosody; a circumstance noticed by us in the life of al-Khalîl (*see page* 494). He is the author of the following works (3): The *Ausat,* or *medium treatise,* on grammar; Explanation of the figures of rhetoric employed in the Koran; on analogical deductions, a grammatical work; on Derivation; on Prosody; on Rhyme; on the Thoughts which usually occur in Poetry; the Book of Kings; a treatise on Interjections; the Great Collection of (*philological and grammatical*) Questions; the Lesser Collection of Questions, etc. He was (*what the Arabs call*) an *ajlâ;* that is, one who cannot close his lips over his teeth. The word *akhfash* means *having little eyes and a bad sight.* He died A.H. 215 (A.D. 830), but some say A.H. 221. The name of al-Akhfash al-Asghar (*Akhfash minor*) was given to him till Ali Ibn Sulaimân, another Akhfash, came into notice; it was then changed into al-Akhfash al-Ausat (*Akhfash medius*).—*Mujâshi* Ibn Dârim is a branch of the tribe of Tamîm.

(1) The celebrated treatise on Arabic grammar by Sîbawaih is generally called the *Book* (*Kitâb*).

(2) Saîd Ibn Sâlim (or Salm سلم according to the MS. No. 634) Ibn Kutaiba Ibn Muslim Ibn Amr was a resident in Khorasan, where he governed some cantons near Marw under the authority of the khalif. He taught the Traditions in that province, to which he had gone during the reign of al-Mamûn. He was learned in the grammar of the Arabic language and in the Traditions, but was very reserved in communicating his information to others. (The Khatîb's *History of Baghdad,* fol. 108.)

(3) The works of the old philologers and grammarians formed two classes, the *books* (*kutub*) and the *composed books* (*kutub musannafa*). See Introduction.

## SAID IBN AL-MUBARAK AD-DAHHAN.

Abû Muhammad Saîd Ibn al-Mubârak, a grammarian and native of Baghdad, is generally known by the surname of Ibn ad-Dahhân. He descended from Abû 'l-Yasar Kaab al-Ansâri (1), as may be seen from the following genealogy: Saîd Ibn al-Mubârak Ibn Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Saîd Ibn Muhammad Ibn Nasr Ibn Aâsim Ibn Abbâd Ibn Isâm Ibn al-Fadl Ibn Zafar Ibn Ghallâb Ibn Hamd Ibn Shâkir Ibn Iyâd Ibn Hisn Ibn Rajâ Ibn Obaî Ibn Shibl Ibn Abi 'l-Yasar Kaab al-Ansâri. Ibn ad-Dahhân learned the Traditions from Abû 'l-Kâsim Hibat Allah Ibn al-Hasin, Abû Ghâlib Ahmad Ibn al-Hasan Ibn al-Bannâ, and others; by his knowledge of grammar he was the Sibawaih of that time, and he composed on this subject many instructive works, amongst others, a commentary 293 in about forty-three volumes on the *Idâh* and *Takmila* (*of Abû Ali 'l-Fârisi*); a greater and a less work both entitled *al-Fusûl* (*chapters*); a large commentary in two volumes on Ibn Jinni's grammatical treatise, the *Lumâ*, and entitled by him *al-Ghurra* (*the bright star*); this is the best of all the numerous commentaries on the *Lumâ* which I have seen. His other works are: a treatise on Prosody, in one volume; lectures on Grammar, in one volume likewise; the *Saîdian epistle on the Kindian plagiarisms*, in which he exposes the stolen thoughts of al-Mutanabbi (*al-Kindi*), in one volume; a common-place book in seven volumes entitled *Zahr ar-Riâd* (*flowers of the meadows*), the *Kitâb al-Ghunia* (*the abundant aid, an orthographical work*) treating of the letters *d* ض and *z* ظ, the *Okûd* (*collars*) on the long and short *elif* and on the letter *r*; another *Ghunia* on those words which bear opposite significations, etc. When Ibn ad-Dahhân was at Baghdad, a number of other grammarians, such as Ibn al-Jawâliki, Ibn al-Khashshâb, and Ibn as-Shajari (2), all of them great masters in their art, were residing in that city, yet the public considered him as their superior in talent. He afterwards left Baghdad and proceeded to Mosul with the intention of visiting the vizir Jamâl ad-dîn al-Isbahâni, surnamed al-Jawwâd (whose life we intend to give), and being received by him with great favour, he remained for a considerable period under his protection. The same year an inundation of the river occurred at Baghdad, and as he had left his books behind him in that city, he despatched a person thither to bring them to him, in

case they had escaped injury. This collection, in the formation of which he had passed his life, had been entirely submerged, but the greatest damage which it had suffered was caused by the waters of a tanyard situated behind his house, which overflowed at the same time and entered into the room where the books were deposited. They were brought to him in that state, and being advised to fumigate them and save as many as he could, he employed upwards of thirty pounds weight of *ladanum* (3) for that purpose, but the smoke affected his head and eyes to such a degree that he lost his sight. Numbers have profited under his tuition, and I saw the people of Mosul and the neighbouring countries study with great assiduity the works of which the titles have been given above. He died at Mosul on a Sunday in the month of Shawwâl, A. H. 569 (May, A. D. 1174), or 566 according to Ibn al-Mustawfi, and was buried near the Maidân Gate, in the cemetery which is named after al-Moâfa Ibn Imrân. He was born on Thursday evening, the 26th Rajab, A. H. 494 (May, A. D. 1101), in a part of Baghdad called *Nahr Tâbik*. Some say, however, that his birth took place on Friday. He composed some good poetry, of which we may cite the following passages:

> Avoid levity of conduct—it discredits a man's character; but gravity exalts him in public estimation. Be not deceived by the smiles of princes; the cloud utters not its thunder but when it smiles forth (*the lightning-flash*).

> Think not, with your talent for poetry, to become our equals; the hen has feathers, yet she cannot fly.

> Think it not strange that I should dread the day of my separation from you; I, of whom lions stand in dread. Did you never remark that a new garment cries aloud when a piece is (*torn away and*) separated from it?

The *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn mentions him with commendation in the *Kharîda* and gives a (*slight*) sketch of his life (4). It is related by Abû Saad as-Samâni that the *hâfiz* Ibn Asâkir of Damascus told him that he had heard Saîd Ibn al-Mubârak Ibn al-Dahhân say: "I saw in a dream a person of my acquaintance who "seemed to address these lines to his beloved: 294

> 'O thou who deferrest to pay thy debt towards me! is this procrastination and delay 'to endure for ever? Soothe my heart with the most trifling favour; a nothing from 'thee will suffice it.'



"When I saw Ibn ad-Dahhân," continues as-Samâni, "I repeated to him "the circumstance, but it was quite unknown to him; he might probably have "let it slip from his memory, for Ibn Asâkir is a narrator of acknowledged "veracity." Ibn al-Dahhân then asked as-Samâni to dictate it to him, and having written it down, he headed it with these words: *I was informed by as-Samâni, on the authority of Ibn Asâkir, who cited mine, that, etc.* A relation thus given on the authority of two persons who therein cite that narrator's own, is a fact of great singularity. He had a son called Abû Zakariyâ Yahya Ibn Saîd who cultivated literature and poetry; Abû Zakariyâ was born at Mosul towards the beginning of the year 569 (A. D. 1173), and died in the same city, A. H. 616 (A. D. 1219-20). He was interred in his father's tomb. The following lines were composed by him:

If I praise obscurity of life, those whose attention I have awkened will rush on before me to enjoy it. By it I was led to happiness, why should I point out the way to others?

The following passage is attributed to him:

I remember that in the days of my youth, my stature was erect like the letter *elif* (ا) traced in a koran by the hand of Ibn Mukla (5). But now I am bent down and seem as if I were seeking in the dust for my lost youth.

(1) Abû 'l-Yasar Kaab Ibn Amr, a member of the tribe of Khazraj, and a native of Medina, was one of the Ansârs. He was present at all the battles fought by Muhammad, and at that of Badr he took al-Abbâs Ibn Abd al-Muttalib prisoner. Died at Medina, A. H. 55 (A. D. 674-5). — (*Siar as-Salaf. Talkih.*)

(2) The lives of these three grammarians are given by Ibn Khallikân.

(3) Ladanum is a gum which exudes from a species of cistus.

(4) See *Kharida*. Man. No. 1447, fol. 33 v.

(5) The life of Ibn Mukla, the celebrated penman, will be found in this work.

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## SOFYAN ATH-THAURI.

Abû Abd Allah Sofyân ath-Thauri was the son of Saîd Ibn Masrûk Ibn Habîb Ibn Râfi Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Mauhiba Ibn Obaî Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Munkid Ibn

Nasr Ibn al-Hakam Ibn al-Harith Ibn Thalaba Ibn Malkân Ibn Thaur Ibn Abd Manât Ibn Odd Ibn Tâbikha Ibn al-Yâs Ibn Modar Ibn Nizâr Ibn Maadd Ibn Adnân. Sofyân ath-Thauri was a native of Kûfa and a master of the highest authority in the Traditions and other sciences: his piety, devotion, veracity, and contempt for worldly goods were universally acknowledged, and as an imâm, he is counted among the *Mujtahids*. It is said that the *shaikh* Abû 'l-Kâsim Junaid followed his system of doctrine; this, however, is a point on which different opinions are held, as has been already mentioned (*page* 338). Sofyân Ibn Oyaina declared that he did not know a man better informed than Sofyân ath-Thauri respecting what was permitted and what was forbidden by the law. It was also said that Omar Ibn al-Khattâb was the greatest man of the age in which he lived; after him, Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbâs; next came ash-Shâbi, al-Aamash, and their contemporaries; then Sofyân ath-Thauri. This doctor learned the Traditions from Abû Ishak as-Sabîi, al-Aamash, and others of the same eminence; he taught the Traditions to al-Auzâi, Ibn Juraij, Muhammad Ibn Ishak (1), and others of that class. Al-Masûdi gives the following anecdote in his *Murûj ad-Dahab*, in the same terms as it was related to him by al-Kâkâa Ibn Hakîm: "I was one day at the court of al-Mahdi when Sofyân ath-"Thauri came in and addressed him with the common salutation which one "Moslim makes to another, and not with that to which he was entitled as kha-"lif: during this interview, (*the vizir*) ar Rabî (*Ibn Yûnus*) was standing behind "the prince and leaning on his sword, ready to execute whatever orders he might "receive. Al-Mahdi then turned with a smiling face towards Sofyân and said: **295** "'You are much mistaken in some of your ideas respecting me: you imagine "that if I wished to do you ill, I could not execute my intention; but now, that "you are in my power, do you not fear that I may award you whatever punish-"ment my caprice may dictate?'—'If you pass sentence on me,' replied Sofyân, "'a powerful sovereign who knoweth right from wrong will pass sentence on "you.'—'Commander of the faithful!' exclaimed ar-Rabî, 'shall this rude fellow "be allowed to address you thus? Let me strike off his head!'—'Nay, silence!' "replied al-Mahdi, 'he and the like of him would desire nothing better than "to die by our hands, so as to make us wretched (*in the next life*) whilst "they would enjoy eternal happiness: draw up an act nominating him kâdi of "Kûfa and forbidding any person to control his decisions.' The paper was

"written out immediately and handed to Sofyân, who withdrew, but then flung "it into the Tigris and took to flight (2). An active search was made after "him in all the towns (*of the empire*), but without success." The place was then given to Sharik Ibn Abd Allah an-Nakhâi, and a poet said on the subject:

> Sofyân avoided temptation and saved his piety by flight, whilst Sharîk lay in wait to catch the dirhims.

It is related of Abû Sâlih Shoaib Ibn Harb al-Madâini (3), a *hâfiz* of the first rank and a man of pre-eminent piety, that he said: "I imagine that Sofyân ath-"Thauri will be brought forth on the day of resurrection and placed by God "before his creatures to confound them; it will then be said to them: 'You "did not see the Prophet when in the world, but you saw Sofyân ath-Thauri; "why then did you not take him as a model?" Sofyân was born A. H. 95 (A. D. 713-4); other accounts place his birth in 96 or 97. He died A. H. 161 (A. D. 777-8), at Basra, where he had concealed himself from the civil authority (4), and was interred towards nightfall. He left no posterity.—*Thauri* means *descended from Thaur*, son of Abd Manât. There is another *Thauri* in the tribe of Tamîm, and a third which is a branch of the tribe of Hamdân. It has been stated by some that Sofyân died A. H. 162, but the first is the true date.

(1) The lives of all the doctors above-mentioned will be found in this work.

(2) See note (5), page 235.

(3) Shoaib Ibn Harb learned the Traditions from Sakhr Ibn Juwairiya جويرية who had received them from Nâfi and others. He died at al-Madâin, his native place.—(*Tab. al-Muhaddithîn.*) The year of his death is not mentioned, but we know that his master Nâfi died A. H. 196 (A. D. 811-2).

(4) It has been already mentioned that he concealed himself to avoid accepting the place of kâdi.

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## SOFYAN IBN OYAINA.

Abû Muhammad Sofyân Ibn Oyaina Ibn Abi Imrân Maimûn al-Hilâli was *mawla* to a woman of the tribe of Hilâl Ibn Aâmir, who belonged to the same family as Maimûna (1), one of the Prophet's wives; it is stated, however, that he was *mawla* to the Banû Hâshim, or to ad-Dahhâk Ibn Muzâhim (2), or to Misâr Ibn

Kidâm (3). His parents dwelt at Kûfa, where it is said he himself was born, and whence he was taken by his father to Mekka. (*Muhammad*) Ibn Saad mentions him in the *Tabakât* and places him in the fifth class of the learned men of Mekka. Sofyân was an imâm, a man of learning, piety, and mortified life, firm (*in controlling his passions*), and unanimously appreciated for the exactitude of the Traditions and other relations which he handed down. He made the pilgrimage seventy times, and taught the Traditions on the authority of (*Muhammad Ibn Muslim*) az-Zuhri, Abû Ishak as-Sabii, Amr Ibn Dinâr (4), Muhammad Ibn Munkadir (5), Abû 'z-Zinâd (6) Aâsim Ibn Abi 'l-Najûd, al-Aamash, Abd al-Malik Ibn Omair (7), and other learned men. His own authority as a Traditionist was cited by the imâm as-Shâfi, Shôba Ibn al-Hajjâj, Muhammad Ibn Ishak, Ibn Juraij, az-Zubair Ibn Bakkâr, Musâb Ibn Bakkâr's uncle (8), Abd ar-Razzâk Ibn Hammâm as-Sanâni (9), Yahya Ibn Aktham the kâdi (10), and a great number of others. I read in a collection of anecdotes that Sofyân one day came out of his house to some persons who had come to learn the Traditions from him, and exclaimed, in a fit of ill humour: "Is it not an "unfortunate case that I who sat with (*and studied under*) Damra Ibn Saîd, "which doctor sat with Abû Saad al-Khudri who sat with Obaid Ibn Dinâr who "sat with Ibn Omar—that I who sat with az-Zuhri who sat with Ans Ibn Malik,"—naming many others,—"should now be obliged to sit with you (*and* "*give you lessons*)?" On this, a youth who was in the assembly said to him: "Are you in earnest, Abû Muhammad?"—"Yes."—"Then the misfortune 296 "which the disciples of Muhammad's companions underwent in having you for "a pupil, was greater than yours in having us." On this, Sofyân cast down his eyes and recited these lines of Abû Nuwâs:

> Expose yourself to the aim of the archer, you may yet escape unharmed. (*Fear most your own tongue!*) better to die of the malady of silence than (*live with*) the malady of talking.

When the assembly broke up, they began to speak of the cleverness of the lad, who was no other than Yahya Ibn Aktham at-Tamimi (11), and Sofyân said: "This boy is well fitted for the company of those other people," meaning the persons high in rank and power. It was said by the imâm as-Shâfi that he never saw a person more capable than Sofyân of giving an opinion on a point of law, nor one more averse to doing so.—Abû Imrân, Sofyân's grandfather, was

a native of Kûfa and had been employed as an *aâmil* (12) by Khâlid Ibn Abd Allah al-Kasri (13), but when the latter was deposed from the government of Irak, his successor Yûsuf Ibn Omar ath-Thakafi ordered all his *aâmils* to be arrested, and Abû Imrân then fled to Mekka, where he settled. Sofyân said that he himself was hardly twenty years old when he went to (*reside at*) Kûfa, and that (*on his arrival*) Abû Hanîfa told his pupils and the people of the city that a *hâfiz* who had known Amr Ibn Dinâr was come among them. "On "this," said Sofyân, "I was visited by persons who wished to speak to me "about Ibn Dinâr, and it was Abû Hanîfa who thus made of me a Traditionist. "I once questioned Abû Hanîfa about Ibn Dinâr and he answered: 'My son! I "never learned but three Traditions from him, and have a very confused recol-"lection of them.'" Sofyân was born at Kûfa on the 15th of Shâbân, A. H. 107 (December, A. D. 725), and died at Mekka on Saturday, the last day of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 198 (February, A. D. 814); but some place his death on the first of the month of Rajab. He was buried at al-Hajûn, a hill towards the upper part of Mekka, near which the inhabitants of that city are interred: it is often mentioned by poets in their verses.

(1) Maimûna, daughter of al-Harith Ibn al-Hazn and member of the tribe of Hilâl, was married to Masûd Ibn Omar ath-Thakafi in the time anterior to the announcement of Islamism. Divorced by her husband, she became the wife of Abû Zuhm Abd al-Ozza, and on his death she was espoused by the Prophet, A. H. 5. She was the last of his wives. Her death took place A. H. 61, or 38 by another account.—(*Talkih.*)

(2) Abû 'l-Kâsim ad-Dahhâk Ibn Muzâhim, a member of the tribe of Hilâl, a native of Kûfa, and a relation to Zainab, one of the Prophet's wives, was a *Tâbi* of the third class. He died A. H. 102 (A. D. 720-1).—(*Nujûm.*)

(3) Abû Salama Misâr Ibn Kidâm Ibn Zâhir ظاهر, a member of the tribe of Hilâl and a native of Kûfa, is known as a *hâfiz* and a devout ascetic. He died A. H. 55 (A. D. 675).—(*Nujûm.*)

(4) Abû Muhammad Amr Ibn Dinâr was a *mawla* and a native of Mekka. He is counted among the most eminent of the *Tâbis* and considered as a Traditionist of the very highest authority. He was one of the *mujtahid* imâms. Died A. H. 126 (A. D. 743-4), aged 80 years.—(*Tab. al-Fokahâ.*)

(5) Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Munkadir, a member of the tribe of Koreish and of the family of Taim Allah, was a Traditionist of good authority. He died A. H. 130 (A. D. 747-8), or 131.—(*Tab. al-Muhaddithîn.*)

(6) Abû 'z-Zinâd Abd Allah Ibn Zikwân ذكوان, a native of Medîna and a *mawla* to the tribe of Koraish, was a doctor of the law and one of the *Tâbis*. His varied information, his talents, and his veracity as a traditionist entitled him to a high pre-eminence among the learned of that day. It is related by (*Muhammad*) Ibn Saad that he saw Abû 'z-Zinâd enter into the mosque of the Prophet (*at Medîna*), with as many followers as a prince; some wishing to consult him on questions relative to inherited property, some on arithmetical questions, some on the meaning of obscure verses in the poems of the desert Arabs, some to learn traditions and

some to have other difficulties solved. He died suddenly in the month of Ramadân, A. H. 130 (A. D. 748) aged sixty-six years.—(*Tab. al-Fokahâ.*)

(7) Abû Omar Abd al-Malik Ibn Omair, surnamed al-Kibti القبطى, a member of the tribe of Koraish, or, by another account, of that of Lakhm, was a Traditionist and a native of Kûfa, where he succeeded as-Shabi in the post of kâdi. He died in or about the year 130 (A. D. 747-8.)—(*Tab. al-Muhaddithîn.*)

(8) This doctor's life is given page 136, note (1).

(9) Abd ar-Razzâk Ibn Hammâm as-Sanâni (*native of the city of Sanâ in Yemen*) al-Himyari (*member of the tribe of Himyar*) was one of the most celebrated Traditionists of the age. People travelled to Yemen from all parts of the empire to study under him. He was a very learned man and composed some works. Died A. H. 211 (A. D. 826-7).—(Al-Yâfi.)

(10) The lives of those doctors which have not been given in the preceding notes will be found in other parts of this work.

(11) The life of the celebrated kâdi Yahya Ibn Aktham will be found in this work.

(12) See page 444, note (3).

(13) See his life, page 484.

## AS-SAIYIDA SUKAINA.

As-Saiyida (1) Sukaina, the daughter of al-Husain Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib, was the first among the women of her time by birth, beauty, wit, and virtue. Left a widow by Musâb Ibn az-Zubair, she became the wife of Abd Allah Ibn Othmân Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Hakîm Ibn Hizâm, to whom she bore a son named Kurain. Her third husband, al-Asbagh Ibn Abd al-Azîz Ibn Marwân, divorced her before the consummation of their marriage; she was then espoused by Zaid Ibn Amr Ibn Othmân Ibn Affân, who also was obliged to divorce her by (*the khalif*) Sulaimân Ibd al-Malik. In another statement, the order of her successive husbands differs from that which we have here given. It was after her that the head-dress *à la Sukaina* was so called (2). Many amusing anecdotes are related of her witty sallies and repartees to poets and other persons: meeting one day with Orwa Ibn Ozaina (3), a man eminent for his learning and piety, and author of some pretty poetry, she said to him: "Was it you who made "these verses:

> 'When I feel in my heart the flames of love, I try to cool its ardour by draughts of 'water. Could I even succeed in cooling with water the exterior of my heart, how 'should I extinguish the fire which rages in its interior?' "

On his answer that they were composed by him, she asked him again if he 297 was the author of the following piece:

'When I revealed to her the secret of my love, she replied, "You used to desire '(*secrecy and*) concealment when with me; be veiled then (*as to your passion*): see you 'not how many are around us?" To this I answered, "The love I bear you and the '(*pains*) I feel have already cast a veil over my sight."'

He admitted that these verses were also his, on which she said to the slave-girls who were (*standing*) around her: "You are free if such verses ever came "from a heart wounded by love!"—Orwa had a brother called Abû Bakr, whose death he lamented in the following lines:

Cares have come to visit me; 'tis thus with the cares of man. The Pleiades are within a span's breadth of setting. I watch the stars as they culminate in the Milky Way or travel on in their course. (*I cannot sleep*) for the sadness of which I am the constant companion; my heart seems to contain a fire of burning coals. (*My sorrow is*) for Bakr, my brother! Bakr has departed from me! what life can now be pleasing after (*the loss of*) Bakr?

When Sukaina heard these verses, she asked who was Bakr? and on being informed, she exclaimed: "What! that little blackamoor who used to run past "us? Why, every thing is pleasing after the loss of Bakr, even (*the common "necessaries of life*) bread and oil!"—It is related that a musician once sung these verses to al-Walîd Ibn Yazîd the Omaiyide during a social party, and the prince said, on learning from him that they were by Orwa Ibn Ozaina: "*What "life can be pleasing after the loss of Bakr?* Why, the life we are now "leading. The poet has left us room enough to answer his question (4)."—Orwa was extremely moderate in his desires, and he composed poems on contentment which have circulated widely. He once set off from Hijâz with a number of other poets to visit (*the court of*) Hishâm Ibn Abd al-Malik in Syria. When they were introduced, the khalif recognised Orwa and said to him: "Are "you not the author of these lines:

'I am not inclined to prodigality, and I know that He who is my purveyor will come 'to my assistance. If I strive to attain his favours, my efforts fatigue me; and if 'I abstain from seeking them, I receive them without undergoing any toil?'

"I do not see that you act in conformity to your words, for you have now "come from Hijâz to Syria in search of favours."—"Commander of the faith-"ful!" replied Orwa, "You have given me a good lesson and reminded me of "that which the lapse of time had caused me to forget." He then withdrew immediately, and mounting his camel, set off for Hijâz. During the re-

mainder of the day, Hishâm did not perceive his absence, but that night he awoke from his sleep, and recollecting the poet, he said to himself: "That man "is a member of the tribe of Koraish and his words are wisdom; he came to "see me, but I repulsed him and refused to grant what he required; he is also "a poet and I shall be exposed to his satires." The next morning, he asked about him and learned that he had returned home, on which he exclaimed: "Well! I shall show him that favours can find him out." He then called one of his *mawlas*, and giving him two thousand dinars, he told him to bear them to Orwa Ibn Ozaina. The poet had just entered his house when the *mawla* arrived and knocked at the door; Orwa came out to him and said, on receiving the money: "Give my salutation to the Commander of the faithful, and ask him "what he now thinks of my verses: I toiled for favours and was called a liar; "I then returned home and they came to me."—This anecdote has no connexion with the present article, but having made mention of Orwa, we were induced to insert it.—The idea contained in the verses composed by Orwa have been expressed in the following terms by Muhammad Ibn Idrîs, surnamed Marj Kohl, a Spanish poet: 298

The favours which you pursue are like your own shadow; follow them, you cannot catch them; turn away from them, they will follow you.

Sukaina died at Medîna on Thursday, the 5th of the first Rabî, A. H. 117 (April, A. D. 735). Some say that *Sukaina* was a surname given to her by her mother ar-Rabâb, daughter of Amro 'l-Kais Ibn Adi, and that her true name was Aamina: but others say it was Omaina or Omaima. The genealogist Muhammad Ibn as-Saîb al-Kalbi (5) relates as follows: "I was asked by Abd Allah "Ibn al-Hasan Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib what was the real name "of Sukaina, the daughter of al-Husain Ibn Ali, and on my answering that "it was Omaima, he told me I was right."—Marj Kohl died A. H. 634 (A. D. 1236-7), in his native place, the island of Shukr (*Xucar*) in Spain. He was born A. H. 554 (A. D. 1159).

(1) The titles of *Saiyid* (*lord*) and *Saiyida* (*lady*) are given to the descendants of Ali and Fâtima, the daughter of Muhammad. *Saiyid* has become *Sidi* or *Si* in the vulgar pronunciation, and *Saiyida* is usually changed into *Sida* or *Sit*.

(2) Sukaina was one of the most brilliant women of her epoch. Her rank, learning, wit, and good taste entitled her to general admiration, and her judgment was consulted by the first poets of the day.

(3) Abû Aamir Orwa Ibn Ozaina, a member of the tribe of Laith, a poet and a Traditionist, died A. H. 118 (A. D. 736).—(*Oiyûn at-Tawârîkh.*)

(4) Literally: He has enclosed in a wide (*extent of ground*).

(5) Abû 'n-Nadr Muhammad Ibn as-Saib, a member of the tribe of Kalb and one of the learned men of Kûfa, was a genealogist, a historian, and an interpreter of the Koran. He composed works on these subjects, and died at Kûfa, A. H. 146 (A. D. 763-4). –(*Fihrest,* fol. 131.)

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## SULAIM AR-RAZI.

Abû 'l-Fath Sulaim Ibn Aiyûb Ibn Sulaim ar-Râzi, a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, was eminent by his learning and noted for his talents and piety. He composed a great number of works, such as the *Ishâra* (*indication*) (1), an explanation of the obscure terms occurring in the Traditions, and the *Takrîb* (*simplification*) (2), which must not be confounded with a work bearing the same title, cited by the imâm al-Haramain in his *Nihâyat* and by al-Ghazzâli in his *Basît* and *Wasît;* this latter being composed by al-Kâsim Ibn al-Kaffâl ash-Shâshi. Sulaim's *Takrîb* is cited, however, in the *Wasît,* chap. II. of the section on pledges and mortgages. He learned jurisprudence from Abû Hâmid al-Isfarâini and instructed Abû 'l-Fath Nasr al-Makdisi in that science. "I entered Bagh- "dad when a mere youth," says Sulaim, "for the purpose of studying philo- "logy, and I used to go to a *shaikh*"—naming him—"who taught there. One "morning I went to his house rather early, and was told that he had gone to "the bath. I directed my steps thither, but passing by the mosque where Abû "Hâmid al-Isfarâini was giving his lessons, I went in and sat down among the "scholars. He was then explaining the laws on fasting and treating this ques- "tion: In one of the nights of Ramâdan, a man embraces a woman, but ceases "before accomplishing his desires on perceiving that it is daybreak; has that "man broken the fast (3)? Pleased with what I heard, I took down notes of "the lecture on a blank leaf of a book which I had with me, and on returning "to the house where I was stopping, I repeated the lesson to my fellow-lodgers, "and resolved on hearing the book of fasting explained to the end, and on noting "it down; I therefore went assiduously to Abû Hâmid's course of lessons till I "had completed my task (4)." Sulaim never let an instant of time pass unem-

ployed, and he therefore repeated a portion of the Koran or of the rosary when mending his reed pens, when passing through the streets, and during those moments which he could not devote to study. Animated with the desire of propagating knowledge and of communicating his information to others, he settled at Sûr (*Tyre*), a city of Syria, but he made the remark that his reputation fell at Sûr whilst that of Abû 'l-Ḥasan al-Mahâmili rose at Baghdad. He was drowned in the Red Sea near Jidda, on the last day of the month of Safar, A. H. 447 (May, A. D. 1055), on his return from the pilgrimage; he had then passed his eightieth year. His body was interred in an island near al-Jâr, not far from the ferry established between the Arabic coast and Aizâb (*on the Egyptian side*).—*Râzi* means *native of Rai*, a large city in Dailem between Kûmis and Persian Irak. This relative adjective receives the addition of the letter *z*, as is the case with Marwazi (*see page* 7).—Al-Jâr is a village on the coast of the Red Sea at the distance of a day and night from Medina; this place gives its name to the *Jârian* wheat. Abû 'l-Kâsim az-Zamakhshari says, in his geographical dictionary under the letter *shîn* (5), that that al-Jâr is a village on the sea-coast, at which the vessels (6) coming from Kolzûm (*Suez*), Aizâb, and the sea of an-Naâm (7) cast anchor. Ibn Haukal states, in his geography, that al-Jâr, the port of Medina, is situated on the sea-coast at the distance of three stations from that city. *Jidda* is another port on the same sea.—Abû Saîd Ibrahîm, the son of Sulaim, died on Tuesday the 26th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 491 (November, A. D. 1098). He is spoken of by Ibn Asâkir, in his History of Damascus, who mentions that he learned the Traditions from a number of the most eminent *shaikhs*, who also received some from him. His veracity (*as a Traditionist*) is well established.

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(1) This work is a development of the principles of jurisprudence.

(2) This is also a treatise on the secondary points of the law.

(3) During the fast of Ramadân, the Moslim must not only abstain from all nourishment during the interval between daybreak and sunset, but also avoid intercourse with the other sex during the same period. It need scarcely be observed that in the original Arabic this question is expressed in the crudest terms, the Moslim law not allowing circumlocutions of any kind, but requiring that every action and every thing should be designated by its right name.

(4) This passage fixes clearly the meaning of the word *Tâlika*, which is the term employed here in the original Arabic to designate those notes of which Sulaim speaks.

(5) Az-Zamakhshari had the strange idea of placing under the letter *shîn* a list of all the places between Yanbû and Mekka.

(6) *Vessels* مطايا ; the ordinary signification of the word is *beasts of burden*, but as it possesses the same primitive signification as مراكب (1. *beasts of burden*, 2. *ships*), it may also bear the secondary one.

(7) This is extracted literally from the work of az-Zamakhshari, but the Sea of an-Naâm بحر النعام is not mentioned again by him, neither is it to be found in the works of other Arabic geographers; it is perhaps a mistake of az-Zamakhshari, who might have intended to write بحر عمان *the sea of Oman*, or the Indian Ocean; or else بحر النعمان *the sea of an-Namân*: an island bearing this name lies near the Arabian coast at about one degree south of the gulf of Aila. See the charts of Niebuhr and Berghaus, and the French translation of al-Edrisi's Geography, tom. I. p. 332.

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## SULAIMAN IBN YASAR.

Abû Aiyûb (or Abû Abd ar-Rahman or Abû Abd Allah) Sulaimân Ibn Yasâr, a *mawla* to Maimûna (1), one of the Prophet's wives, and brother to Atâ Ibn Yasâr (2), was one of the seven great jurisconsults of Medina, three of whom have been already mentioned in this work. He was learned (*in the law*), a sure authority (*in the Traditions*), devout, pious, and an example set up by God for general imitation (3). Al-Hasan Ibn Muhammad (4) said: "We consider Sulaimân Ibn Yasâr as more intelligent than Saîd Ibn al-Musaiyab;" but he did not say that he was a more learned man or an abler jurisconsult. He taught the Traditions on the authority of Ibn Abbâs, Abû Huraira, and Omm Salama (5); az-Zuhri and other great Traditionists taught Traditions on his authority. When Saîd Ibn al-Musaiyab was asked for a *fetwa*, or opinion on a legal question, he told the applicant to go to Sulaimân Ibn Yasâr, whom he declared to be the most learned (*doctor*) then living. It is related by Katâda (*Ibn Diâma*) that on arriving at Medina, he asked who was the most learned of the inhabitants without exception, and received for answer: Sulaimân Ibn Yasâr. He died at the age of seventy-three, in the year 107 (A. D. 725), or, according to other statements, in A. H. 100, or 94.

(1) See note (1), page 580.

(2) Atâ Ibn Yasâr, a *mawla* to Maimuna, wife of the Prophet, was a *Tâbi* of the first class. His authority as a Traditionist and jurisconsult is admitted by all the doctors. He died A. H. 94 (A. D. 712-3).—(*Tab. al-Fokahâ*.)—Al-Yâfi places his death in the year 103.

(3) The word حجة means *a convincing proof*, a *confutation*. Pious men are so denominated because God will bring them forward on the day of judgment to confute such sinners as pretend that they had no person to set them the example of holiness. See page 578.

(4) Al-Hasan Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Hanafiya, a native of Medina and a *Tâbi*, is considered as a good authority for Traditions. His pupils were very numerous. He died A. H. 100 (A. D. 718-9).—(*Tab. al-Fokahâ.*)

(5) Omm Salama Hind was daughter to Abû 's-Salt Sahl, surnamed for his hospitality, *Zâd ar-Rakb (the provision of the caravan)*, and a member of the tribe of Makhzûm. During the first persecutions against Islamism, she and her husband Abû Salama fled to Abyssinia, where she bore him Salama. She became a widow A. H. 4, and the same year the Prophet took her as a wife. She died at Medina, A. H. 59 (A. D. 678-9), and was interred in the Baki cemetery near that city.—(*Talkih*, MS. No. 631, fol. 7.)

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## AL-AAMASH.

Abû Muhammad Sulaimân Ibn Mihrân, a native of Kûfâ and generally known by the name of al-Aamash (*the blear-eyed*), was a *mawla* to the family of Kâhil, a branch of the tribe of Asad. This celebrated imâm was gifted with superior abilities; he was learned (*in the law*), and esteemed an exact and trustworthy Traditionist. His father inhabited Dunbâwend, from which he removed to Kûfa, accompanied by his wife who was then pregnant, and she was there delivered of al-Aamash.—As-Samâni observes that he was known, not as a native of Dunbâwend, but as a native of Kûfa. Al-Aamash and his contemporary az-Zuhri were both in the province of Hijâz at the same epoch; he saw also Ans Ibn Malik and conversed with him, but had not the good fortune to hear from him any of the Traditions; those which he gave on the authority of Ans came to him from the disciples of that imâm, and he attributes them directly to Ans without citing the names of those through whom they passed from Ans to him. He has transmitted a single tradition from Abd Allah Ibn Abi Aufa (1). He had met and conversed with the most eminent among the *Tâbis*, and his authority was cited for Traditions by Sofyân ath-Thauri, Shôba Ibn al-Hajjâj, Hafs Ibn Ghiâth (2), and a number of other great doctors. He possessed a subtle wit and was inclined to pleasantry: some students having gone to him one day to learn Traditions, he said to them on coming out of his house: "Were there not "in the house a person"—(*meaning his wife*)—"whom I detest more than I

"do you, I should not have come out to you."—Having one day quarrelled with his wife, he called in a man to effect a reconciliation, and this mediator addressed the woman in the following terms: "Do not mind his blear eyes and "his thin legs, but consider that he is an imâm and that he is in high estima- "tion." On this al-Aamash exclaimed: "God confound thee! thy sole inten- "tion is to point out my defects to her."—Being asked by Dâwûd Ibn Omar al-Hâik (*the tailor*) if the prayer was valid at which a tailor presided as imâm, he replied: "That cannot invalidate the prayer if no ablution has been made "previously (3)." Dâwûd then asked him if the evidence of a tailor was receivable in a court of law and got this answer: "It is receivable when accom- "panied with the testimony of two respectable witnesses(4)."—It is said that the imâm Abû Hanîfa went to see him during a fit of illness, and having sat by him for a long time, he said, when about to retire: "It seems to me that my "presence is irksome to you."—"By Allah!" replied the other, "you are "irksome to me even when you are in your own house." Another time, a party of friends came to visit him and sat a long while with him; he at length lost patience, and taking hold of his pillow, he rose up and exclaimed: "May "God restore to health one whom you have made sick by your wishes for his "recovery."—It was one day mentioned in his presence that the Prophet said: "If a man oversleeps himself when he should have risen in the night (*to* "*pray*), it is because Satan has made water in his ear." On this al-Aamash observed that the soreness of his own eyes must have been produced by Satan's urine. Numerous other anecdotes of a similar kind are told of him. It is related by Abû Moawia ad-Darîr that Hishâm Ibn Abd al-Malik wrote to al-Aamash, requiring him to compose a book on the virtues of Othmân and the crimes of Ali. When al-Aamash read the letter, he put it into the mouth of a sheep which eat it up (5), and he then said to the bearer: "Tell him that I an- "swer it thus." On this, the messenger informed him that unless he brought back a written answer, he should lose his life, the khalif having sworn to put him to death if he returned without one: (*finding, however, that al-Aamash was inflexible*), he begged of the doctor's friends to interfere, and they at length prevailed on him to send a written reply; it was worded in these terms: "In "the name of God, the Merciful, the Clement!—Commander of the faithful! "had Othmân possessed all the virtues in the world, they had been of no uti-

"lity to you; and if Ali committed all the crimes of which the human race were "guilty, they had done you no injury. Mind the qualities of your own little "self, and adieu!" Al-Aamash was born A. H. 60; some say however that he came into the world on the same day in which al-Husain was killed; this was the day of Aâshûrâ (6), A. H. 61 (10th October, A. D. 680). The father of al-Aamash was present when al-Husain lost his life. Ibn Kutaiba, in his *Kitâb al-Maârif*, counts al-Aamash among those persons who were born two months before their time. He died in the month of the first Rabî, A. H. 148 (May, A. D. 765), but some accounts place his death in 147 or 149.—Zâida Ibn Kudâma (7) relates that he one day followed al-Aamash and saw him enter the cemetery and lie down in a newly made grave; he then came out of it, and shaking the earth off his head, he exclaimed: "O! how narrow a dwelling!"—Dunbâwend is a place situated in the province of Rai in Persian Irak. Some call it *Demâvend*, but incorrectly. We have already spoken of it (*page* 513).

(1) Abû Ibrahîm Abd Allah Ibn Abi Aufa surnamed Abû Moawia ad-Darîr (*the blind*) al-Aslami الاسلمى was a Traditionist of great reputation, having known and conversed with Muhammad. He died at Kûfa, his native place, A. H. 87 (A. D. 706).—(*Tab. al-Muhad.*)

(2) Abû Omar Hafs Ibn Ghiâth, a member of the tribe of Nakhâa and a native of Kûfa, in which place he filled the duties of a kâdi, is known as a Traditionist. Born A. H. 117 (A. D. 735); died A. H. 196 (A. D. 811-2).—(*Tab. al-Muhad.*)

(3) Prayer is not valid unless preceded by an ablution.—From this it may be perceived that al-Aamash pretended to consider the prayer invalid if the imâm was a tailor.

(4) To establish a point before the kâdi, the evidence of two respectable witnesses is necessary.

(5) It may be perceived from this that the letter was written on papyrus.

(6) The tenth day of the month of Muharram is called the day of Aâshûrâ. It is held sacred by the Moslims. For the manner in which this festival is celebrated in Egypt, see Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, vol. II. page 166.

(7) Abû 's-Salt Zâida Ibn Kudâma, a member of the tribe of Thakîf and a native of Kûfa, held an eminent rank among the Traditionists. He died in Asia Minor (*Rûm*), A. H. 161 (A. D. 777-8).—(*Tab. al-Muhaddithîn.* Ibn al-Athîr's *Kâmil.*)

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## ABU DAWUD AS-SIJISTANI.

Abû Dâwûd Sulaimân Ibn al-Ashâth Ibn Ishak Ibn Bashîr Ibn Shaddâd Ibn Amr Ibn Imrân al-Azdi (*of the tribe of Azd*), as-Sijistâni, was a *hâfiz* learned

in the Traditions and the sciences connected with them, skilful in discerning those of feeble authority, and eminent for his piety and holy life. He travelled to various countries to learn the Traditions, and he took them down in writing from the mouths of the doctors in Irak, Khorasan, Syria, Egypt, and Mesopotamia. He was one of the earliest authors who compiled a book of Traditions (*Kitâb as-Sunan*), and this work he presented to Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, by whom it was admired and approved: the *shaikh* Abû Ishak as-Shirâzi, in his *Tabakât al-Fokahâ*, counts Abû Dâwûd among the disciples of that imâm. When Abû Dâwûd composed his *Kitâb as-Sunan*, it was said by Ibrahîm al-Harbi (1) that the Traditions had been rendered easy to Abû Dâwûd as iron was rendered soft to Dâwûd (2). "I wrote down," says Abû Dâwûd, "five hundred "thousand Traditions respecting the Prophet, from which I selected those, to 301 "the number of four thousand eight hundred, which are contained in this "book (*the Sunan*). I have mentioned herein the authentic, those which seem "to be so (3), and those which are nearly so; but of them all, a man only re- "quires four for his religious conduct: the first, those words of the Prophet: "*Deeds are to be judged by the intentions;* the second, by the same: *A proof* "*of a man's sincerity in Islamism is his abstaining from what concerns him* "*not;* the third, by the same: *The believer is not truly a believer until he* "*desireth for his brother that which he desireth for himself;* and the fourth, "by the same: *The Lawful is clear and the Unlawful is clear, but between* "*them are things doubtful,* etc. (4)." Sahl Ibn Abd Allah at-Tustari went to see Abû Dâwûd, who was highly pleased on learning his arrival, and made him sit down. "I have a service to ask of you, Abû Dâwûd!" said Sahl.—"Name "it," replied the other.—"Not till you promise to do it in case it be a thing "possible."—"If it be possible, I shall grant it."—"Then put out that tongue "with which you related the Traditions concerning the blessed Prophet, so that "I may kiss it." Abû Dâwûd granted his request. He was born A. H. 202 (A. D. 817-8). After visiting Baghdad several times, he went down to Basra, where he continued to reside till his death. He expired on Friday, the 15th of Shawwâl, A. H. 275 (February, A. D. 889).—His son Abû Bakr Abd Allah Ibn Abî Dâwûd was a *hâfiz* of the first eminence at Baghdad, a man of acknowledged superiority for learning, an imâm and the son of an imâm. He composed the *Kitâb al-Masâbîh* (5), and studied in Egypt and Syria under the same masters

as his father; he learned the Traditions in Baghdad, Khorasân, Ispahân, Sijistân, and Shîrâz. His death took place A.H. 316 (A.D. 928-9). The *hâfiz* Abû Ali an-Naisâbûri (6) and Ibn Hamza al-Isbahâni (7) cite his authority (8).—*Sijistâni* is derived from Sijistân, the name of a well known province; but some say that (*in the present case*) it comes from *Sijistâna,* a village in the dependencies of Basra.

(1) See page 46, note (5).

(2) According to the Moslims, Dâwûd or David, the son of Solomon, made coats of mail, and by divine favour the iron was wrought by him with as much ease as if it had been wax.

(3) In the Arabic text, read بتشبيه

(4) The rest of the Tradition is as follows: *Which most men do not understand; and he who avoids the things which are doubtful preserves his honour and his religion.*—For the text of this Tradition, see Hamaker's *Wâkidi de Expugnatione Memphis*, etc. p. 120, notes.

(5) The subject of this work was unknown to Hajji Khalifa.

(6) Abû Ali al-Husain Ibn Ali an-Naisâbûri (*native of Naisâbûr*), a *hâfiz* celebrated for the extent and correctness of the information which he had received from the most eminent Traditionists of his time, was equally illustrious for his piety and holy life. He inhabited Baghdad. Born A.H. 277 (A.D.) 890-1; died in the month of the first Jumâda, A.H. 349 (A.D. 960).—(Ad-Dahabi's *Annals*, MS. No. 646.)

(7) Abû Ishak Ibrahîm Ibn Muhammad Ibn Hamza Ibn Omâra al-Isbahâni (*native of Ispahan*) was a *hâfiz* of great celebrity. He died A.H. 353 (A.D. 964).—(Ad-Dahabi's *Annals*, No. 646.)

(8) The inability of the translator to ascertain what is meant in this phrase by the words من صنف الصحيح obliges him to pass them over. The printed Arabic text corresponds exactly with that of the autograph MS.

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## AL-HAMID THE GRAMMARIAN.

The grammarian Abû Mûsa Sulaimân Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ahmad, a native of Baghdad and surnamed al-Hâmid, is noted as one of those persons who were versed in the system of grammar drawn up by the learned men of Irak. He had for master in that science Abû 'l-Abbâs Thalab, and was the most eminent of his pupils; he replaced him when absent and succeeded him on his death. Some good works on philological subjects were composed by him, and other information was obtained from him and handed down by Abû Omar az-Zâhid (*al-Mutarriz*) and by Niftawaih's boy, Abû Jaafar al-Isbahâni, surnamed Barzawaih (1). Al-Hâmid was a man of piety and virtue, and pre-eminent by his knowledge of rhetoric, grammar, philology, and poetry. He

had studied also under the grammarians of Basra, and combined their doctrines with those which he had learned from the Kûfa grammarians, but he testified a strong prejudice against the former on the subject of the grammatical doctrines which they had taught him. He copied books with great correctness, and composed himself a number of works, such as (*collections of passages in prose and verse composed by the Arabs of the desert and relating to*) the human frame, bets and archery, plants, and wild animals; he wrote also an abridgement of grammar. He died at Baghdad on the eve of Thursday, the 23rd of Zû'l-Hijja, A. H. 305 (June, A. D. 918), and was interred in the cemetery outside the gate called the *Bab at-Tîn.* He was surnamed *al-Hâmid* (*the sour*) on account of his malignant disposition: on his death-bed, he left his books to Abû Fâtik al-Muktadiri (2) to prevent them from falling into the hands of literary men, to whom they might have been serviceable.

(1) The author of the *Fihrest*, MS. No. 874, fol. 121, says nothing more of Barzawaih than this: "Barzawaih برزويه: no mention is made of any works composed by him."

(2) This Abû 'l-Fâtik appears to have been a slave enfranchised by the khalif al-Muktadir.

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## ABU 'L-KASIM AT-TABARANI.

302 Abû 'l-Kâsim Sulaimân Ibn Ahmad Ibn Aiyûb Ibn Mutair al-Lakhmi at-Tabarâni was the chief *hâfiz* of his time. Having set out from Syria to collect Traditions relative to the Prophet, he spent thirty-three years in visiting Irak, Hijâz, Yemen, Egypt, and the cities of Mesopotamia. The quantity of Traditions which he learned by oral transmission was very great, and the number of persons from whom he received them amounted to one thousand. He wrote some useful and curious books, replete with information, amongst the rest, his large, small, and medium editions of the Mojam (*alphabetical dictionary of Traditionists*), which are the best known of his works. The *hâfiz* Abû Noaim and many others cited him as an authority. He was born at Tabariya (*Tiberias*) in Syria, and having settled at Ispahân, he continued there till his death, which took place on Saturday, the 28th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 360 (September, A. D. 971), at about the age of one hundred years. Some state, however, that he died in the month of Shawwâl. He was buried close to the grave of

Humama ad-Dawsi (1), one of the Prophet's companions.—*Tabarâni* means *native of Tabariya* (*Tiberias*); as for *Tabari*, we have already mentioned that it is derived from *Tabaristân*.—*Lakhmi* means *descended from Lakhm*, whose real name was Mâlik Ibn Adi. (*In page* 148) we have related the origin of his surname and that of his brother Judâm.

(1) Humama ad-Dawsi died at Ispahan, to which place he had accompanied Abû Musa 'l-Ashari on a military expedition.—(*Siar as-Salaf*.)

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## ABU 'L-WALID AL-BAJI.

Abû 'l-Walid Sulaimân Ibn Khalaf Ibn Saad Ibn Aiyûb Ibn Wârith at-Tujibi al-Andalusi al-Bâji was a member of the sect of Mâlik and one of the most eminent men in Spain as a *hâfiz* and a learned scholar. He lived in the eastern part of that peninsula, and travelled to the East about the year 426 (A. D. 1034-5), when he stopped three years at Mekka with Abû 'd-Darr al-Harawi (1), and made the pilgrimage four times. From thence he went to Baghdad, where he resided for three years, during which time he studied jurisprudence, read the Traditions, and made acquaintance with the learned men of the first rank, such as Abû 't-Taiyib at-Tabari, the Shafite doctor, and Abû Ishak ash-Shirâzi, the author of the *Muhaddab*. He passed a year at Mosul with Abû Jaafar as-Simnâni (2), and pursued his studies in jurisprudence under that doctor's tuition. He continued in the East nearly thirteen years. The *khatîb* Abû Bakr (*al-Baghdâdi*) is cited by him as an authority for some of his information, and the same *hâfiz* has also cited the authority of al-Bâji; thus, he says: "Al-Bâji "recited to me these verses, composed by himself:

'Since I have learned for a certainty that the sum of my life is but an hour, why 'should I not be sparing of it, and devote it to piety and virtue?'

He composed a great number of works, such as the *Kitâb al-Muntaki* (*choice selection*) (3), the *Ihkâm al-Fosûl fi-Ahkâm il-Osûl* (*chapters of established authority on the maxims of dogmatic theology*), a *Taadîl wa Tajrîh* (4), containing an inquiry into the credibility of the Traditionists whose authority is cited by al-Bukhâri in his *Sahîh*, etc. He was one of the great Moslim imâms.

It is mentioned by him that he heard Abû 'd-Darr Abd Ibn Ahmad al-Harawi say: "Were certificates of capacity valid, travelling in search of learning would "be useless." On his return to Spain, he exercised the functions of a kâdi; it is even stated that he acted as such at Aleppo. He was born at Batalyaus (*Badajos*) on Tuesday, the 15th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 403 (May, A. D. 1013), and died at al-Mariya, A. H. 474, on the eve of Thursday, the 19th of Rajab (December, A. D. 1081), between the first and second hours of prayer (5). He was interred at the *Ribât* by the sea-side, and the funeral service was said over him by his son Abû 'l-Kâsim. Abû Omar Ibn Abd al-Barr, the author of the *Istiâb*, 303 studied under him, and Abû Muhammad Ibn Hazm as-Zâhiri had with him some conferences and discussions, the exposition of which would here occupy too much space.—*Bâji* means native of *Bâja* (*Beja*), a city in the Spanish peninsula. There is another Bâja in the province of Africa, and a village bearing the same name lies near Ispahân.—*Batalyaus* shall be noticed hereafter; as for al-Mariya (*Almeria*), we have already spoken of it (*page* 43.)

(1) Abû 'd-Darr Abd Ibn Ahmad al-Harawi (*native of Herat*) was a doctor of the sect of Malik and *shaikh* of the *Haram*, or sacred territory of Mekka. He learned the Traditions at Herat, Baghdad, Damascus and other cities, and composed some works, such as *Sahîh*, or collection of genuine Traditions, a *Môjam*, or biographical dictionary of his own masters, etc. In points of belief he followed the doctrines of al-Ashari, in which he had been instructed by the kâdi Abû Bakr al-Bâkillâni. He was a *hâfiz*, an ascetic, and had been noted for his *Sûfism;* but he afterwards married an Arab wife and went to dwell among that people in the desert. Born A. H. 356 (A. D. 967); died at Mekka, A. H. 433 (A. D. 1041-2). - (*Ikd at-Tamîm*, MS. No. 721, fol. 161.)

(2) The kâdi Abû Jaafar Muhammad Ibn Ahmad as-Simnâni inhabited Baghdad and taught the Traditions there. His veracity, learning, talents, and elegant language acquired him general favour. In religion he was a Hanafite, and he composed some works on jurisprudence. Assemblies were regularly held by him at his house, and in those meetings the jurisconsults and the theologians debated different questions in his presence. He was kâdi of Mosul and remained there till his death, which happened in the month of the first Rabî, A. H. 444 (July, A. D. 1052). His birth took place in the year 361 (A. D. 971-2).—*Simnân* is a town in the province of Kûmis, but Abû Jaafar drew his origin from a Simnân in Irak.—(*Najm al-Mubtadi* MS. fonds St-Germain, No. 85, fol. 93. *Tabakât al-Hanafiya* MS. St-Germain, No. 132, fol. 161.)

(3) This work appears to have consisted in Traditions, serving as a basis to the legal doctrines of the sect to which Abû 'l-Walîd belonged.

(4) *Taadîl wa Tajrîh* signifies *justification and impugning*. Works bearing this title treat of the credibility of Traditionists.

(5) The first time of prayer is the *Mughrib*, or sunset, the Muhammedan day commencing at that moment; the second is the *Asha*, when the evening has closed and it is quite dark; the third is the *Subh* or *Fajr*, daybreak; the fourth the *Duhr*, a little after noon; the fifth the *Asr*, mid-time between noon and nightfall. - See Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, vol. I. page 82.

## ABU AIYUB AL-MURIYANI.

Abû Aiyûb Sulaimân Ibn Abi Sulaimân Makhlad (1) (or Dâwûd) al-Muriyâni al-Khûzi was a vizir to Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr, having succeeded to Khâlid Ibn Barmak, the grandfather of the Barmekides. He enjoyed the highest favour with the khalif by reason of a service which he had rendered him on a former occasion. It was this: Sulaimân Ibn Habîb Ibn al-Muhallab Ibn Abi Sufra to whom Abû Aiyûb acted as secretary previously to the khalifat of al-Mansûr, had nominated that prince as his deputy in one of the cantons of Fars; but afterwards, on suspicion of his having embezzled the public money, he had him severely flogged and then obliged him to pay a heavy fine: it was even his intention to disgrace him publicly after having subjected him to bodily punishment, but Abû Aiyûb aided the prince to make his escape. Al-Mansûr, on his accession to the khalifat, beheaded Sulaimân Ibn Habîb and chose Abû Aiyûb as his vizir in gratitude for his conduct. At a later period, the khalif's feelings towards his minister underwent an entire change; he reproached him with peculation, and had even some thoughts of making him feel the weight of his vengeance. During the long period that this enmity subsisted, Abû Aiyûb never went into al-Mansûr's presence without apprehensions for his life; and as he always withdrew unharmed, it was said that he had an ointment, prepared by a magical operation, with which he rubbed his eyebrows before he entered. This idea got such credence among the common people, that *Abû Aiyûb's ointment* became a current expression. One of his ingenious parables is thus related by Khâlid Ibn Yazîd al-Arkat: "Abû Aiyûb was one day holding a public sitting "to issue his commands and his prohibitions, when a messenger came to him "from al-Mansûr. On seeing him, he turned pale, and when the man had "retired, we expressed our astonishment at his apprehensions. On this, he "repeated to us the following fable: 'It is related that the falcon said to the "'cock: There is not on earth a more ungrateful animal than you are.—Why "'so? said the cock.—Because your masters took you when yet in the shell "'and had you hatched, bringing you thus into the world; they fed you with "'their hands and you remained among them till you grew up; but now, not "'one of them can go near you without your flying to this side and that side

" 'and screaming out. As for me, I was taken from the mountains when already " 'aged, and they instructed me and tamed me; then they let me go, and I " 'catch game in the air which I bring to my master.—To this the cock an- " 'swered: Had you seen as many falcons on the spit and ready for roasting " 'as I have seen cocks, you would be even more fearful than I.—And you, " 'my friends,' continued the vizir, 'did you know what I know, you would not " 'wonder at my being afraid even in the height of the favour which you see " 'me enjoy.' " The khalif's vengeance fell at length upon Abû Aiyûb in the year 153 (A. D. 770); he was tortured, deprived of all his property, and he died A. H. 154.—*Muriyâni* means *belonging to Muriyân,* a village in the province of al-Ahwâz, or of Khûzestân, according to Ibn Nukta (2).—*Khûzi* means *belonging to Khûzistân,* a country between Basra and Fars. Some say, however, that this surname was given to him for his avarice, because he took up his residence in the valley of *al-Khûz* (3) when at Mekka.

(1) This name should perhaps be pronounced *Mukhallad.*

(2) The life of Ibn Nukta will be found in this work.

(3) *Shîb al-Khûz* (*the valley of al-Khûz*) is the name of a place near Mekka. He perhaps chose this retired place for his habitation, to avoid receiving company.

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## SULAIMAN IBN WAHB.

Abû Aiyûb Sulaimân was the son of Wahb (1) Ibn Saîd Ibn Amr Ibn Hosain (2) Ibn Kais Ibn Kitâl (3). When Yazîd Ibn Abi Sofyân became governor of Syria, 304 Kitâl was employed by him as a secretary, and he afterwards served Moawia in the same capacity; Moawia passed him over to his son Yazîd, and it was in the reign of this khalif that he died. Kais, Kitâl's son, was nominated by Yazîd to the vacant place, and having served successively Yazîd, Marwân Ibn al-Hakam, Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân and Hishâm Ibn Abd al-Malik, he died in the reign of the last. Hosain, the son of Kais, was then appointed secretary by Hishâm, and after him he served Marwân Ibn Muhammad al-Jaadi, the last of the Omaiyides; he was then employed by Yazîd Ibn Omar Ibn Hubaira, who, on joining the party

of Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr (4), procured for him a full pardon from the conqueror. Hosain was then employed as a secretary by al-Mansûr and by al-Mahdi, in whose reign he died, on a journey to Rai. Al-Mahdi then nominated Amr, Hosain's son, to the vacant place. Amr passed subsequently into the service of Khâlid Ibn Barmak, and died, leaving a son named Saîd, who remained constantly with the Barmek family. Wahb, the son of Saîd, entered into the service of Jaafar Ibn Yahya (*the Barmekide*), and afterwards passed into that of al-Fadl Ibn Sahl, surnamed Zû 'r-Riâsatain. Al-Fadl used to say of him : "I wonder how any person can keep company with Wahb, and not "feel seriously affected at his own inferiority." On the death of al-Fadl, his brother al-Hasan took Wahb as his secretary, and confided to him the government of Kirmân and Fars, both which provinces prospered under his administration. Wahb was drowned on his way from Famm as-Silh to Baghdad, whither he had been sent by al-Hasan with a letter for al-Mâmûn. Sulaimân, the son of Wahb, was only fourteen years of age when he became secretary to al-Mâmûn; he afterwards entered into the service of Itâkh (5), from which he passed into that of Ashnâs (6); being then raised to the vizirat by al-Muhtadi, he was employed by al-Motamid in the same capacity. He has left a collection of epistles. His brother al-Hasan Ibn Wahb was secretary to (*the vizir*) Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik az-Zaiyât, and director of the chancery office (7). He was an able poet and an elegant writer of epistles, a collection of which he published. These two brothers were among the most distinguished men of the time. We have already stated in the life of Abû Tammâm (*see page* 351), that al-Hasan Ibn Wahb conferred on him the place of postmaster at Mosul, and that he composed some elegiac lines on the poet's death; these we have there inserted (*page* 353).—I cannot give a separate notice on al-Hasan in consequence of my inability to discover the date of his death; for, as I have already observed in my preface, this book is solely intended as an obituary, and when I enter into the particulars of any individual's life, it is not because they are required by the design of the work, but merely because they may furnish instruction and amusement to the reader. — The principal poets of the time, such as Abû Tammâm, al-Bohtori, and others of the same class, composed poems in honour of these two brothers: one of Abû Tammâm's finest passages is the following, from a *kasîda* addressed to Sulaimân :

Family of Wahb! I and every man of education shall follow the path in which you tread. For you my heart (*longeth*,) as the liver parched with thirst (*longeth for water*); but for the rest of men, my heart is as the hearts of others.

A man of great merit said, on hearing these lines, that it would have been more appropriate to address them to the descendants of the Prophet, who alone were worthy of being praised in such terms. Sulaimân Ibn Wahb died in prison, on Sunday the 15th of Safar, A. H. 272 (August, A. D. 885), or by another account in 271. At-Tabari says in his History that he died on Tuesday, the 17th of the month, in the prison where he was confined by the order of al-Muwaffak Talha, the father of the khalif al-Motadid. The poet al-Bohtori composed the following verses on Sulaimân:

His resolutions are followed by a prompt execution, and his intelligence discovers plainly to him all things hidden. That which is out of his sight is held present in his mind, and when his eyes slumber, his mind is awake.

This idea has been frequently employed by poets; it is thus that Aûs Ibn Hajar at-Tamîmi (8), an ante-islamic poet, has said:

305 When the man of penetration thinks of you, he may be said to see and to hear you.

The same idea has been thus variously expressed by different poets:

He foresees so well the results of an affair, that they might be thought to have already informed him (*of their coming*).

He foresees so well the results of an affair, that by his good judgment he might be said to witness occurrences before they come to pass.

He knows so well the course of events, that he may be said to have his eye fixed upon to-morrow.

When hearts hold secret converse, (*you know what passes in them*) as if you saw them plainly.

The different manners of expressing this single idea would form a long chapter, and we shall not expatiate farther on the subject.—Sulaimân filled successively different places in the public offices of government, and was raised to the vizirat, which he occupied till the time of his imprisonment and death.—It is related that the khalif al-Wâthik once turned towards Ahmad Ibn al-Khasîb (9) the *kâtib*, and recited to him these lines (*of an ancient poet*):

Two persons, both of them rich, are my debtors, and had God so willed, they had paid me before this. One of them, O my friends! is Omm Amr; as for the other, ask me not her name.

Sulaimân, on being informed of the circumstance, exclaimed: "May God "protect me! by *Omm Amr* is meant Ahmad Ibn al-Khasib, and by *the other* "it is I who am designated." And such was really the case, the khalif having confiscated their property a few days afterwards (10). When Sulaimân was promoted to the vizirat, (or by another account, when his son Obaid Allah was raised to that post,) the following verses were written to him by Obaid Allah, the son of Abd Allah Ibn Tâhir (whose life will be found farther on):

Fortune refused us her favours, but showed her kindness for us in granting them to those whom we love and esteem. And I said to her: "Complete thy beneficence to- "wards them, and leave us in neglect; important business should be done first."

(1) The family of Sulaimân was originally Christian, but had embraced Islamism.—(*Fakhr ad-dîn*, MS. No. 895, fol. 228). The father of his ancestor Kitâl bore the name of Matta (*Matthew*).

(2) This name is written with the vowel-points in the *Fihrest*. The beginning of this article to the words *We have already stated* is copied *verbatim* from that work.

(3) The orthography and true pronunciation of this name are uncertain.

(4) Yazîd Ibn Omar Ibn Hubaira, governor of Irak for Marwân Ibn Muhammad, fought for his master till the last, and held out in Wâsit eleven months against Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr. It was only on learning the death of his sovereign that he surrendered.—(See Price's *Retrospect.*)

(5) Itâkh, when a boy, was a slave to Sallâm al-Abrash, by whom he was employed as a cook, and who sold him to al-Motasim in the year 199 (A. D. 814-5). Being possessed of great courage, he was raised to places of the highest authority by that prince and by his successor al-Wâthik. He was named commander of the household troops المعونة at Sarr-mann-râa, and it was by his hand and in his house that persons condemned to death by al-Motasim were executed. Under al-Mutawakkil he held the rank of commander-in-chief, general of the Maghribin and Turkish guard, grand-treasurer, postmaster-general, grand-chamberlain, and governor of Baghdad; but a circumstance happened which inspired the khalif with the utmost dread of his powerful favourite. They had been both drinking together, and al-Mutawakkil, heated with wine, insulted Itâkh so grossly, that the offended officer threatened to také his life. The next morning the khalif was reminded of the scene, and offered an apology for what had passed, but some time after, he procured a person who suggested to Itâsh the propriety of making the pilgrimage to Mekka. The permission of al-Mutawakkil having been obtained, he left Baghdad preceded by all the troops, clothed in a pelisse of honour, and authorised to exercise the supreme authority in every town through which he passed. On his return, in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 230 (July, A. D. 845), he was received with great honour at Baghdad by Ishak Ibn Ibrahîm, who had been nominated governor of that city in the interval, and who now invited him, in the most pressing manner, to come and stop at his palace. Itâkh hesitated, but yielding at length to Ibn Ibrahîm's solicitations, he went in, and at the same moment the guard of four hundred young slaves who always accompanied him were shut out. Itâkh was immediately cast into

chains and deprived of every nourishment till he expired, after which witnesses were brought in to examine his body and depose that he had died a natural death.—(Ibn al-Athîr. Ibn Shukr.) The latter historian calls Itâkh *the sword of the khalifs' vengeance* سيف النقمة للخلفاء; a title similar to that already noticed, page 347, and which is now sufficiently explained by the observation of Ibn al-Athîr in the foregoing extract. At the siege of Ammûriya, A. H. 223, Itâkh commanded the right wing of the Moslim army, and in the year 225 he was appointed governor of Yemen.—(Ibn al-Athîr.) His name is differently pointed in the MSS., it is found written اتياخ *Atyâkh*, ايتاخ *Itâkh*, and اساخ. M. Hamaker suggests, in his work entitled *Expeditio adversus Dymyatham*, p. 125, that the true reading may be *Inakh*, a word still employed by the Uzbeks to signify *prince* or emir. In the autograph MS. it is written ايتاخ.

(6) Ashnâs, one of al-Motasim's generals, commanded the van of the Moslims at the siege of Ammûriya. In the year 225, he married his daughter to Afshîn, the general who conquered Bâbek al-Khurrami. He died A. H. 230 (A. D. 844-5).—(Ibn al-Athîr.)—See also Freytag's *Selecta ex Historia Halebi*, p. 84.

(7) See note (4), page 33.

(8) Aus Ibn Hajar was a contemporary of al-Hutaiya and Nâbigha al-Jaadi.

(9) Ahmad Ibn al-Khasîb became vizir to al-Muntasir, A. H. 248 (A. D. 862-3).

(10) At that time the governors of the provinces confided to their *kâtibs*, or secretaries, the duty of collecting the public revenue, and the enormous fortunes which some of them acquired in the exercise of this office excited, more than once, the avidity of the court of Baghdad. The peculators were then cast into prison, put to the torture, and obliged to pay heavy sums before recovering their liberty. An instance of this may be found in the *Annals* of Abû 'l-Fedâ under the year 230. Sulaimân Ibn Wahb was one of the *kâtibs* imprisoned that very year, and he had to pay four hundred thousand dinars for his deliverance. He was then in the service of Itâkh. His brother al-Hasan was confined with him, but obtained his liberty at a much cheaper rate; fourteen thousand dinars were all he was obliged to refund. — (Ibn al-Athîr.) See also Ibn Shukr, vol. VIII. p. 55.

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## SINJAR IBN MALAKSHAH.

Abû 'l-Harith Sinjar Ibn Malakshâh Ibn Alp-Arslân Ibn Dâwûd Ibn Mikâil Ibn Saljûk Ibn Dakâk was sultan of Khorasân, Ghazna, and Ma-warâ-an-Nahr (*Transoxiana*); prayers were offered up for him from the pulpits of Arabian and Persian Irak, Adarbijân, Arrân, Armenia, Syria, Mosul, Diâr Bakr, Diâr Rabîa and the two sacred cities (*Mekka and Medîna*); money was struck in his name from one extremity of the Moslim empire to the other, and the titles of as-Sultân al-Aazam (*the powerful sultan*) Moizz ad-dîn (*the exalter of the faith*) were conferred upon him. His noble spirit and his liberality ranked him among the greatest of princes; it is said that, during five successive mornings,

he launched into every species of beneficence and gave away seven hundred thousand dinars (1), besides horses, pelisses, and other valuable objects. His treasurer stated his conviction that the riches contained in his master's treasury surpassed what had ever been possessed by any of the Persian kings (*Chosroes*): "I one day told him," said he, "that among his stores were one thousand satin "dresses, and I requested him to look at them; taking his silence for a proof 308 "of his consent, I displayed them all before him, saying: 'Why not look at "what belongs to you? why not praise Almighty God for the favours and "bounties he has conferred upon you?' On this he extolled his Creator, and "observed that it would be disgraceful for a prince like him to have it said "(*that he hoarded*) riches on riches. He then gave orders to introduce his "emirs, and he shared all the dresses among them. He possessed also one "thousand and thirty pounds weight (*ratl*) of precious stones; a thing un-"heard of in the history of any other prince." The authority of Sinjar and his good fortune kept constantly increasing till the year 548 (A. D. 1153-4), when he was defeated and taken prisoner by the Ghozz (2), a people of Turkish origin. The history of this event is well known (3). It was then that the jurisconsult Muhammad Ibn Yahya, whose life will be found in this work, fell a martyr. The power of Sinjar was broken by these invaders; they tore his kingdom asunder, obtained possession of Naisâpûr and massacred a countless multitude of the inhabitants. Sinjar remained with them a prisoner five years, and during the interval, the kingdom of Khorasan was dissolved and the city of Marw fell into the power of Khowârezm Shâh (4). He at length effected his escape, and having returned to Khorasan, he collected his partisans at Marw, and was on the point of recovering his throne when the term prescribed to his life came to its expiration. He was born on Friday, the 25th of Rajab, A. H. 479 (November, A. D. 1086), in the environs of Sinjâr, and it was on account of this circumstance that he received his name. His father, the sultan Malak Shâh, happened to stop at that city on his passage through Diâr Rabia, when he received intelligence of the birth of a son; on which he ordered him to be called Sinjar. In the year 490 (A. D. 1097), Sinjar became the lieutenant of his brother Barkyârûk (*see his life, page* 251), and in 512 (A. D. 1118-9) he obtained the sovereignty of the empire. Having escaped from his captivity among the Ghozz, he died at Marw on Monday, the 14th of the first Rabi, A. H. 552 (April, A. D.

1157) and was interred in that city. The Seljûk dynasty in Khorasan ceased with his existence, and most of his kingdom fell into the possession of Khowârezm Shâh Atsiz Ibn Muhammad Ibn Anûshtikin, the grandfather of Tukush Khowârezm Shâh.—Ibn al-Azrak al-Fâriki (*native and historian of Maiyâfârikîn*) states, in his History, that Sinjar died in the year 555 (A. D. 1160): God knows best!

(1) The dinar of that time may possess an intrinsic value of about nine or ten shillings.

(2) Ibn Khallikân calls them the *Aghazz;* this is the singular of the word; *Ghozz* is the plural. Ibn Khaldûn names them the *Aghzâz*, which word is the plural of the plural form *ghozz*.

(3) See Abû 'l-Fedâ's *Annals*, year 548.

(4) For the history of Khowârezm Shâh Atsiz Ibn Muhammad Ibn Anûshtikîn, see Price's *Retrospect*, vol. II. page 390.

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## SAHL AT-TUSTARI.

Abû Muhammad Sahl Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Yûnus Ibn Isa Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Rafî at-Tustari, a celebrated saint and gifted with miraculous powers, surpassed all (*the Ṣûfis*) of his time in the practices (*of mystic devotion*). He became acquainted with the *shaikh* Zû 'n-Nûn (1) at Mekka. The mortifications which he practised were excessive, and the command which he acquired (*over his passions and worldly inclinations*) was extreme. From the following relation, made by himself, it appears that it was his maternal uncle Muhammad Ibn Sawwâr who was the cause of his entering on the *path* of the devout life: "My uncle said to me one day, 'Why dost thou not call to mind God thy "creator?'—'How,' said I, 'must I call him to mind?'—'On rolling thyself "up in thy clothes (*when going to sleep*), say three times with thy heart: "*God is with me! God is looking on me! God is witnessing my conduct!* "and let not thy tongue move to pronounce these words.' For some nights I "did as he told me and I then informed him of it. 'Repeat the words seven "times every night,' was his answer. This I did and I informed him again. "'Repeat them eleven times every night,' said he. I followed his advice, and "a sweetness fell into my heart. A year afterwards my uncle said to me:

"'Keep in mind what I taught thee and persèvere in it till thou enterest into "the grave; for it will profit thee in this world and in the next.' During "some years I continued the practice and found therefrom a sweetness in my "inmost self. Then one day my uncle said to me: 'O Sahl! he with whom "God is, on whom God looketh, and whose conduct God witnesseth, is dis- 307 "obedient unto him! beware of disobedience.'" Such was the commencement of his devotional career. He dwelt for some time at Abbadân and also at Basra, in which city he died in the month of Muharram, A. H. 283 (February-March, A.D. 896), or 293 by another account. Our *shaikh* Ibn al-Athîr mentions, in his History, that Sahl was born A. H. 200 (A. D. 815-6); others say 201, at Tustar.— *Tustari* means *belonging to Tustar*, which is a town of the canton of al-Ahwâz in Khûzistân. This place, which is sometimes called *Shushtar*, contains the tomb of al-Barâ Ibn Mâlik (2).

(1) See his life, page 291.

(2) Al-Barâ Ibn Mâlik Ibn an-Nadr النضر, the brother of Anas Ibn Mâlik, was camel-leader (*hâdi*) to the Prophet, and extemporized to him scraps of poetry (*rajaz*) when on his journeys and military expeditions. He fought at all his battles and signalized himself by his bravery, having killed, in single combat, during the course of his life, one hundred infidel warriors. He fell a martyr to the cause of Islamism at a battle fought near Tustar, A. H. 20-1.—(Abû 'l-Mahâsin's *Nujûm; Siar as-Salaf.*)—Al-Barâ was one of the *ahl as-Suffa*.—(See Abû 'l-Fedâ's *Annals*, year 11; De Sacy's *Hariri*, p. 328.)—The *hâdi* حادٍ, or camel-driver, encourages them by his song, and al-Barâ had so sweet a voice that on passing through places where there were women, the Prophet used to silence him, saying: *Take care of the glass phials*, اياك والقوارير; alluding probably to the supposed frailty of the female sex.

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## ABU HATIM AS-SIJISTANI.

Abû Hâtim Sahl Ibn Muhammad Ibn Othmân Ibn Yazîd al-Jushami as-Sijistâni, a grammarian, philologer, and *reader* of the Korân, was the most learned man of Basra, in which city he had settled. Master of all the branches of belles-lettres, he had for pupils Ibn Duraid, al-Mubarrad, and others, (*who were afterwards*) the most eminent scholars of the age. He read twice through Sibawaih's *Book*, under the tuition of al-Akhfash; this he mentioned to al-Mu-







barrad, who declared that he heard him say so. Much of the oral information which he communicated to his pupils had been received by him from Abû Zaid al-Ansâri, Abû Obaida, and al-Asmâi. He was versed in philology and poetry, skilled in prosody, and an able elucidator of obscure expressions. In the composition of poetry he displayed considerable talent, but his acuteness as a grammarian was so inferior that, whenever he met Abû Othmân al-Mâzini at the house of Isa Ibn Jaafar al-Hâshimi, he either pretended business or hurried out of the room to avoid answering any grammatical questions which the other might propose to him. He led a chaste and holy life; every day he gave a dinar in alms, and every week he read the Koran through. Some of his poetical pieces are very good, such, for instance, as the lines addressed by him to Abû 'l-Abbâs al-Mubarrad, who frequented his lessons and studied assiduously under him. Al-Mubarrad was then a youth of great beauty (1). Abû Hâtim said to his pupils: "If you wish to commit a secret to paper, write it down "with new milk; the words will appear when the hot ashes of burnt paper "are sprinkled over them. Or write with a solution of white *zâj* (*sulphate of* "*iron*); the words will become visible when the paper is sprinkled with an "infusion of nutgalls. Or else write with the latter, and you may revive the "writing by means of the *zâj*." The following is a list of his works: The Koran analysed grammatically; on the faulty expressions employed by the vulgar; on birds; on the genders; on plants; on the words terminated by a long or by a short *elif;* on the difference between the names given to the members of the human frame and those of animals (2); on the *readings* of the Koran; a work called *al-Makâtî wa 'l-Mabâdi* (3); on elegance of expression; on the date-tree; on those words which have contrary significations; on the bow, arrow, and dart; on the sword; on the spear; on the coat of mail; on the horse; on wild beasts; on reptiles; satirical pieces; on the grain when growing up; on the human frame; on the cases in which two letters must be united into one (4); on biestings and new milk; on the vine; on winter and summer; on bees and honey; on camels; on herbage; on abundance and sterility; on the differences which existed between the first copies of the Koran, etc. The following is a specimen of his poetry:

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They let that handsome face appear, and then blame those who are tempted. If they wish us to be continent, let them veil that handsome face.

He died in the month of Muharram (or of Rajab), A. H. 248 (March-April, A. D. 862), at Basra, and was interred in the centre of the *Musalla* (5); the funeral service was said over him by Sulaimân Ibn Jaafar Ibn Sulaimân Ibn Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbâs Ibn Abd al-Muttalib al-Hâshimi, who was at that time governor of the city.—*Jushâni* is derived from *Jusham;* there are a number of tribes bearing this name, and I do not know to which of them Abû Hâtim belonged.

(1) The original text contains here some verses composed by Sahl on al-Mubarrad. They contain the expression of a strong platonic affection, but they cannot with propriety be translated.

(2) See page 572, note (6).

(3) This title means *stops and commencements*. Hajji Khalifa does not notice the work, and mere conjectures respecting its subject would be useless.

(4) See M. de Sacy's *Grammaire arabe*, tom. I. pages 23 et 53, etc.

The *Musalla* (*place of prayer*) is a place in the open air where public prayers are said on the two great Moslim festivals.—See M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, tome I, page 191.

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## ABU 'L-FATH SAHL AL-ARGHIYANI.

Abû 'l-Fath Sahl Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ali al-Arghiyâni, a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, highly respected for his learning and mortified life, studied jurisprudence at Marw under the *shaikh* Abû Ali 's-Sinji (1), and then received lessons from the kâdi Husain al-Marwarrûdi (2), with whose system of doctrine he became so well acquainted, that his master declared that no one knew it better. He then went to Naisâpûr and read over the principles of jurisprudence under the tuition of the Imâm al-Haramain Abû 'l-Maâli 'l-Juwaini, at whose assemblies he maintained discussions with general approbation. Having then returned to Arghiyân, he filled the place of kâdi for some years, holding at the same time a most exemplary conduct and walking in the path of righteousness. He then made the pilgrimage and became acquainted with the great doctors of Irak, Hijâz, and al-Jibâl (*Persian Irak*), from whom he received some Traditions and to whom he communicated others. On quitting Mekka, he went to visit the Sûfi (3) *shaikh* al-Hasan as-Simnâni, by whom he was advised to

discontinue the practice of discussing points of the law: he followed this counsel, and having given up the place of kâdi, he confined himself to his house and lived in solitude. He then built with his own money a little Sûfi convent, in which he went to reside and where he remained, composing works and practising devotion till his death. He expired on the first day of Muharram, A. H. 499 (September, A. D. 1105), as he was just awaking from one of his ecstacies (4). He is the author of that collection of legal decisions which is called the *Fatâwa Arghiyâniya* (5). He had heard the lessons of some eminent doctors, such as Abû Bakr al-Baihaki (6), Nâsir al-Marwazi (7), and Abd al-Ghâfir Ismaîl al-Fârisi, the author of the *Majma 'l-Gharâib*, the supplement to the History of Naisâpûr and other works.—*Arghiyâni* means *belonging to Arghiyân*, which is a tract of country in the dependencies of Naisâpûr, containing a number of villages.

(1) See his life, page 419.

(2) See his life, page 418.

(3) The word *aârif* عارف (*the knowing*), here rendered by *Sûfi*, is a technical term of mystic theology. It signifies one who has attained to the knowledge of the divine essence and attributes.—See the *Vies des Sûfis* par Djâmi, in the *Notices et Extraits*, tom. XII. p. 323.

(4) See the meaning of the word *hâl* explained in note (4), page 190.

(5) See however what our author says on this subject in the life of Abû Nasr Muhammad al-Arghiyâni.

(6) See his life, page 57.

(7) Abû 'l-Fath Nâsir Ibn al-Husain al-Omari al-Marwazi, an eminent professor and doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, was a member of the tribe of Koraish, and a descendant from the khalif Omar Ibn al-Khattâb. The celebrated *hâfiz* al-Baihaki was one of his disciples. He himself had studied at Marw under al-Kaffâl, and at Naisapur under Abû 't-Taiyib as-Sôlûki. He was an excellent professor, *mufti*, and controvertist. He terminated a life of modest poverty and virtue in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 444 (March, A. D. 1053).—(*Tab. as-Shâfiyîn*.)

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## ABU 'T-TAIYIB SAHL AS-SOLUKI.

Abû 't-Taiyib Sahl Ibn Muhammad Ibn Sulaimân Ibn Muhammad Ibn Sulaimân as-Solûki, a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, was a native of Naisâpûr. We shall give the life of his father and the rest of his genealogy under the letter *M*. 309 Abû 't-Taiyib was *mufti* of Naisâpûr and son of the (*former*) *mufti* of that city; he studied jurisprudence under his father Abû Sahl as-Solûki, who was

still living when he received the title of chief doctor of the law (*imâm*). It is universally allowed that for learning and the strict observance of religion he stood without a rival. He received Traditions from his father, from Muhammad Ibn Yâkûb al-Asamm, from Ibn Musattir, and from others of the same class; he was also a profound jurisconsult, a learned philologist, and an able dogmatic theologian. His disciples gained much instruction from the traditional learning which he imparted to them, and it is said that when he made his course of lectures, upwards of five hundred inkhorns were in service (*the number of those who took notes being so great*). He was the most eminent professor and imâm (1) of the age, and it was from him that the doctors of Naisâpûr received their information. His death took place in the month of Muharram, A.H. 387 (Jan.-Feb. A.D. 997); it is stated, however, by Abû Yâla al Khalîli in his *Irshâd*, that he died in the beginning of the year 402 (2).—"*Solûki* is derived from *Solûk*"—such is the sole observation made on this word by as-Samâni (*in his* Ansâb). It is related by Abd al-Wâhid al-Lakhmi that a soreness having fallen on Sahl's eyes, his friends used to go and recite pieces of poetry and relate historical anecdotes in his presence, a thing customary in such cases, and that the *shaikh* Abû Abd ar-Rahmân as-Sulami (3) said to him: "Imâm! if your eyes "could see your face, they would be healed (4)." With this compliment Sahl was highly pleased, and observed that he had never received one more flattering. On the death of his father Muhammad Ibn Sulaimân, the following verses of condolence were addressed to him by Abû 'n-Nasr Ibn Abd al-Jabbâr:

> Who will bear from me, afflicted and lamenting, a message to one who, by his learning, is the first of all. (*Tell him*) that patience under affliction best becomes the man whose legal decisions are (*just*) as the judgments of God.

(1) See page 55, note (1).

(2) Al-Yâfi and al-Othmâni place his death in A. H. 404.

(3) This person must not be confounded with a celebrated korân-reader of the same name, noticed in the life of Aâsim Ibn Abi Nujûd.—See vol. II. of this work.

(4) This is somewhat analogous to the expression: A sight of you is good for sore eyes.

## SHAWAR.

Abû Shujâa Shâwar (1) as-Saadi (*member of the tribe of Saad*) was the son of Mujîr Ibn Nizâr Ibn Ashâir Ibn Shâs Ibn Mughîth Ibn Habîb Ibn al-Hârith Ibn Rabîa Ibn Yakhnas (2) Ibn Abi Duwaib Abd Allah.—Ibn Abi Duwaib was the father of Halîma, who nursed the Prophet on the same milk with her daughter as-Shaimâ. The father of as-Shaimâ was al-Hârith Ibn Abd al-Ozza Ibn Rifâa Ibn Mallân: it was she who was carrying Muhammad in her arms when he bit her, and she showed him the mark, (*many years later*,) when she went to see him. Some say the real name of Ibn Abi Duwaib was Abd Allah Ibn al-Hârith Ibn Shihna Ibn Jâbir Ibn Rizâm Ibn Nâsira Ibn Kusaiya Ibn Nasr Ibn Saad Ibn Bakr Ibn Hawâzin. The government of Upper Egypt had been confided to Shâwar by as-Sâlih Ibn Ruzzîk, al-Aâdid's vizir, who, when wounded (3) and on the point of death, reproached himself with three faults; the first, his nomination of Shâwar; the second, his having built the mosque which bears his own name, and is situated at the Zawîla Gate; because it might be employed with advantage in the defence of Cairo against a besieger; and the third, his
310 having led his troops as far as Bilbais, and returning back after spending upwards of two hundred thousand dinars upon them, instead of marching into Syria, taking Jerusalem and eradicating the power of the Franks. Shâwar then established his authority in Upper Egypt, and as his ambition, noble spirit, and bravery were equally conspicuous, Sâlih's last advice to his son (*and successor*) al-Aâdil Ruzzîk was, that he should neither attempt to molest him nor let any change appear in his conduct towards him; Shawâr being a person whose fidelity could not be trusted, and who might revolt when it was least expected. It would be too long to relate how Sâlih's apprehensions were justified; (*we shall merely state that*) Shâwar left Upper Egypt, and traversing the Oasis and the deserts, he appeared suddenly at Tarûja, a village near Alexandria, whence he marched to Cairo. He entered that city on Sunday, the 22nd of Muharram, A. H. 558 (January, A.D. 1163), and having put al-Aâdil to death, he took possession of the vizirat which had thus become vacant, and got all the authority into his own hands. Al-Aâdil had fled from Cairo with his family on the 20th of Muharram, during the night (*but had been pursued and made prisoner.*)

The same year, in the month of Ramadân, Shâwar proceeded to Syria with the intention of soliciting succour from (*Nur ad-dín*) Mahmûd Ibn Zinki, the sovereign of that country: he had been driven from Cairo by Abû 'l-Ashbâl Dirghâm Ibn Aâmir Ibn Siwâr al-Lakhmi al-Mundiri (4), surnamed Fâris al-Muslimîn (*the cavalier of the Moslims*). This Arab, who was prefect of the palace (5), had assembled a great number of adherents, and having attacked and defeated Shâwar, he obliged him to fly from Cairo, and slew his son Tai. He then installed himself in the vizirat; it having become the custom of Egypt that the victor should take the place of the vanquished. It is well known that Nûr ad-dîn sent the emir Asad ad-din Shîrkûh to assist Shâwar; we need not therefore enter into longer details on the subject (6), and it finally occurred that Nûr ad-dîn after having entered Egypt three times, as may be seen in his life, slew Shâwar on Wednesday, the 17th or 18th of the latter Rabî, A. H. 564 (January, A. D. 1169). Shâwar was interred in the funeral chapel erected over his son Tai, and which is situated in the lesser Karâfa, near the tomb of al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil. He fell by the hand of the emir Izz ad-dîn Jurdîk, an enfranchised slave of Nûr ad-dîn's. Ar-Rûhi (7) states, in his *Tuhfat al-Khulafâ*, that he was slain by the sultan Salâh ad-dîn, who was then accompanying his uncle Asad ad-dîn, and that this event took place on Saturday, the 15th of the first Jumâda, in the year above mentioned; and Ibn Shaddàd says in his *Sirat Salâh ad-dîn* (8): "When Shâwar "rode forth with his suite to meet Asad ad-dîn, none dared to attack him "except Salâh ad-dîn, who went up to him, and riding beside him, seized him "by the collar and ordered his men to fall on. The troops of Shâwar took to "flight and their camp was plundered; as for himself, he was taken to an isolated tent, and immediately after, there arrived a note in the hand writing "of the chief eunuch, by which the Egyptians demanded the prisoner's head, "in conformity to their usual mode of treating fallen vizirs. His head was "therefore cut off and forwarded to them, on which they sent to Asad ad-dîn "the pelisse (*investiture*) of the vizirat. Having put it on, he entered the "city and was inaugurated as vizir. This passed on the 17th of the latter Rabî "of the same year." The *hâfiz* Ibn Asâkir says in his History: "Shâwar came "to solicit Nûr ad-dîn's protection, and was received by him with high honour "and respect; that prince sent an army with him into Egypt, and by its aid "Shâwar slew his rival (*Dirghâm*); he did not however fulfil any of his engage-

"ments, and he subsequently sent to the king of the Franks, offering a sum of "money for assistance. The troops of Nûr ad-din had now returned to Syria, "and the king of the Franks, animated with the secret hope of getting Egypt "into his power, marched as far as Bilbais, of which city he took possession in "his own name. Nûr ad-dîn having received intelligence of this event, dis-"patched (*Asad ad-dîn Shîrkûh with*) an army into the country, and the enemy, "frustrated in their projects, retired on his approach. Shâwar's perfidy now "became evident; he wrote to the enemy for assistance, and Shîrkûh, struck "with the danger to which such perversity exposed him, pretended to be unwell, "on which Shâwar went to see him, but was attacked and killed by Jurdik 311 "and Burgush, both *mawlas* to Nûr ad-dîn. The death of Shâwar was cer-"tainly planned by Salâh ad-dîn; it was he who first laid violent hands on "him. Asad ad-dîn then remained in undisputed possession of the supreme "authority; the doctrines of the *sunna* were again openly professed in Egypt, "and the *khotba* was made in the name of the Abbasides after a lapse of time "which precluded all hopes of its re-establishment." The doctor Omâra al-Yamani, whose life shall come later, composed some poems in honour of Shâwar, and the following lines are taken from one of them:

Iron recoils from iron, but Shâwar never recoils from defending the religion of Muhammad. Time made an oath to produce another man like Shâwar; thy oath is false, O Time! expiate therefore thy perjury.

Omâra relates that at the period of Shâwar's success and of the fall of the Ruzzîk family, a number of their former partisans and of those upon whom they had heaped favours, were assembled around Shâwar on one of the days in which he held a public sitting to receive visiters, and that they attacked the character of their former benefactors in the hopes of gaining their new master's favour. On this occasion, Omâra, who was present and who had met with great kindness from Sâlih Ibn Ruzzîk and his son al-Aâdil on his arrival in Egypt, recited to Shâwar the following verses:

Thy reign has restored health to our feverish times, and the evils which excited the complaints of the epoch have disappeared. The (*brilliant*) days of the Ruzzîk family have passed away; their praises are heard no longer, but blame ceaseth not (*to pursue them*). (*It is now*) as if the good and the just (9) of that family had never filled yonder throne. Here are those who roused against them their evil fortune whilst it still slumbered—(and peace maketh leaves to grow on the *salam* tree) (10). We thought—and

our thoughts are sometimes mistaken—that the troop of their partisans was invincible; but when you darted upon them like a falcon (*upon his quarry*), that flock of vultures betrayed them (*and took to flight*). Yet they were no despicable foes, but they were overwhelmed by the torrent of your success. In exalting your enemies, I only mean to exalt your own glory; excuse me then, and blame me not. If I feel grateful to them for their kindness in former days, it is because I remember what I experienced, not because I had previously bound myself to praise them. Were I to open my mouth only to blame them, thy magnanimity would shrink and oblige me to close it. God, in his kindness, commands us to do good and to avoid saying evil of others.

Omâra then proceeds to state that Shâwar and his two sons praised him highly for his gratitude to the family of Ruzzîk.—As for al-Malik al-Mansûr (*the victorious prince*) Abû 'l-Ashbâl Dirghâm (*the lion, father of the whelps*) Ibn Siwâr al-Lakhmi, he left Cairo on the approach of Shâwar with the troops from Syria, and was slain on Friday, the 28th of the latter Jumâda, or, by another account, in the month of Rajab, A. H. 559 (May, A.D. 1164). He fell near the sepulchral chapel of as-Saiyida Nafîsa (11), situated between Old and New Cairo. His head was cut off and borne about on a lance, and his body lay there for three days till it was partly devoured by dogs; it was then interred near the Birkat al-Fîl (12), and a cupola was erected near it. This I have read in some historian, and there is still a cupola at the Birkat which I am inclined to think is that very one.—The word *Wâhât* (*Oasis*) serves to designate a long tract of country 312 lying parallel to Upper Egypt, and situated in the deserts which extend to Barka and are crossed by the road leading to Maghrib.— *Tarûja* is a village near Alexandria; its principal produce is caraway.—Shâwar's descent, as it is given at the beginning of this notice, was copied by me from a (*genealogical*) tree which was communicated to me by one of his descendants.

(1) It appears from the autograph MS. that this name must be pronounced *Shâwar*, and not *Shâwir*, as I have hitherto written it. Indeed, William of Tyre calls him *Sauar*, and this should have prevented me from falling into any mistake on the subject.

(2) The printed text has *Mukhts*, which is a fault.

(3) The autograph MS. has جُرج; all the others have خرج.

(4) The titles al-Lakhmi al-Mundiri given to this Arab chief, prove that he drew his descent from the ancient princes of Hira.

(5) *Prefect of the palace*; literally, Lieutenant of the door. This was one of the highest dignities under the Fatimites of Egypt. The officer who filled this place went to meet the foreign ambassadors and introduced them to the khalif.—(Al-Makrîzi, MS. St. Germain, No. 106, fol. 343 *v*.)

(6) For these events consult the *Annals* of Abû 'l-Fedâ, and M. Reinaud's *Extraits*, etc.

(7) The full names of this writer are Abû Abd Allah Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Azîz ar-Rûhi. He must have written his *Tuhfat al-Khulafâ* (*present for khalifs*) subsequently to A. H. 564. Another of his works, the *Bulghat az-Zurafâ*, is noticed in the Bib. Bodl. Catal.

(8) See Schulten's *Saladini vita et res gestæ*, p. 34.

(9) There is here a play upon the names of *Sâlih* and *Aâdil*, which mean *good* and *just*.

(10) Such is the literal meaning of the original Arabic. There can be no mistake in the printed text, as it agrees exactly with the copy of the same poem contained in Omâra's *an-Nukat al-Asrîyat*, or historical anecdotes of the vizirs of Egypt, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No 810, fol. 26, which manuscript has been corrected by the author himself. The last word of the verse he has pointed so that it must be pronounced *salam;* yet the autograph of Ibn Khallikân writes it *salim* سلم, a word which does not exist in Arabic. As the leaves of the salam tree were used in dyeing, and were therefore frequently stripped off, we may suppose the poet to mean, that as the salam tree, if left untouched, is covered with leaves and gives shade to the traveller, so the Ruzzik family, had they enjoyed peace, might have flourished and protected all those who sought their shelter.

(11) Her life will be found in this work.

(12) The Birkat al-Fîl, or Elephant's Pond, lay between Cairo and the citadel.—(*Al-Makrîzi*.)

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## AL-AFDAL SHAHANSHAH.

Abû 'l-Kâsim Shâhanshâh, surnamed al-Malik al-Afdal (*the excellent prince*), was the son of Badr al-Jamâli Amîr al-Juyiûsh. His father Badr was of Armenian extraction, and had been purchased as a slave by Jamâl ad-Dawlat Ibn Ammâr (1), who brought him up and advanced him in the world. Badr's prudence, perspicacity, and energy of character ranked him among those men of eminent abilities whose number is so few, and he was therefore named lieutenant-governor of Tyre, or perhaps of Acre, by al-Mustansir, the ruler of Egypt. At the period in which the authority of that prince had been greatly enfeebled and the affairs of the empire had fallen into disorder (2), a state of things which we shall describe in his life, he heard of Badr al-Jamâli's merit and called him to his assistance. It was then in the depth of winter, a period in which it is not usual to make a voyage, but Badr embarked and arrived at Kairo on the eve of Wednesday, the 28th of the first Jumâda, some say of the second, A. H. 466 (January, A. D. 1074), and received from al-Mustansir the direction of all the public affairs. By his presence the authority of the prince recovered the respect which it had lost, and order was re-established in the state.

Having been named *vizir of the sword and the pen* (*chief of the civil and military*), kâdi 'l-Kudât (*chief kâdi*) and president of the missionaries (3), he displayed such talent in his administration, that his arrival in Egypt was generally said to be the commencement of al-Mustansir's good fortune and the end of his abasement. He was surnamed Amîr al-Juyiûsh (*commander in chief*). At the moment he first entered into al-Mustansir's presence, a person was reading the Koran to that prince and had just pronounced the words: *And God has now assisted you with Badr* (4) but did not finish the verse; on which al-Mustansir declared that had he finished it, he would have struck off his head (5). Badr continued in power till upwards of eighty: his death took place in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, or of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 488 (November, A. D. 1095) (6). It was he who built the great mosque situated in the Sûk al-Attârin (*Druggist street*) at Alexandria; he finished its construction in the month of the first Rabî, A. H. 479 (June-July, A. D. 1086). He built also the *chapel of the Head* (7) at Ascalon. During his last illness he was replaced as vizir by his son al-Afdal Shâhanshâh, whose conduct towards Nizâr the son of al-Mustansir and Iftikîn the Afdalite, governor of Alexandria, is so well known (8). Having made them prisoners, he took them to Cairo, after which they were never more heard of. This was in the year 488 (A. D. 1095), some time after al-Mustansir's death. He then placed on the throne Ahmad al-Mustali, that prince's son, and continued to act as vizir. As for Iftikîn, he was executed publicly (9), and as for Nizâr, it is said that he was immured by his brother al-Mustali's orders, and that he thus perished. We have already spoken of him in the life of al-Mustali (*page* 160). Iftikîn was one of al-Afdal's mamlûks, and Nizâr is the person from whom the Ismailite princes, the possessors of the fortress of al-Alamût and other castles in Persia, claim their descent (10). Al-Afdal was an able ruler and possessed a superior judgment; it was he who, on the death of al-Mustali, placed al-Aamir, that sovereign's son, on the throne: he then took the direction of public affairs into his own hands, and having confined the prince in his palace, he prevented him from indulging his passion for pleasure and amusements. This treatment induced al-Aamir to plot against his vizir's life, and on the evening of Sunday, the 30th of Ramadan, A. H. 515 (December, 313 A. D. 1121), as al-Afdal rode forth from his habitation in the imperial palace (which edifice is on the bank of the Nile and is now called the *Dâr al-Wa-*

*kâla*), he was attacked by the conspirators and slain whilst proceeding towards the river. He was the father of Abû Ali Ahmad Ibn Shâhanshâh, of whose conduct towards al-Hâfiz Abû 'l-Maimûn Abd al-Hamid al-Obaidi, sovereign of Egypt, we shall make mention in the life of that prince. In our notices on al-Mustâli and Ortuk at-Turkomâni (*page* 171) we have spoken of al-Afdal and mentioned that he took Jerusalem from Sokmân and Il-Ghâzi, the sons of Ortok.—Al-Afdal left after him such a quantity of wealth as was never heard of before; the author of the *Dûal al-Munkatia* (11) states that it consisted of six hundred millions of dinars (12); two hundred and fifty bushels of dirhims, all of full weight and coined in Egypt; seventy-five thousand satin robes; thirty camel-loads of (*perfume*-) boxes in Irak gold; a gold inkhorn mounted with a precious stone valued at twelve thousand dinars; one hundred gold nails, each weighing one hundred dinars, ten of which were in each of his ten sitting rooms; and on each nail was hung a turban ready folded and embroidered in gold; each of these turbans was of a different colour, and he selected from among them whichever he was inclined to wear; he possessed besides five hundred chests of clothing for the persons in his service, all of the finest stuffs which Tennis and Damietta could produce: as for the horses, slaves, mules, saddles, perfumes, ornaments for the person, and furniture which he left after him, God alone knew their quantity. Besides all that, were cows, sheep, and buffalos in such an incredible number that no person would dare to mention it; their milk was farmed out, and in the year of his death it brought in thirty thousand dinars. Among his effects were found two large trunks containing gold needles for the use of the female slaves and the women.

(1) This was probably Abû Tâlib Ibn Ammâr, kâdi and governor of Tripolis, who died A. H. 464, and whose nephew and successor, Jalâl al-Mulk Abû 'l-Hasan Ibn Ammâr, took an active part against the first crusaders.

(2) See the *Mémoire sur la vie de Mostansir* in M. Quatremère's *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*.

(3) The Fatimites kept up till the last their establishment of missionaries, who secretly propagated the Shîite doctrines in foreign countries and were their most active political agents.

(4) Koran, surat 3, verse 119.

(5) The rest of the verse is as follows: *When you were despicable* (to others); *fear therefore God that ye may peradventure be thankful.* Had the reader gone farther, the first part of the verse would have been no longer applicable to Badr, on account of the modification which the sense receives from the sequel. It would then have meant: *And God had already given you the victory at Bedr*; besides which, the expression, "when you were despicable," would not have been flattering to the ears of the prince.

(6) Most historians place Badr's death in A. H. 487.

(7) It was at Ascalon that the head of al-Husain, the grandson of Muhammad, was interred before its removal to Egypt.—(Abû 'l-Fedâ's *Annâls*, year 61.)

(8) See the history of this affair, page 160, note (7).

(9) Our author here contradicts what he has just said, a few lines above.

(10) See note (7), page 161, towards the end.

(11) See note (5), page 152.

(12) This is an absurd exaggeration; 600,000,000 dinars or 300,000,000 pounds sterling!

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## NUR AD-DAWLAT SHAHANSHAH.

The emir Nûr ad-Dawlat (*light of the empire*) Shâhanshâh Ibn Najm ad-din Aiyûb Ibn Shâdi Ibn Marwân was the eldest brother of Salâh ad-dîn, and the father of the two princes, Izz ad-din Farrûkh Shâh and al-Malik al-Muzaffar Taki ad-din Omar, the former of whom was father to al-Malik al-Amjad, prince of Baalbek, and the latter was sovereign of Hamât (1). We intend to give the life of Taki ad-dîn. Shâhanshâh fell in an engagement with the Franks (2), who had assembled to the number of, it is said, seven hundred thousand men, horse and foot, with the intention of invading all the Moslim countries. They advanced to the gates of Damascus, but by the assistance of God, they were defeated. Shâhanshâh was slain in the month of the first Rabi, A.H. 543 (July-August, A.D. 1148). His son Izz ad-dîn (*glory of religion*) Abû Saîd Farrûkh Shâh (*fortunate king*) bore the title of al-Malik al-Mansûr (*the victorious prince*) and was gifted with a noble, generous, and lofty spirit. When the sultan Salâh ad-din returned to Egypt, he left Farrûkh Shâh as his lieutenant at Damascus, and that city enjoyed great prosperity under the firm and able administration of its new governor. He died there in the year 578, towards the end of the first Jumâda (September, A. D. 1182); such is the statement made by the *kâtib* Imâd ad-din in the work entitled *al-Bark ash-Shâmi,* but Ibn Shaddâd says, in his History of Salâh ad-din, that the sultan received intelligence of his nephew's death in the month of Rajab, 577 (3); this, however, was a circumstance with which Imâd ad-din must have been better acquainted than Ibn Shaddâd. Shâhanshâh had a daughter, named Azrâ, who founded the college at Damascus which is called after her the *Azrâwiyâ:* she died on the 10th of Muharram,

A. H. 593 (December, A. D. 1196). As for al-Malik al-Amjad (*the illustrious prince*) Majd ad-dîn (*glory of religion*) Abû 'l-Muzaffar Bahrâm Shâh, the son of Farrûkh Shâh, he possessed considerable abilities, and was allowed 314 by Salâh ad-dîn to retain the government of Baalbek. He is the author of some pieces of poetry which have been collected into a *diwân*. When Baalbek was taken from him by al-Ashraf Ibn al-Aâdil (4), he proceeded to Damascus, where he was murdered, in his own residence, by one of his mamlûks, on the eve of Wednesday, the 12th of Shawwâl, A. H. 628 (August, A. D. 1231.)

(1) Taki ad-dîn Omar was ancestor to Abû 'l-Fedâ.

(2) See M. Reinaud's *Extraits d'auteurs arabés relatifs aux Croisades*, p. 93.

(3) See Schulten's *Saladini vita et res gestæ*, pp. 48, 49.

(4) Al-Ashraf received the principality of Damascus, A. H. 626 (A. D. 1228) and then took possession of Baalbek. — (Al-Yâfi.)

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## SHABIB IBN YAZID AL-KHARIJI.

Abû 'd-Dahhâk Shabîb as-Shaibâni was the son of Yazîd Ibn Noaim Ibn Kais Ibn Amr Ibn as-Salt Ibn Kais Ibn Sharâhîl Ibn Murra Ibn Hammâm Ibn Dohl Ibn Shaibân Ibn Thalaba; the remainder of the genealogy is well known (1). Shabîb Ibn Yazîd al-Khâriji (*the heretic rebel*) revolted at Mosul in the reign of Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân whilst al-Hajjâj Ibn Yûsuf ath-Thakafi was governor of Irak. He slew successively five generals whom al-Hajjâj had sent against him, and he then left Mosul with the intention of reaching Kûfa and meeting al-Hajjâj on his way from Basra to that city, but the latter arrived there with his cavalry after a forced march and anticipated his antagonist. This was in the year 77 (A. D. 696-7). He then fortified himself in the citadel (2) and, the next morning, Shabîb entered the city with his mother Jahîza and his wife Ghazâla. They immediately proceeded to the mosque accompanied by seventy men, and Ghazâla recited in it the morning prayer, and thus fulfilled a vow which she made of saying a prayer of two *rakas* and of reading the *surats* of the *Cow* and the *Family of Imrân* (3) in that mosque, if ever she entered the city. Her courage and bravery were extreme; she fought in all her bro-

ther's battles, and on one of these occasions al-Hajjâj himself fled before her, a mark of cowardice for which a poet reproached him in these lines:

You are a lion against me, but in battle an ostrich which spreads its wings and hurries off on hearing the chirping of the sparrow. Why did you not go forth in the conflict and fight with Ghazâla hand to hand? But no! your heart fled from you (*as if*) with the wings of a bird.

Jahîzâ, Shabîb's mother, was also very brave and fought in all his battles. He himself had assumed the title of khalif and was long successful in resisting al-Hajjâj, who was at length assisted by a powerful army, sent to him by Abd al-Malik from Syria, under the orders of Sofyân Ibn al-Abrad al-Kalbi. When these troops arrived at Kûfa, al-Hajjâj went forth with them against Shabîb, who, overpowered by numbers, took to flight after a combat in which he lost his sister, his mother, and the bravest of his partisans. Pursued by Sofyân at the head of the Syrian troops, he was overtaken at al-Ahwâz, and unable to resist, he fled before them to the river Dujail. On crossing the bridge, his horse became unruly and threw him into the river; borne down by the weight of his coat of mail, helmet, and the rest of his armour, he yielded to his fate, and answered to one of his companions who exclaimed: "How! Com-"mander of the faithful! is drowning to be your lot?"—"Yes; such is the "decision of the Mighty and the All-knowing." His body having been afterwards cast on shore by the river, it was conveyed by the post-horses to al-Hajjâj, who ordered it to be opened and the heart extracted. His commands were obeyed and the heart was found to be as (*hard as*) a stone, rebounding when struck against the ground. Within it was discovered another heart, about the size of a small ball, and this contained the drop of congealed blood (*out of which each man is formed*) (4).—An eye-witness relates as follows: "I saw "Shabîb enter the mosque; he had on a cloak with a hood, spotted over from "drops of rain; he was tall and of an olive complexion; his hair was curly "and of a black colour mixed with gray, and the mosque shook under his "weight." He was born on the festival of the Sacrifice (*10th of Zu'l-Hijja*), A. H. 26 (September, A. D. 647), and was drowned in the Dujail, as we have said, A. H. 77 (A. D. 696-7). Some time after his death, a Khârijite named Itbân Ibn Wasila al-Harûri was brought before Abd al-Malik; this Itbân belonged to the tribe of Shaibân and was one of the heretics (5) who revolted in

Mesopotamia; his mother, whose name was Asila or Wasila, was of the tribe 315 of Mahlim. He had composed a long *kasîda*, which is inserted by al-Marzubâni in his *Mojam*, (*and which gave great offence to the khalif*). Abd al-Malik then addressed him in these terms: "Enemy of God! was it not you who said:

'If your family produced Marwân and his son (*Abd al-Malik*), and Amr and Hashim 'and Habib, ours has given birth to Husain and al-Batîn, and from us sprang Shabîb, 'commander of the faithful'?"

To this Itbân made answer: "Commander of the faithful! I did not say "so; my words were: 'and from us, sprang Shabîb; Commander of the faith-"ful!'" The khalif was delighted with the answer and ordered him to be set at liberty. His reply was certainly admirable, for if the word *amîr* (*commander*) be pronounced *amîro* in the nominative case, it is Shabîb who is declared to be the commander of the faithful; but if it be pronounced *amîra* in the accusative, the interjection *O* must be understood, and the verse will then mean, *O Commander of the faithful! Shabîb sprang from our family*, and nothing more.—The passage which follows is extracted from a collection of biographical notices on persons generally known by their surnames; this collection is contained in Ibn Asâkir's History of Damascus, towards the end of the work: "Abu 'l-Minhal al-Khâriji, a poet: he went to ask Abd al-Malik Ibn "Marwân's pardon for having addressed to him these verses:

'Bear a message to the Commander of the faithful—and a prudent counsellor, if 'sought for, is always to be found—Tell him that no peace can exist as long as an 'orator of the tribe of Thakîf mounts the pulpits of our land. Give (*that*) satisfaction 'to the tribe of Bakr Ibn Wâil (6), or a fatal day shall await you in Irak.'"

(Then follow the two verses given above.) "Abû Minhâl was the surname "of Itbân Ibn Wasila, and by the *orator of the tribe of Thakîf* he meant al-"Hajjâj.—*Jahîza* was the person whose silliness gave rise to the proverbial ex-"pression, *More foolish than Jahîza*. So says Ibn as-Sikkît in that chapter of "the *Kitâb Islâh al-Mantik* which treats of words to which the vulgar give a "wrong application.—The father of Shabîb was one of the Moslims who fled to "Kûfa during the persecution against Muhammad and his party. In the year "25 (A. D. 645-6) he accompanied Sulaimân Ibn Rabia al-Bâhili on a military "expedition into Syria, during which they ravaged part of that country and

" carried off spoil and prisoners. The father of Shabib bought one of the cap-
" tives, a young girl of a rosy complexion, tall and handsome, and ordered her
" to become a Moslim. On her refusal, he beat her; but she nevertheless would
" not consent. He then made her his concubine, and in her pregnancy, when
" the child quickened, she said that she felt something stirring within her.
" This gave rise to the proverb of which we have spoken. She afterwards be-
" came a convert to Islamism and brought forth Shabîb, in the year 26, on the
" festival of the Sacrifice. She told her master that before giving birth to the
" child, she dreamt that she had been delivered of a boy, and that a flame of
" fire then issued from her and mounted up between the earth and the sky, after
" which it fell into the water and was extinguished. 'And,' said she, 'as the
" 'day of his birth is a day of bloodshed, I hope my son will reach to eminence
" and spill much blood.' "—The *Dujail* (*little Tigris*) is a large river in the province of al-Ahwâz, having a number of towns and villages on its banks; it takes its rise near Ispahân, and its bed was dug by Ardashîr Ibn Bâbek, the first of the Sasânite dynasty at al-Madâin (*Ctesiphon*). It must not be confounded with the Dujail of Baghdad which branches off the Tigris opposite to al-Kâdisiya, on the west side of the river, between Tikrît and Baghdad, and waters an extensive territory.—*Harûri* means *belonging to Harûrâ*, a village in the terri- 316 tory of Kûfa, where the Khârijites first assembled; it was for this reason, that they were called *the Harûrites*.

(1) See Eichhorn's *Monumenta antiq. arabum*, Tab. IX.
(2) Literally: *The castle of the government* (Kasr al-Imâra.)
(3) These are the second and third *surats* of the Koran.
(4) See Koran, surat 22, verse 5, and s. 96, v. 2.
(5) In the Arabic text, for سراة read شراة.
(6) Bakr Ibn Wâil was one of Shabib's ancestors. See Eichhorn, *Tab.* IX.

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## THE KADI SHURAIH.

Abû Omaiya Shuraih Ibn al-Hârith Ibn Kais Ibn al-Jahm Ibn Moawia Ibn Aâmir Ibn ar-Râish Ibn al-Hârith Ibn Moawia Ibn Thaur Ibn Muratti (1) be-

longed to the tribe of Kinda (*al-Kindi*). Thaur Ibn Muratti was the person who bore the appellation of Kinda. Great differences subsist between the genealogies given as those of Shuraih, but the preceding is the most correct of any. This eminent *Tâbi* came into the world before the promulgation of Islamism, and was appointed kâdi of Kufa by Omar Ibn al-Khattâb. He filled that post seventy-five years, with only one interruption, at the period of Ibn az-Zubair's revolt, when he obtained the authorisation of al-Hajjâj Ibn Yûsuf to discontinue his services, and did not judge in any cause till three years after, on the death of Ibn az-Zubair. Gifted with deep intelligence, penetration, knowledge, judgment, and great skill in distinguishing right from wrong, he was the ablest kâdi of the age; it is even stated, by Ibn Abd al-Barr, that he possessed considerable talent as a poet. He was one of the four persons who were called *the smooth-faced chiefs* (*as-Sâdât at-Tuls*); the others were Abd Allah Ibn az-Zubair, Kais Ibn Saad Ibn Obâda (2) and al-Ahnaf Ibn Kais, he whose prudence became proverbial (3). Shuraih was much inclined to pleasantry; Adi Ibn Artâ went to his house one day, and the following dialogue ensued: "Where "are you, kâdi? may God direct you!"—"I am between you and the wall." —"Listen to me."—"I can hear very well."—"I am a native of Syria."—"It "is a distant land."—"And I have married a wife from your country."— "May you live happily and have many children!"—"And I wanted to take her "on a journey."—"Each man has the best right over his own family."—"But "I engaged not to remove her from her native place."—"Engagements are "binding (4)."—"Judge then between us."—"I have already done so."— "And against whom have you given it?"—"Against your mother's son."— "On whose evidence?"—"On the evidence of your maternal aunt's sister's "son."—It is related that (*the khalif*) Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib went before the kâdi Shuraih with a tributary subject (5) who was his adverse party in a suit; when he entered, Shuraih stood up (*to salute him*), on which he said: "This is the "first time you ever did wrong." He then leant his back against the wall, observing that if his adversary had been a Moslim, he would have sat down by his side. It is also stated that Ali once convened a meeting of the *koran-readers* in the court of the mosque; when they were assembled, he told them that he should soon quit them, and began to question them on different points. During all the time, Shuraih kept silent, till Ali at length asked his opinion. When

the consultation was over, Ali addressed him in these terms: "You may go; "you are the most excellent of men;" or, by another relation,—"You are the "most excellent of the Arabs."—Shuraih took a wife in the tribe of Tamîm, whose name was Zainab. Being once displeased with her, he beat her, but afterwards repented of his conduct and pronounced these verses:

I have seen men beat their wives; may my right hand be dried up on the day in which I again strike Zainab. Shall I strike her when she has committed no fault? it would not be just in me to strike the guiltless. Zainab is the sun, and the rest of women are stars; when she appears not one of them is seen.

Such is the manner in which this anecdote is related by (*Ibn Abd Rabbih*) the author of the *Ikd*. It is related that Ziâd Ibn Abîh (6) wrote these words to (*the khalif*) Moawia: "Commander of the faithful! my left hand holds Irak "in submission unto you, and my right is unoccupied and waits to be employed "in your service; appoint me therefore governor of Hijâz." This request having reached the ears of Abd Allah Ibn Omar (7), who was residing at Mekka, 317 he exclaimed: "O God! withhold from us the right hand of Ziâd." A pestilential swelling immediately broke out on it, and the assembled physicians having advised amputation, Ziâd called in Shuraih and consulted him on the lawfulness of such an operation; Shuraih returned this answer: "God's bounty "towards you has a certain measure, and your life a fixed limit: if you are to "live longer in this world, I should not wish to see you without a right "hand (8); and if the time of your death be now come, you will have to say, "when asked by thy Lord how you lost your hand: 'It was through dislike of "'meeting thee, and to avoid what thou hadst predestined.'" Ziâd died that day, and his enemies having then reproached Shuraih with preventing his hand from being cut off, they received from him this answer: "He asked counsel "from me, and he whose counsel is asked should act with sincerity; were it "not so, I should have wished his hand to be cut off one day, and his foot an"other, and then every limb of his body, day by day."—The kâdi Shuraih died A. H. 87 (A. D. 706); at the age of one hundred years; but other accounts place his death in the years 82, 78, 80, 79, and 76, at the age of one hundred and twenty years, or of one hundred and eight.—*Kindi* is the relative adjective derived from *Kinda*, which was the surname of Thaur Ibn Muratti Ibn Mâlik

Ibn Zaid Ibn Kahlân. Some say that Thaur was the son of Ofair Ibn al-Harith Ibn Morra Ibn Odad; he received the name of Kinda because he had been ungrateful (*kanada*) for his father's kindness (9).

(1) In my *Diwân d'Amro 'l-Kais*, page 1, this name is incorrectly transcribed *Morti*.

(2) Abû Abd Allah Kais Ibn Saad Ibn Obâda Ibn Dailam was placed by his father in the service of the Prophet, and merited, by his generous character and bravery, the honour of being admitted into his master's familiarity and of bearing his standard in some of his campaigns. He was appointed governor of Egypt by the khalif Ali, A. H. 37 (A. D. 657), but a few months afterwards he lost his place through the machinations of Moawia (*see* Abû 'l-Fedâ's *Annals*, year 36). He fought under Ali against the Khârijites at an-Nahrawân, and against the Syrian troops commanded by Moawia, at Siffîn, In the year 41 he led the van of al-Hasan Ibn Ali's army at al-Madâin, and when that prince acknowledged the authority of Moawia, he followed his example and then returned to Medina, where he finished his days, A. H. 59 (A. D. 678-9).—(Abû 'l-Mahâsin's *Nujûm* and *al-Bahr az-Zâkhir*.)

(3) The life of ad-Dahhâk Ibn Kais, surnamed al-Ahnaf, will be found in this volume.

(4) This is a common proverb. See Freytag's *Meidani*, tom. I. p. 669.

(5) In Arabic *zimmi*; see page 266, note 2.

(6) See page 364, note (9).

(7) See note (1), page 567.

(8) Amputation of the hand was the punishment inflicted on thieves.

(9) The *Kâmûs* says, that Kinda was so called because he had been ungrateful for his father's kindness and went to live with his maternal uncles.

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## THE KADI SHARIK.

Abû Abd Allah Sharîk an-Nakhâi descended from an-Nakhâ by the following line: he was the son of Abd Allah Ibn Abi Sharîk al-Hârith Ibn Aûs Ibn al-Hârith Ibn al-Adhal Ibn Wabhîl Ibn Saad Ibn Mâlik Ibn an-Nakhâ; in the life of Ibrâhim an-Nakhâi (*page* 5) will be found the rest of the genealogy. Sharik filled the place of kâdi at Kûfa under the reign of al-Mahdi, but was deprived of his situation by the khalif Mûsa al-Hâdi. He was a man of learning and an able jurisconsult, shrewd, acute, and intelligent. During a discussion which he had with Mosâb Ibn Abd Allah az-Zubairi (1) in al-Mahdi's presence, Mosâb reproached him with depreciating the khalifs Abû Bakr and Omar, and received this answer: "I do not depreciate your ancestor, and yet he was their inferior."

In the course of a conversation which passed at his house concerning (*the khalif*) Moawia Ibn Abi Sofyân, some person said that he was a man of prudence; on which Sharik observed that he who treated the just rights of others with contempt, and waged war with Ali the son of Abû Tâlib, could not be held as such. Another time, a number of students went to hear Traditions from him, and finding that he smelt of wine (*nabîd*), they observed that if such an odour came from them, they should be ashamed of themselves, to which he replied: "(*You say* "*that*) because you feel that you might be justly suspected." Having one day gone to see al-Mahdi, that khalif said to him: "I have three proposals to make "to you, and I shall insist on your acceding to one of them; you must become "a kâdi (2), or teach Traditions to my sons and instruct them, or eat a morsel "with me." Sharik, who had not as yet acted as kâdi, reflected for some time, and then answered that of the three things, eating a morsel would be the easiest on his conscience. Al-Mahdi then told him to sit down, and having called in his cook, he ordered him to prepare a number of dishes and, amongst the rest, marrow coagulated with sugar-candy and honey. When this collation was set before Shârik, he partook of it, and when he had finished, the cook said to al-Mahdi: "By Allah! Commander of the faithful! now that the *shaikh* has eaten "of that, he is undone." — "And such was in fact the case," said (*the vizir*) al-Fadl Ibn ar-Rabi, "for after that, the shaikh instructed the khalif's sons, and "taught them the Traditions, and served under the Abbasides in the capacity of "kâdi." Some time after, having received a draught on the (*court*) banker for his services, he insisted on being paid in coin of full weight, and when the other told him that, after all, (*the difference*) would not suffice to buy him a suit of clothes, he answered: "And yet I gave for it something "better than a suit of clothes; I gave up for it my religious convictions." Al-Harîri relates in his *Durrat al-Ghawwâs*, that Sharik was one day speak- 318 ing of Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib's merits in the presence of a member of the Omaiyide family who used to frequent his society, and the latter said: "He was indeed "an excellent (*nima*) man." — "How," exclaimed Sharik, "is it in speaking "of Ali that it should merely be said, *He was an excellent man?*' The Omaiyide remained silent till Sharik's anger cooled and then said: "O Abû "Abd Allah! did not God say, when speaking of himself, *And we were able to* "*do this; for it is we who are most* (nima) *powerful* (3)? And did he

"not say of Job, *We found him a patient person; how excellent* (nima) *a* "*servant was he! for he was one who frequently turned himself unto us* (4)? "And of Solomon, *And he gave unto David, Solomon; how excellent* (nima) *a* "*servant!* (5) Why then not be satisfied at Ali's being spoken of in the same "terms which God was pleased to apply to himself and to his prophets?" Sharik then perceived his mistake and conceived for the Omaiyide a higher esteem than ever. As kâdi, he judged with strict equity and was almost always in the right. He had an answer ready on every occasion: being asked his opinion concerning a man who intended, at morning prayer, to say the *ko-nût* (6) before making the *rakas* (7), but who did not say it till after, he replied: "That man intended to do wrong, but did right." He was born at Bokhâra, A. H. 95 (A. D. 713-4); he filled the post of kâdi at Kûfa and afterwards at al-Ahwâz, and died at the former place on Saturday, the first of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 177 (February, A. D. 794). Khalîfa Ibn Khaiyàt mentions that his death occurred in the year 177 or 178. Harûn ar-Rashîd was then at Hîra, and went to say the funeral service over him, but finding on his arrival that it had been already performed, he returned back. — "*Nakhâi* is derived from "*an-Nakhâ*, which is the name of a great branch of the tribe of Madhij;" so I find it stated by Ibn al-Kalbi in his *Jamharat an-Nisab*, and I have read in another copy (*of the same work*) that Ibn Abi Sharîk, Sharîk's ancestor, was named Aûs, and that he was son to al-Hârith Ibn Dohl Ibn Wahbîl (*a genealogy different from that given above*): God best knows the truth.

(1) See note (1), page 186.

(2) The aversion of pious Moslims to fill the place of kâdi has been already noticed, page 235. Sharîk had another motive for refusing such a post; it would have been necessary for him to take the oath of allegiance to the Omaiyides, and to this, as a partisan of Ali's family, he could not conscientiously assent.

(3) *Koran*, sur. 77, v. 23.

(4) *Ibid.* sur. 38, v. 44.

(5) *Ibid.* sur. 38, v. 29.

(6) See page 347, note (21).

(7) The form of prayer consists of a number of *rakas* or inclinations of the body, accompanied with certain pious invocations.—See Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, vol. I. p. 86, and D'Ohsson's *Tab. gén. de l'Emp. Othom.* tom. II p 82

## SHUHDA AL-KATIBA, BINT AL-IBARI.

Shuhda Bint (*daughter of*) Abi Nasr Ahmad Ibn al-Faraj Ibn Omar al-Ibari, surnamed Fakhr an-Nisâ (*glory of women*) and *al-Kâtiba* (*the female scribe*), sprang from a family established at Dînawar, but she herself was born and died at Baghdad. By her learning she acquired an extensive reputation and ranked among the first scholars of the age; she wrote a beautiful hand and instructed great numbers in the Traditions, which she had received from the highest authorities: thus connecting the traditionists of the rising generation with those of the past. She died on the afternoon of Sunday, the 13th of Muharram, A.H. 574 (July, A.D. 1178), aged upwards of ninety years, and was interred in the cemetery outside the Abraz (1) Gate.—*Ibari* is derived from *ibar*, the plural of *ibra* (*needle*), which is the name of the instrument used in sewing. The person who bore this surname must have made or sold needles.—*Dînawar* is a town in Jibâl (*Persian Irak*), and *Dînawari*, the surname derived from it has been borne by many learned men. Abû 's-Saad as-Samâni says that this name is pronounced *Dainawar*, but *Dînawar* is preferable (2).—Her father, Abû Nasr Ahmad died at Baghdad on Saturday, the 23rd of the first Jumâda, A. H. 506 (November, A. D. 1112), and was interred at the Abraz Gate. Ibn an-Najjâr says in his History of Baghdad, speaking of Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Yahya ad-Duraini, who is better known by the name of Thikât ad-Dawlat (3) al-Anbâri: "(*Ad-Duraini*) was a man of eminent rank and a favourite of "the khalif al-Muktafi (*liamr illah*); he possessed some instruction and had "a talent for poetry. He built a college for Shafites on the bank of the "Tigris, at the gate of al-Azj, and erected close by it a convent for Sûfis; on "these two establishments he settled a handsome property. He studied the "Traditions, for as-Samâni says that he served (*as a domestic and pupil*) Abû "Nasr Ahmad Ibn al-Faraj al-Ibari and received from him his daughter *Shuhda* "*al-Kâtiba* in marriage. He then rose in the world till he became the favour-"ite of al-Muktafi. His birth took place A. H. 475 (A. D. 1082-3), and his "death A. H. 549, on Tuesday the 16th of Shaabân (October, A. D. 1154). 519 "He was interred in (*the court of*) his house situated in the square before the "principal mosque, but on the death of his wife Shuhda, in the month of

"Muharram, A. H. 574, his body was removed to the Abzar cemetery, and
" interred, with hers, close to the *Tâjiya* college."

(1) In the autograph this name is written أبْرز.

(2) Abû 'l-Fedâ pronounces this name *Dainawar*.

(3) *Thikat ad-Dawlat* is a title of honour, which might be translated: *devoted to the dynasty*.

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## SHIRKUH IBN SHADI.

Abû 'l-Hârith Shîrkûh Ibn Shâdi Ibn Marwân, surnamed al-Malik al-Mansûr (*the victorious prince*) Asad ad-dîn (*the lion of the faith*) was uncle to the sultan Salâh ad-dîn. Some particulars of his life have been already given in the life of Shâwar, who (*as we have there said*) went to Syria, A. H. 559 (A. D. 1163-4), to obtain Nûr ad-din's assistance (*against the Franks*) (1). It is stated however by Bahâ ad-dîn Ibn Shaddâd, in his History of Salâh ad-dîn (2), that he proceeded to Syria, A. H. 558, and that they (*Shîrkûh and Shâwar*) entered Egypt on the 2nd of the latter Jumâda of the same year. Nûr ad-dîn sent with him a detachment of troops under the command of Asad ad-dîn Shîrkûh, but on their arrival, Shâwar acted with such duplicity and bad faith, that on the 7th of Zû 'l-Hijja in the same year, they set out again for Damascus. In the month of the first Rabî, 562 (January, A. D. 1167), Shîrkûh proceeded a second time to Egypt with the design, which he had already formed during his first expedition, of getting that country into his own possession. He followed the road which leads through Wâdi 'l-Ghizlân (3) and appeared before Atfîh (4). In this expedition he fought the celebrated battle of al-Bâbain near Oshmûnain (5). Salâh ad-dîn (*who accompanied him*) then entered Alexandria, where he fortified himself, and had to sustain a siege against Shâwar and the Egyptian army. Asad ad-dîn Shîrkûh, who had marched into Upper Egypt, then returned and halted at Bilbais, where he made a peace with the Egyptians. Being there joined by Salâh ad-dîn, whom they escorted to him across the country, he withdrew into Syria. In the year 564, the Franks took Bilbais and mas-

sacred the inhabitants, on which the people of Egypt sent to Shîrkûh for assistance, promising to accept whatever conditions he might propose. Encouraged by their favourable dispositions, he entered Egypt in the month of the first Rabî of the above year (December, A. D. 1168) and delivered them from the Franks. Shâwar then formed the design of murdering Shîrkûh and his principal officers, but they anticipated his project by putting him to death, as we have already related (*page* 609). Shîrkûh was then raised to the vizirat on Wednesday, the 17th of the latter Rabî, A. H. 564; he filled that post two months and five days, when he died suddenly at Cairo, on Saturday the 28th (or, according to ar-Rauhi, on Sunday the 23rd) of the latter Jumâda, 564 (March, A. D. 1169). He was buried in that city, but afterwards, his body was conveyed to Medîna, in pursuance to his last wishes. Salâh ad-dîn was his successor. Ibn Shaddâd says in his History (6): "Asad ad-dîn was a great eater, and extremely "fond of the coarsest kinds of animal food; this subjected him to indigestions "and cholics, from which he did not recover without suffering severely; and he "died from a sharp attack of this kind which was followed by a violent quinsy." He left an only son named Nâsir ad-dîn Muhammad, and surnamed al-Malik al-Kâhir (*the powerful prince*). In the month of Rajab which followed Shîrkûh's death, his family were deprived of Emessa, which was taken from them by Nûr ad-dîn; but Salâh ad-dîn, on obtaining possession of Syria, restored it to Nâsir ad-dîn, who continued to hold it till his death, which took place on the 9th of Zû Hijja, A. H. 581 (March, A. D. 1186). His body was taken to Damascus by his wife and cousin, Sitt as-Shâm, the daughter of Aiyûb, who interred it near the tomb of her brother Shams ad-Dawlat Tûrân Shâh (whose life has been given, *page* 284), in the funeral chapel erected by her in the college which she had 320 founded outside the city. The government of Emessa passed to his son (*who was named after his grandfather*) Asad ad-dîn Shîrkûh. This prince was born A. H. 569 (A. D. 1173-4) and died at Emessa on Tuesday, the 19th of Rajab, A. H. 637 (February, A. D. 1240): he was interred in a funeral chapel within the city walls. Besides Emessa, he possessed Rahaba, Tadmor (*Palmyra*) and Mâksin in the province of al-Khâbûr (7). He left a number of children and was succeeded by his son al-Malik al-Mansûr (*the victorious prince*) Nâsir ad-dîn (*the champion of the faith*) Ibrahîm, who remained in possession of the government till his death, which took place at Nairab (8) in the Ghûta (9) of Damascus,

on Friday, the 10th of Safar, A. H. 644 (June, A. D. 1246). His body was borne to Emessa and interred in the mosque of al-Khidr (10), which is situated to the south of the city. His son, al-Malik al-Ashraf (*the most noble prince*) Muzuffar ad-Dawlat (*the victor of the empire*) Abû 'l-Fath Mûsa succeeded to the throne. When I was in Damascus, towards the end of the year 661 (October, A. D. 1263), this prince informed me that he was born in the year of the defeat sustained by the Khowârezmites in the land of Rûm (11), and that his father was returning from it with the troops when he received intelligence of the birth of a son; that battle was fought in the month of Ramadân, A. H. 627 (July-August, A. D. 1230), as we have stated in the life of al-Malik al-Ashraf (*Mûsa*) Ibn al-Aâdil, where we have given some account of it. He related to me also that when his father received this pleasing news, he said to al-Malik al-Ashraf Ibn al-Aâdil: "My "lord (*ya khand*), the number of your slaves is increased by one." On this, the prince ordered the child to be called after himself. Al-Malik al-Ashraf Mûsa, the son of al-Mansûr, died at Emessa on Friday, the 10th of Safar, A. H. 662 (December, A. D. 1263), and was interred near the tomb of his grandfather Asad ad-dîn Shîrkûh, inside the city: his birth may be placed by approximation in the month of Shawwâl, 627 (August-September, A. D. 1230).—*Shírkúh* is a Persian word, and signifies *the lion of the mountain; shîr* means *lion,* and *kûh, mountain.*—In the year 555 (A. D. 1160) Shîrkûh set out from Damascus for the pilgrimage to Mekka, and took the road leading through Taimâ and Honain; that same year Zain ad-dîn Ali Ibn Baktikîn set out with the same intention, and proceeded thither by the road of the Irak pilgrim-caravan; the two princes met at al-Hulaifa (12).

(1) Consult Abû 'l-Fedâ's *Annals* and Reinaud's *Extraits d'auteurs arabes relatifs aux Croisades.*

(2) *Saladini vita et res gestæ*, p. 30.

(3) I have not been able to determine the precise position of *Wadi 'l-Ghizlân*, or Gazelle Valley. It lies probably between Atfîh and Suez.

(4) Atfîh is situated on the Nile, above Cairo.

(5) In this battle he defeated the combined army of the Franks and Egyptians.

(6) *Saladini vita*, p. 34.

(7) Al-Khâbûr is a river in Mesopotamia.

(8) Nairab is situated at half a parasang from Damascus, in the midst of gardens.—(*Marâsid.*)

(9) The Ghûta is the name given to the cultivated country around Damascus.

(10) Khidr is considered by the Moslims as one of the ancient patriarchs and prophets. He is the tutelary

saint of travellers on land, as Elias is of voyagers. These two meet once a year at Mekka during the pilgrimage. See Reinaud's *Monumens Arabes, Persans et Turcs*, tom. I. p. 169.

(11) In A. H. 627 Jalâl ad-dîn, prince of Khowârezm, took the city of Khalât خلاط, in which he committed every excess; but al-Malik al-Ashraf, the former sovereign of the place, joined his troops to those of Alâ ad-dîn Kaikobâd Ibn Kaikhosrû, prince of Rûm, and assisted by the Syrians under the command of Siwâsh, he marched against the Khowarezmites, defeated them completely and retook the city.— (Abû 'l-Fedâ's *Annals*. Price's *Retrospect*, t. II. p. 415. Abû 'l-Faraj, *translation*, p. 306. Al-Yâfi's *Annals*.)

(12) Hulaifa, or Zû Hulaifa, is a village six or seven miles from Medîna. It may be seen that I read واجتمعا بالخليفة and not واجتمع بالخليفة as in the printed text and the manuscripts. This passage and the history of Shîrkûh's descendants is not to be found in the autograph MS.

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## ABU OMAR AL-JARMI.

Abû Omar Sâlih Ibn Ishak al-Jarmi was a jurisconsult, a learned grammarian, and a philologer. Having left Basra, his native place, he proceeded to Baghdad, where he studied under al-Akhfash and others; he met there also Yûnus Ibn Habîb, but did not see Sîbawaih. In philology he had for masters Abû Obaida, Abû Zaid al-Ansâri, al-Asmâi and their contemporaries. He was religious, devout, exemplary in his life, and orthodox in his belief. He taught the traditions, and composed a good grammatical treatise, which was entitled *al Farkh* (*the chicken*), because it was *hatched* from Sîbawaih's great work, the *Kitâb*. When at Baghdad he had discussions with al-Farrâ. Abû 'l-Abbâs al Mubarrad relates as follows: "Abû Omar (*al-Jarmi*) told me that he had read through the "*Diwan of the Hudailites* under al-Asmâi, who surpassed Abû Obaida by his "superior acquaintance with that work; and he mentioned to me that on finish-"ing, al-Asmâi said to him: 'O, Abû Omar! if a member of the tribe of Hudail "'happen to be neither a poet, nor an archer, nor a runner, there is no good in "'him!' Speaking also of this passage of the Koran: *And follow not that* "*whereof thou hast no knowledge* (1), he said to me: 'Say not *I have heard* "'when you did not hear, or *I have seen* when you did not see, nor *I have* "'*known* when you did not know; for the hearing, the sight, and the heart "'shall all be subjects on which thou wilt have to answer before God!'" Al-Mubarrad said also: "None knew better than al-Jarmi the *Kitâb* of Sîbawaih;

"and it was under him that the great majority studied." He was deeply learned in philology, and knew by heart many illustrative passages on the subject; he wrote also some works of an original cast, and he held a high rank as a traditionist and historian. He is the author of a fine work on the life of Muhammad (*Kitâb fi 's-Siar*), a treatise on the forms of verbs and nouns (2), another on prosody, an abridgment of grammar, and an explanation of the difficulties in the verses quoted by Sibawaih (*in his grammatical work*, the Kitâb). The *hâfiz* Abû Noaim mentions him in the history of Ispahan. Al-Jarmi died A. H. 225 (A. D. 839-40).—The relative adjective *Jarmi* is derived from *Jarm;* there were a number of tribes so called, but I know not which of them it was that gave its name to this Abû Omar. He did not belong to the tribe, but had dwelt with them for a time, whence his appellation of al-Jarmi.—I have since found in the *Fihrist* (3), a work composed by Abû 'l-Faraj Muhammad Ibn Ishak, who is generally known by the name of Ibn Abi Yâkûb al-Warrâk (*the copyist*) an-Nadîm al-Baghdâdi (*the social companion from Baghdad*), that Abû Omar was a *mawla* to the tribe of Jarm Ibn Rabbân; and as-Samâni says in his genealogical work that Rabbân was the son of Imrân, the son of Alhâf, the son of Kudâa, the progenitor of a well known tribe. It has been stated, however, that Abû Omar was a *mawla* to the tribe of Bajila, a branch of which bears the name of Jarm Ibn Alkama Ibn Anmâr; God alone knoweth the truth. What a well-turned satire Ziâd al-Aajam (4) has directed against the tribe of Jarm, where he says:

> Jarm forced me to give him some juice of the vine; and who is Jarm? and what is that juice? He never drank it when it was permitted; never, as long as there was a market (5), did it mount to his head. But when its use was forbidden by a divine revelation, the man of that tribe is never sober.

In these verses he names the wine, metaphorically, the *juice of the vine*, for a reason too long to be explained, but the sum of what the commentators say is, that he called it so from its gliding smoothly (*insiâk*) down the throat.

(1) Koran, sur. 17, v. 38.

(2) See Hajji Khalifa, No. 34.

(3) I have given a short account of this ancient and curious work in the *Journal Asiatique* for December, 1839, page 521.

(4) The poet Abû Amâma Ziâd Ibn Sulaim, a *mawla* to the tribe of Abd-Kais, and surnamed al-Aajam (*the foreigner*) on account of certain faults in his pronunciation of Arabic, accompanied Abû Musa 'l-Ashari to the siege of Istakhar, which city was taken, according to ad-Dahabi, MS. No. 626, fol. 158, in the year 28 (A. D. 648-9). He was present at Hishâm Ibn Abd al-Malik's death, which took place at Rusâfa A. H. 125. The year of his own death is not given.—(As-Soyûti's *Sharh Shawâhid al-Moghni*, MS. No. 1238, fol. 51.)

(5) The poet means that they preferred selling their wine to drinking it; or else that they were too avaricious to lay out their money on it.

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## SALIH IBN MIRDAS.

Abû Ali Sâlih Ibn Mirdâs, surnamed Asad ad-Dawlat (*lion of the empire*), belonged to the tribe of Kilâb, his father Mirdâs being the son of Idrîs Ibn Nasîr Ibn Humaid Ibn Mudrik Ibn Shaddâd Ibn Obaid Ibn Kais Ibn Rabîa Ibn Kaab Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Abi Bakr Ibn Kilâb. Kilâb was the son of Rabîa Ibn Aamir Ibn Sâsâ Ibn Moawia Ibn Bakr Ibn Hawâzin Ibn Mansûr Ibn Ikrima Ibn Khasfa (1) Ibn Kais Ghailân (2) Ibn Modar Ibn Nizâr Ibn Maad Ibn Adnân.—Sâlih Ibn Mirdâs (*the chief*) of a nomadic tribe of Arabs, marched against Aleppo, which was then governed by Murtada 'd-Dawlat Ibn Lûlû al-Jarrâhi, who had been a slave to Abû 'l-Fadâil Ibn Saad ad-Dawlat Nasr Ibn Saif ad-Dawlat Ibn Hamdân, and who now acted there as the lieutenant of the (*Fatimite*) sovereign of Egypt, az-Zâhir Ibn al-Hâkim al-Obaidi. Intrepid, resolute, and powerfully supported by the members of his family and tribe, Sâlih wrested Aleppo from the hands of Murtada 'd-Dawlat on the 13th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 417 (January, A. D. 1027), and fixed his residence in the city, where he established a regular administration. Az-Zâhir then sent against him a numerous army under the command of Amîr al-Juyûsh (*general in chief*) Anûshtikîn, surnamed ad-Dizbiri after Dizbir Ibn Ruwaitam (3) ad-Dailami, who was at that time his lieutenant at Damascus, and had acquired a high distinction by his activity, courage, and skill in military affairs. Sâlih, being informed of this general's approach, went forth to meet him, and gave him battle at al-Ochuwâna. He lost his life in this engagement, which took place in the month of the first Jumâda, A. H. 420 (May-June, A. D. 1029) or 419 by another account. He was the first of the Mirdâs dynasty, a series of princes who reigned at Aleppo (4). We shall make mention of his great-grand-

son Nasr in the life of the poet Abû 'l-Fityân Muhammad Ibn Haiyûs.—*Al-*
322 *Ochuwâna,* a village of Syria, is situated in the government of Palestine, near Tiberias. There is another village of the same name in Hijâz, which was the residence of al-Hârith Ibn Khâlid Ibn al-Aâsi Ibn Hishâm Ibn al-Mughaira al-Makhzûmi (5), who composed on it these verses:

> Tell him who asks where we reside, that Ochuwâna is our abode and well it suits us. We there enjoy a life of pure felicity, untroubled by calumny, and misfortune afflicts us no longer.

(1) This is the true reading, and not حفصة or حصفة as in the MSS.

(2) The autograph MS. has قيس عيلان.

(3) In the autograph this name is written أوتيم *Autim*.

(4) An abridged account of this dynasty, extracted from Kamâl ad-dîn's History of Aleppo, has been published in Latin by M. J. J. Mueller, 1829. Bonn.

(5) Harith fils de Khalid Elmakhzoumi, poète distingué parmi les Coraychites, était petit-fils de cet Elassi, qui, ayant perdu toute sa fortune au jeu contre Aboulahab, oncle de Mahomet, avait ensuite joué et perdu sa liberté. Harith cultiva presque exclusivement le genre érotique. Il florissait sous les Omeyades, et fut gouverneur de la Mekke pour le calife Abdelmalik fils de Merwan. Il était amoureux d'Ayché fille de Talha et la célébrait dans ses vers.—(Aghâni, t. I. f. 200 v°.)—M. Caussin de Perceval.

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## SAID THE PHILOLOGER.

Abû 'l-Alâ Sâid Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Isa ar-Rabâi (1), a native of Baghdad and a philologer, is the author of the work intitled *Kitâb al-Fusûs* (*Book of Mottoes* or *Texts*). Having made his studies in the East under Abû Saîd as-Sîrâfi (*see page* 377), Abû Ali 'l-Fârisi (*page* 379), and Abû Sulaimân al-Khattâbi (*page* 476), he passed into Spain about the year 380 (A. D. 990-1) in the reign of Hishâm (*al-Muwaiyad*) Ibn al-Hakam, whose minister al-Mansûr Ibn Abi Aâmir then held the direction of the government. Sâid was born in the province of Mosul, but had removed from thence to Baghdad. He was learned in philology, skilled in general literature and history, prompt in his repartees, an able poet, and an agreeable and instructive companion. By these talents he captivated the

attention of al-Mansûr, and was treated by him with extreme favour and liberality; notwithstanding which, he always found good pretexts for asking more money, and good reasons for obtaining it. He composed for al-Mansûr the work entitled *al-Fusûs,* in which he adopted the plan followed by Abû Ali 'l-Kâli in his *Amâli* (2). He received from his patron, in return, a recompense of five thousand dinars, but his book was rejected by the public on account of the false statements which it was suspected to contain. Having gone to the city of Denia, he went to a public audience given by al-Muwaffak Mujâhid al-Aâmiri (3) the governor; among the number present was a philologer named Bashshâr, a blind man, who (*being informed that Sâid was there*) asked permission from Mujâhid to rally the new comer, and though the prince advised him not to attack a person who was so prompt in his repartees, he would not renounce his project, but cried out: "Abû 'l-Alâ!"—"At your service," replied Sâid.—"What "does the word *jaranful* signify in the dialect of the Desert Arabs?" Sâid, who knew that he himself had invented the word and that it did not really exist in the language, remained silent for some time, and then replied, but without any equivocation or periphrase: "The *jaranful* is one who has commerce with "blind men's wives and not with other women; and the *jaranful* is no longer a "*jaranful* when he quits them for others (4)." Bashshâr, on hearing this, was covered with shame and confusion, whilst every person present burst into laughter. Mujâhid then said to him: "I told you to abstain, but you would not take advice."—Sâid died A. H. 417 (A. D. 1026-7) in Sicily (5). Al-Mansûr at length discovered the falsehood of Sâid as a transmitter of oral information, and being told that all the contents of the *Fusûs* were forged, he threw it into the river, on which a contemporary poet said:

> The *Fusûs* sinks in the sea and so does every thing heavy.

To which Sâid replied (*in the same rhyme and measure*):

> The *Fusûs* has returned to its element; it is from the bottom of the sea that pearls (*fusûs*) are taken.

To avoid prolixity, we shall abstain from relating any of the numerous anecdotes told of his ready wit in replying to questions calculated to embarrass him.

(1) Ar-Rabai means *descended from Rabîa*, but as a number of Arabic tribes bore this name, I am unable to indicate that to which Sâid belonged.

(2) See page 212, note (1).

(3) See page 278, note (2).

(4) This is not very intelligible.

(5) According to al-Humaidi, cited by Ibn Bashkuwâl in his *Silat*, Sâid had retired to Sicily during the troubles in Spain.

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## SAIF AD-DAWLAT SADAKA AL-ASADI.

323 Abû 'l-Hasan Sadaka an-Nâshiri al-Asadi (*member of the tribe of Nâshira, a branch of that of Asad*), and surnamed Saif ad-Dawlat Fakhr ad-dîn (*sword of the empire, glory of the faith*), was the son of Bahâ ad-Dawlat Abû Kâmil Mansûr Ibn Dubais Ibn Ali Ibn Mazyad. He was lord of al-Hilla as-Saifiya, and was generally known by the denomination of *the king of the Arabs*. Powerful, enterprising, and formidable to the neighbouring princes, he dared to thwart the projects of the Seljûk sultan Muhammad Ibn Malakshâh Ibn Alp Arlsân; and his resistance led to a war. The two armies met near an-Nomâniya (1) on Friday, the 29th of the latter Jumâda—some say on the 20th of Rajab—A. H. 501 (Feb., A.D. 1108), and, in the action which ensued, Sadaka lost his life (2). His head was borne to Baghdad. Izz ad-dîn Ali Ibn al-Athîr says, in his corrections on as-Samâni's work, the *Ansâb*, that Sadaka was slain in the year 500: God knows best the truth. It was for this prince that the *sharîf* Abû Yala Muhammad Ibn al-Habbâriya, whose life will be found farther on, composed his metrical treatise intitled *as-Sâdih wa 'l-Bâghim*.—His father, Abû Kâmil Mansûr, died towards the end of the first Râbi, A. H. 479 (beginning of July, A. D. 1086). His grandfather, Abû 'l-Aazz Dubais, surnamed Nûr ad-Dawlat (*light of the state*), died on the eve of Sunday, the 10th of Shawwâl, A. H. 473 (March, A. D. 1081), or 474, after a rule of sixty-seven years: in the year 408, when he commenced his reign, he was only fourteen years of age.—Ali Ibn Mazyad, Sadaka's great-grandfather, died A. H. 408 (A. D. 1017-8). We have already given the life of Dubais, the son of Sadaka (*page* 504).—*Al-Hilla*, a town in Irak, between Baghdad and Kûfa, is situated on the Euphrates, in the territory of Kûfa; it was founded in the year 495 (A. D. 1101-2) by Saif ad-Dawlat Sadaka, whose life we have just given, and was named *as-Saifiya* after him (3).—*An-Nomâniya* is a city lying between al-Hilla and Wâsit.

(1) An-Nomânlya lay half way between Wâsit and Baghdad, on the bank of the Tigris.—(*Merâsid.*)

(2) For a full account of these events, see the selections from Ibn al-Athîr in the first vol. of the *Extraits des historiens arabes relatifs aux Croisades;* a collection now publishing by the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.* See also Abû 'l-Fedâ's *Annals*, year 501.

(3) There were a number of places in Irak which bore the name of Hilla (*station*).

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## AL-AHNAF IBN KAIS.

Abû Bahr ad-Dahhâk Ibn Kais (1) Ibn Moawia Ibn Husain Ibn Obâda Ibn an-Nazâl Ibn Murra Ibn Obaid Ibn al-Harith Ibn Amr Ibn Kaab Ibn Saad Ibn Zaid Manât Ibn Tamim, surnamed at-Tamîmi, was generally known by the appellation of al-Ahnaf (*club-foot*): it was he whose prudence became proverbial. Some say that his real name was Sakhr. His ancestor al-Harith bore the surname of Mukâis. Al-Ahnaf was one of the principal *Tâbis* and had been a contemporary of the Prophet, but did not serve under him. The *hâfiz* Abû Noaim mentions him in the History of Ispahan, and Ibn Kutaiba speaks of him in the *Kitâb al-Maârif* in these terms: "When the prophet went to the "tribe of Tamîm, inviting them to embrace Islamism, al-Ahnaf was among them. "As they did not consent to become Muhammad's followers, al-Ahnaf said to "them: 'He verily invites you to adopt what is honourable for the character, "'and forbids you what is disgraceful to it; become therefore Moslims!' He "then professed Islamism, but did not go to see the Prophet; however, he visited "afterwards the khalif Omar." From that time he held a high rank among the 324 *Tâbis*, being the chief of his tribe, and possessing a great reputation for intelligence, acuteness, learning, and prudence. He related Traditions on the authority of (*the khalifs*) Omar, Othmân, and Ali, and his own authority was cited for some Traditions by al-Hasan al-Basri. At the battle of Siffin he fought on the side of Ali, but he staid away from the battle of the Camel and joined neither party. In the reigns of Omar and Othmân, he had been present at some of the conquests made by the Moslims in Khorâsan. When the authority of Moawia was solidly established, al-Ahnaf went one day into his presence: "By Allah!" said the khalif, "never till the day of judgment shall I call to

"mind the battle of Siffin, without feeling my heart glow with anger." — "By Allah!" replied al-Ahnaf, "we have still in our bosoms those hearts "which detested you, and we still bear in our scabbards the swords with "which we fought you; if you advance an inch towards war, we shall ad-"vance a foot, and if you walk to (*give us*) battle, we shall run to meet "you!" He then rose up and withdrew. A sister of Moawia, who had heard the conversation from behind the tapestry, then asked him who was the person who had used such threatening language, and Moawia answered: "That "is the man who, if angered, has one hundred thousand of the tribe of Tamîm "to share his anger, without asking him the reason of it."—It is related that when this khalif declared his son Yazîd as his successor, he seated him in a red (2) pavilion, and those who were present went up successively and saluted Moawia, after which they bowed towards his son. One of them, having performed this ceremony, turned again to Moawia, and said: "Commander of the "faithful! I am well convinced that had you not confided to him the govern-"ment of the Moslims, you had ruined their affairs." Moawia then addressed al-Ahnaf who was seated in his presence: "What is the matter with you, Abû "Bahr? you say nothing!"—"I fear God too much to speak a falsehood," replied he, "and I fear you too much to speak the truth."—"Well," said Moawia, "may God reward you for your obedience towards him." He then ordered a present of several thousand (*dirhims*) to be given to (*the other*). When al-Ahnaf was going out, the same man who had spoken to the khalif met him at the door, and said: "O, Abû Bahr! I am convinced that, of all God's creatures, this man "and his son are the worst; but they keep their money under bolts and locks, "and there is no possible means of getting it out but by words such as you have "heard."—"Keep off!" replied al-Ahnaf, "a double-faced man shall have no "favour in the sight of God." - One of al-Ahnaf's sayings was this: "I have "followed three rules of conduct which I now mention merely that the man of "reflexion may profit by my example: I never interfered between two parties "unless invited by them to do so; I never went to the door of these people"— meaning princes—"unless sent for by them; and I never rose from my place "to obtain a thing when all men were anxious to possess it." Another of his sayings was: "Come! I shall point out to you virtues which none can depre-"ciate (3): evenness of temper, and the avoiding of what is base. Come! I

" shall tell you what is the worst of maladies: a low mind and a foul tongue." He also said: " The noble man never uses deceit; the wise man never tells a lie, " and the true believer never backbites.—Better," said he again, " better than " the treasures which parents heap up for children, better than the wealth " left by the dead to the living, is the gratitude of the good and the learned for " favours conferred upon them."—"Excess in laughter," he observed, "drives " away respect; excess in jesting drives away politeness, and the man is known " by the company he keeps."—Hearing a person say one day that he cared neither for praise nor blame, he observed to him: " You repose there, where " men of generous minds labour."—He said again: " In our assemblies avoid " the mention of women and of food; I detest the man who is always speaking of " his belly and of his pleasures; and he who avoids food, even when he wishes " for it, proves, by that, the nobleness of his mind." The following anecdote is told by Hishâm Ibn Okba, the brother of the celebrated poet Zû 'r-Rumma: "I " saw al-Ahnaf go up to some persons who were in discussion about the price to " be paid for a man's blood who had been killed. He told them to state the sum " they required, and they asked the double of that fixed by law (4). When " they had ceased talking, he said: ' I myself will give you what you ask, but " I shall make one observation: Almighty God has declared that the price of " blood shall be single (*not double*) and his Prophet also has done the same (5); " you are plaintiffs to-day, but to-morrow, if you are defendants, I fear that 325 " your adversaries may require from you the same price which you yourselves " have exacted!'—'Well!' said they, 'reduce it to the usual sum!' On hear- " ing this, he praised God with thanks, and rode off." Being asked what was prudence, he replied that it consisted in humility joined to patience; and he used to say, when persons were surprised at his mildness: "I have the same " feelings as you, but I am patient." He observed also that he had derived more help from prudence than from the strength of men. " It was Kais Ibn " Aâsim al-Minkari," said he, " who taught me mildness: one of his nephews " killed a son of his, and the murderer was brought before him with his " hands tied behind his back. 'Why frighten the youth?' said he. " He " then turned towards him and spoke thus: 'O, my son! evil is that which " ' thou hast wrought; thou hast lessened the number of thy family, weakened " ' the strength of thy tribe, given joy to thy enemies, and done harm to thy

"'people! Let him go; and bear the price of blood to the mother of the victim,
"'for she is not of our tribe.' The murderer then retired; and all this while
"Kais remained seated, and did not even change colour." When Ziâd Ibn Abîh was governor of Persian and Arabian Irak, he treated al-Ahnaf and Hâritha Ibn Badr al-Ghudâni with great favour and attention; but the latter was so strongly addicted to drinking, that the people of Basra complained of his conduct to Ziâd, whom they even reproached for admitting such a drunkard into his familiarity. To this remonstrance Ziâd replied: "How, sirs, can I cast off a man "who, since I came to Irak, has always ridden by my side and yet never struck "his stirrup against mine? neither did he precede me, so as to have his back "turned towards me, nor did he remain behind, so that I had to look round "after him; in summer, he never sat between me and the zephyr; in winter, he "never stood between me and the sun, and I never questioned him on any sci-"ence without thinking it impossible for him to know another so well."—I have since met with this anecdote in az-Zamakhshari's *Rabî 'l-Abrâr,* in the chapter intitled *On Intercourse with Females,* where it is given in precisely the same terms.—As for al-Ahnaf, nothing could be said against his conduct. When Ziâd died, his son and successor, Obaid Allah, said to Hâritha: "You must "either cease drinking or quit me."—"You know," replied Hâritha, "on "what terms I lived with your father."—"As for my father," answered Obaid Allah, "he held a pre-eminence in which no reproach could reach him; but I "am a young man, and people will judge of me from those who have influence "over me: now you make long potations, and I am afraid that, when I bid you "sit near me, the smell of the wine may be thought to come from myself. "Give it up then, and be the first of those to be admitted into my presence "and the last to quit it." To this Hâritha replied: "I should not give it up "for Him (*God*) who is able to do me evil and good; shall I then renounce "it to be well with you?"—"Leave me then, but choose any government I have "it in my power to give."—"Let me have Surrak, for its wine has been de-"scribed to me as good, and give me Râm-Hormuz besides." Obaid Allah granted the request, and Hâritha proceeded to his government. Whilst they escorted him to some distance on his way, the following lines were addressed to him by Anas Ibn Abi Anas (6), or, according to another statement, by al-Aswad ad-Duali:

> Haritha, son of Badr, you now fill a place of authority; live in it like a rat, to wile and thieve. Despise not the smallest sums that you may find; recollect that your share in the wealth of Irak consists in Surrak. Then rival the tribe of Tamîm in riches, for riches give a tongue to the most timid of men. All people then shall praise you; some of them liars, and speaking only to please you; the rest sincere in their words, but knowing not what they say, and incapable of proving that what they utter is true.

As for al-Ahnaf, he lost Obaid Allah's favour, and persons far inferior to him obtained preference. About this time, Obaid Allah assembled the chief men in Irak, and al-Ahnaf among the rest, and proceeded with them to Syria, for the purpose of paying their salutations to (*the khalif*) Moawia. On their arrival, Obaid Allah went in to Moawia, and informed him that the head men 326 of Irak were come. "Bring them in to me," said the khalif, "one by one, and "according to the degree of estimation in which you hold them." Obaid Allah obeyed, and the last person whom he introduced was al-Ahnaf. Moawia, who knew his merit, and always treated him with the utmost honour on account of his pre-eminence and high authority as chief (*of the tribe of Tamîm*), no sooner saw him than he exclaimed: "Come here to me, Abû Bahr (7)." He then made him sit down beside himself, on the same cushion, and having asked him how he was, he entered into conversation with him and withdrew his attention from the rest of the company. The members of the deputation then began to extol Obaid Allah, and express their gratitude to the khalif for giving them such a governor, but al-Ahnaf remained silent. "Why do you not speak, Abû Bahr?" said Moawia.—"If I speak," replied al-Ahnaf, "I must contradict them." On this Moawia said: "Bear ye witness that I depose your governor, Obaid Allah; "go now and find a fit person whom I may appoint in his stead; and at "the expiration of three days I shall expect your presence." On retiring, some hoped to obtain the government for themselves, and others for persons whom they designated; they therefore applied secretly to the intimate friends of Moawia, in order to procure, through their influence, the accomplishment of their respective projects. When the three days were gone by, they and al-Ahnaf went to Moawia, and by his directions they took their seats in the audience chamber, according to their rank as before. The khalif then called al-Ahnaf over to him as usual, and after conversing with him for some time, he asked the others the result of their deliberation. Each of the deputies then proposed his candidate, and made a long speech in his favour. This led to warm debates and a discussion, during which

al-Ahnaf continued silent; he had not even spoken a word on the subject to any person, the three preceding days. "And you, Abû Bahr," said Moawia, "why "do you not speak."—"If you intend to nominate a member of your own "family," replied al-Ahnaf, "you will not find one equal to Obaid Allah, or ca-"pable of replacing him; but if you mean to appoint another person, then do "as you please." Whilst the sitting lasted, not one of those who had extolled Obaid Allah at their first presentation, ever mentioned his name or asked to have him sent back to them. Moawia, having listened to al-Ahnaf's observations, said to the assembly: "Bear witness that I restore Obaid Allah to his government." On this, they all repented having proposed any other candidate, and Moawia perceived that, in thanking him for having given them such a governor as Obaid Allah, they had not been actuated by any love for him, but that they merely acted in the usual way men do when speaking of a person under whose authority they are placed. The deputies having retired, Moawia took Obaid Allah in private, and said to him: "How could you undervalue such a man as that?"—meaning al-Ahnaf—"he has deposed you and reinstated you in your govern-"ment, although he never uttered a word; whilst those people whom you pre-"ferred to him, and on whom you placed your reliance, did not render you the "least service or even think of you when I authorised them to nominate your "successor. It is one like al-Ahnaf that a person should choose, when he wants a "good supporter and a precious friend." On their return to Irak, Obaid Allah treated al-Ahnaf with great respect, and made him his intimate and confidential friend. It was thus that, in this well known circumstance, he was abandoned by those in whom he had placed his trust and on whose support he relied, whilst al-Ahnaf alone rendered him any service. Al-Ahnaf lived till the time of Musâb Ibn az-Zubair, and accompanied him to Kûfa (8), in which city he died. His death is commonly placed in the year 67 (A. D. 686-7), but other accounts assign the years 71, 77, and 68 as the date of that event. He was then seventy years of age, but it is stated by some that he had reached a very advanced age (9). He was interred at ath-Thawiya, near the tomb of Ziâd (10). The following anecdote is related by Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Omâra Ibn Okba Ibn Abi Muait: "I at-"tended the funeral of al-Ahnaf, at Kûfa, and was one of those who went down "into the vault. When I settled the body in its place, it seemed to me that the "tomb widened to as great an extent as my sight could reach (11): I spoke of

"this to my companions, but they saw not what I saw." This story is mentioned by Ibn Yûnus in his Biography of strangers who visited Egypt, in the life of this same Abd ar-Rahmân. Al-Ahnaf was one of those persons surnamed *at-Tuls,* whose names we have mentioned in the life of the kadi Shuraih (*page* 620). He was born *natibus cohærentibus,* which rendered a surgical operation necessary. He was *ahnaf* of one foot, that is, he walked on the *wahshi* (or instep) of it; whence his surname. He lost his eye at the taking of Samarkand (12); but some say, by the small pox. His teeth were solidly united together. His head was small, and his beard inclined to one side. His grandfather, Moawia Ibn Husain was slain by Antara Ibn Shaddâd al-Absi, the famous cavalier, on the day of al-Farûk, one of the celebrated combats of the ancient Arabs (13).—In this article are some words which require explanation. *Ahnaf* means *inclined;* the *wahshi* of the foot is the back (*or upper part*) of it. *Ghudâni* is derived from *Ghudân* Ibn Yarbû, a branch of the tribe of Tamîm. *Râm-Hormuz* is a place so well known that is not necessary to indicate the pronunciation of its name: it lies in al-Ahwâz, a province of Khuzestân, situated between Basra and Fars.—*Surrak* lies also in the province of al-Ahwâz.—*Ath-Thawiya,* pronounced also *ath-Thuwaiya,* is the name of a place outside Kûfa; it contains the tombs of some of Muhammad's companions and of other eminent persons: water is to be found there.—Al-Ahnaf had a son called Bahr, and it was for this reason that he bore the surname of Abû Bahr (*the father of Bahr*). Bahr was a weak and indolent (14) boy; when asked why he did not take example of his father, he replied: "From laziness." With him died al-Ahnaf's posterity.

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(1) This ad-Dahhâk Ibn Kais is a different person from the ad-Dahhâk Ibn Kais who fell at the battle of Marj Râhit. They were contemporaries. See Reiske's note in the *Annals* of Abû 'l-Fedâ, tom. I. No. 168, in which it is necessary, however, to rectify a double error. In place of *de quo vid. ann.* 127, *gente Schaibanita,* read *de quo vid. ann.* 67, *gente Tamimita.* Tamîm, ad-Dahhâk's ancestor, was son of Murr, son of Odd, son of Tabîkha and a descendant of Modar, but Shaibân sprang from Bakr Ibn Wâil, who descended from Rabîa, Modar's brother.

(2) Red was the colour of the Omaiyides, green that of the Alides, and black that of the Abbasides. Even before the promulgation of Islamism, red or scarlet tents indicated that their possessors were princes. See my *Diwân d'Amro 'l-Kais,* p 8.

(3) Here the Arabic text should run thus: المحمدة بلا مرزية.

(4) The legal price of blood, in the case of murder without premeditation, is one hundred camels.

(5) See *Mishkât al-Masâbîh*, vol. II. p. 166.

(6) Abû Sulait سليط Anas Ibn Abi Anas, a member of the Benû Najjâr (a family of Medina), was one of Muhammad's companions and fought on his side at the battle of Badr.—(*Asmâ ar-Rijâl*, MS. No. 379)

(7) The khalif here addresses him by his surname; a mark of intimacy and friendship.

(8) See Abû 'l-Fedâ's Annals, t. I.; *adnotat.* hist. p. 96. Price's *Retrospect*, v. I. p. 440.

(9) In the autograph, Ibn Khallikân had originally written this passage as it stands in the other MSS. and in the printed text; but having inserted afterwards in the margin that al-Ahnaf died at the age of seventy, he was obliged to modify the next phrase. In place of وكان (*and he*) he substituted وقيل انه كان (*and it is said that he*); but this correction has been neglected by succeeding copyists.

(10) According to Abû 'l-Mahâsin, in his *al-Bahr az-Zâkhir*, Ziad Ibn Abîh died at ath-Thawiya.

(11) This was of course to be considered as a mark of divine favour to the dead man. *May God make thy grave wide for thee* was a common prayer of the ancient Arabs over the tomb of a departed friend.

(12) According to the *Khulâsat al-Akhbâr*, cited in Price's *Retrospect*, Samarkând was taken by Obaid Allah Ibn Ziâd in the year 54. D'Herbelot says that Catiba ben Moslemat, meaning *Kutaiba Ibn Muslim*, took it in the reign of al-Walîd Ibn Abd al-Mâlik, A. H. 85; but al-Wâlid did not come to the throne till the year 86. Ibn Khallikân states, in the life of Kutaiba, that this was the general who reduced Samarkand.

(13) See Rasmussen's *Historia Anteislamica*, p. 87.

(14) All the copies and the printed text have مصعوفا, but the autograph writes this word مضعوفا.

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## TAWUS.

Abû Abd ar-Rahmân Tâwûs Ibn Kaisân al-Khaulâni al-Hamdâni al-Yamâni, one of the most eminent *Tâbîs*, was of Persian extraction. He received Traditions from Ibn Abbâs and Abû Huraira, and Traditions were given on his authority by Mujâhid and Amr Ibn Dinâr. As a jurisconsult he held a high rank and possessed a great reputation. (*On this subject an anecdote*) is related by Ibn Oyaina: "I asked," said he, "Abd Allah Ibn Yazîd (1) in what class he studied under "Ibn Abbâs, and he replied with Atâ and his condisciples. 'And Tâwûs?'— "said I.—'O,' exclaimed he, 'that is quite another thing, he was admitted "with the chosen few.'" Amr Ibn Dinâr said that he never saw the like of Tâwûs. When Omar Ibn Abd al-Azîz became khalif, Tâwûs wrote to him these words: "If you wish your government to be good in every way, confide the "places of authority to virtuous men;" on which Omar said: "After that, "every other recommendation is useless." He died at Mekka whilst performing the pilgrimage, on the day preceding that of the Tarwiya (8*th of Zû 'l-Hijja*),

in the year 106 (April, A. D. 725), or, by another account, in 104. Funeral prayers were said over him by Hishâm Ibn Abd al-Malik. It is related by one of the learned that on the death of Tâwûs at Mekka, it was impossible for the funeral to set out on account of the crowd, and that the governor of Mekka, Ibrahîm Ibn Hishâm al-Makhzûmi, had to send the guard to clear the way. "I saw," says the same person, "Abd Allah, the son of Hasan, (*the son of* "*Hasan*) (2) the son of Ali Ibn Talib, with his shoulder under the bier; "he had already lost the cap off his head and his cloak was torn to pieces on "his back."—I saw at Bâlbek, within the town, a tomb to which pilgrimages are made, and the natives pretend that it contains the body of Tâwûs; this, however, is a mistake. Abû 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzi says in his *Kitâb al-Alkâb* (*book of surnames*): "Tâwûs was his surname and his real name was Zakwân. "He bore the surname of Tâwûs (*peacock*) because he was the *peacock* (*chief*) "of the *koran-readers*." The general opinion is that Tâwûs was his real name. It is related that the khalif al-Mansûr sent for Mâlik Ibn Anas and Abd Allah 328 the son of Tâwûs : when they entered into his presence, he reflected for a short time and then said to Abd Allah : "Relate to me some of the Traditions which "you learned from your father." On this Abd Allah spoke as follows : "My "father taught me this Tradition : 'He shall be punished the most severely of "'all men on the day of resurrection, to whom God has confided a portion "'of his authority and who allows injustice to enter into his judgments.'" Al-Mansûr remained silent for a considerable time, and Mâlik, in relating the fact afterwards, observed : "I tucked up my clothes lest some of his blood "might fall on them (3), but al-Mansûr then said : 'Hand me that ink-horn.' "He repeated the order three times, but Abd Allah did not obey.—'Why "do you not give it to me?' asked the khalif. — 'Because I fear that you may "use it in writing something contrary to God's law, and I should then be your "accomplice.' — 'Up, both of you, and leave me!' exclaimed al-Mansûr.— "'That is just what we desire to do,' replied Abd Allah.—From that day," said Mâlik, "I have never ceased to acknowledge the eminent merit of the son "of Tâwûs."—*Khaulâni* means *descended from Khaulân*; Khaulân, whose real name was Afkal Ibn Amr Ibn Mâlik, was the progenitor of a great tribe which settled in Syria.—We have already spoken of *Hamdâni* (4): Tâwûs was affiliated to the tribe of Hamdân by enfranchisement.

(1) Five persons bearing this name are noticed in the *Asmâ ar-Rijâl*, MS. No. 379, and two in the *Tabakât al-Muhaddithîn*.

(2) This addition is authorized by the autograph.

(3) He imagined that al-Mansûr would have struck off Abd Allah's head.

(4) This is a mistake; he has hitherto said nothing of it. *Hamdâni* همدانى—which must not be confounded with *Hamadâni* همذانى (*native of Hamadân*)—means *sprung from Hamdân*, the ancestor of a great tribe of Yemenite Arabs and the fifth in descent from Kahlân. The surname of *Hamdâni* entitled Tâwûs to that of *al-Yamâni* (*native of Yemen*), which he also bore.

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## ABU 'T-TAIYIB AT-TABARI.

Abû 't-Taiyib Tâhir Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Tâhir Ibn Omar at-Tabari, a kâdi and a jurisconsult of the sect of as-Shâfi, was a high and sure authority as a doctor, veracious, learned, versed in the dogmas and secondary points of the law, exact in his researches on the principles of jurisprudence, conscientious, virtuous, and holy in his conduct. He composed poetry as good as might be expected from a jurisconsult: the *hâfiz* Abû Tâhir as-Silafi, in his life of Abû 'l-Alâ 'l-Maarri, gives the following anecdote, which was handed down to him through a series of Traditionists whose names he mentions, as having been related by Abû 't-Taiyib at-Tabari: "When the celebrated scholar Abû 'l-Alâ 'l-Maarri came to Baghdad and took up his residence in the *Suwaika Ghâlib* "(*the little bazar of Ghâlib*), I wrote to him these lines:

'What is that which furnishes a liquid not to be drunk by him who draws it, and yet 'its flesh is allowed. He who pleases may eat the flesh of it living or dead, but if he 'attempts to drink its milk, he is an erring man. When its produce is full grown, its 'flesh is good, and he who eats thereof is considered by all the doctors of the law as not 'deserving any reprehension. But if its produce be eaten when still young, it is 'stringent, and no reasonable man would partake of it. The word of this enigma can 'only be divined by a man of eminence, by one who knows the secrets of men's hearts 'and has acquired extensive knowledge.

"Abû 'l-Alâ immediately dictated the following answer to my messenger:

'Thy question admits of two solutions, both of them suitable; some therefore may an'swer it and yet be mistaken. He who thinks that *vine* is the word of the enigma is not 'in the wrong, and he who thinks that it is *date-tree* must not be called a fool. Their

'flesh is the *grape* and the *date;* both may be lawfully eaten, but their milk is the de-
'licious *wine*. However, the fruit of the palm-tree is bitter when green, and grapes
'still green are gathered and eaten. Let the highly-respected kâdi require from me
'an answer to questions numerous as the stars,—nay, more lofty and more difficult to
'reach,—and if I answer them not, I shall deserve never to know them: but the friend
'who loves him will encounter every difficulty.'

"To this I made the following answer: 

'One who could hardly find his equal in the world, a man of ample knowledge and
'perfect every way, has excited me to reflection. His heart is a library of all the sci-
'ences, and his mind is active as an ardent fire. He understands equally well the
'most obscure and the simplest ideas; their difficulties are for him plain and clear.
'When he awakes a man's heart to friendship, he leads him, though resisting, a pri-
'soner, captivated by the beauty of his eloquence. He explains and exposes so well
'every point, that it may be perceived and understood by even an inattentive mind.
'I admire his talent for composing verses so promptly and with so little hesitation.
'He draws (*his information*) from (*his mind which is*) a sea (*of knowledge*), and his
'merit exalts him even to the mansion of the planets. May the bounteous God in his
'mercy grant him the full enjoyment of his talents during a lengthened life!'

"On this, Abû 'l-Alâ dictated extempore these lines to the messenger:

'You, O kâdi! whose acuteness (*in argument*) is as a drawn sword to confound the
'adversaries of the truth; your heart is the dwelling of science, and your merit, in
'every discussion, is admitted as superior. Though possessing little worldly wealth,
'you are rich in treasured science. When you maintain a controversy, you are a
'falcon and your opponents are as pigeons; you seem to speak with as-Shâfi's mouth,
'and, prompt in replying, to draw your arguments from his mind. Who now can say
'that the learning of (*as-Shâfi*) the son of Idrîs, has been lost, when you undertake to
'light the (*path of true*) direction. Your kindness was so great, that I could not give
'you sufficient thanks, and it had been better for me to abstain from replying. (*Let
'me have*) your pardon; for I answered, confiding in your kindness; human nature
'is careless and reflects not. You also did wrong in sending me a note which should
'have been my first and my last title of glory, but, preoccupied by the talents and the
'kindness of your messenger, I had not time to learn it by heart. That note could have
'justly claimed the merit of giving fresh perfume to musk, and of being deposited in
'the most exalted place of honour. Let some poets depict themselves in their verses,
'you depict yourself better than they in your learning and your poetry. The earth
'is proud to bear you on its surface, and well may it be proud of a person such as
'you.'"

The following anecdote is related by as-Samâni in his *Zail,* when giving the life of Abû Ishak Ali Ibn Ahmad Ibn Mahmûyah al-Yazdi (1): "He (*Ibn* "*Mahmûyah*) and his brother had but a single turban and a single shirt be-"tween them, so that when one of them went out, the other was obliged to "stay at home. I went to see him one day"—continues as-Samâni—"and

"present him my respects, and I had with me Ali Ibn al-Husain al-Ghaznawi
"the preacher, when, on entering his house, we found him without any clothing
"except an *izâr* (2) tied round his waist. He begged of us to excuse him for
"appearing in that state, and added: 'When we wash our clothes, we are as
"'the persons whom the kâdi Abû 't-Taiyib at-Tabari describes in this verse:

330 'People who, when they wash the robes in which they deck themselves, take the
'house for a cloak till he that washes has done his task.'"

At-Tabari lived to the age of one hundred and two years, without any alteration or decay of his mental faculties; he continued till his death to give decisions on points of law, to correct the mistakes of other jurisconsults, to fulfil the duties of kâdi at Baghdad, and to attend the khalif when he went out in state. He studied the law at Amul under the tuition of Abû Ali 'z-Zujâji (3), the disciple of Ibn al-Kâss, and he learned the *reading* of the Koran at Jurjân from Abû Saad al-Ismaîli (4) and Abû 'l-Kâsim (*Yûsuf*) Ibn Kajj (5). He then proceeded to Naisâpûr, where he met Abû 'l-Hasan (*Muhammad*) al-Mâsarjisi (6), under whom he studied jurisprudence for four years. From thence he removed to Baghdad, where he followed the course of lectures given by the *shaikh* Abû Hâmid al-Isfarâini. Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi was a pupil of at-Tabari's and he speaks of his master in these terms: "Of all the men I ever saw, not one "surpassed him in conscientious efforts to clear up points of law (7); in his scru- "pulous verification of authorities, and in the justness of his views." He composed a commentary on al-Muzani's *Mukhtasar* and on Abû Bakr Ibn al-Haddâd al-Misri's *furû*. He wrote also a great number of works on the dogmas of religion, on the doctrines of the Shafite sect, on the points of controversy between the sects, and on dialectics. The *shaikh* Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi says: "I followed his "lessons with assiduity for upwards of ten years, and I acted as a professor, "with his authorisation, for two years, during which I instructed his scholars "in the mosque where he himself taught. He then confided to me the direc- "tion of his whole class." He inhabited Baghdad and acted as kâdi in the suburb of Karkh on the decease of Abû Abd Allah as-Saimari; this place he continued to hold till his death. He was born at Amul A. H. 348 (A. D. 959-60), and died at Baghdad on Saturday, the 20th of the first Rabî, A. H. 450 (May, A. D. 1058); the next morning, he was interred in the cemetery at the Gate of Harb (*Bâb*

*Harb*). The funeral service was said over him in the mosque of al-Mansûr.— We have already mentioned (*page* 376) that *Tabari* means *belonging to Tabaristân. Amul* (written with a long A), is the name of a great city, the metropolis of Tabaristân.

(1) The imâm Abû 'l-Hasan—not *Abû Ishak* as the MSS. of Ibn Khallikân have it—Ali Ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Husain Ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Husain Ibn Mahmûyah al-Yazdi (*a native of Yazd* in the province of Fars) was an eminent doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi and a *koran-reader*. He composed a number of works on the law and the Traditions. His life was spent in the practice of devotion and self-mortification, and he died A.H. 551 (A.D. 1156-7) at the age of seventy-eight. His learning was equal to his piety. He had made his studies at Ispahan.—(*Tab. al-Fok*. fol. 114. *Tab. al-Kurrâ*, MS. No. 742, fol. 157, *verso*.)

(2) See page 4, note (4).

(3) The kâdi Abû Ali al-Hasan Ibn Muhammad az-Zujâji, one of the great jurisconsults of Amul and an eminent doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, was a native of Tabaristân. He composed some works on jurisprudence and died between A.H. 370 (A.D. 980) and 400.—(*Tab. as-Shâf. Tab. al-Fok.*)

(4) Abû Saad Ismail al-Ismaili, the son of Abû Bakr al-Ismaili, (*see page* 8), studied under his father and became *shaikh* of the Shafites in Jurjân. By his profound knowledge in jurisprudence, dogmatic theology, and the Arabic language, and by his skill in drawing up bonds, he obtained the reputation of being the *imâm* of his time. He composed some works on law, and died A.H. 396 (A.D. 1005-6), aged 63.—(*Tab. as-Shâf.*)

(5) The life of Ibn Kajj is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(6) The life of al-Mâsarjisi will be found in this work.

(7) Literally: Not one was more perfect in *ijtihâd* (or, as a *mujtahid*). The meaning of this term has been already explained, page 201, note (1).

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## IBN BABSHAD THE GRAMMARIAN.

Abû 'l-Hasan Tâhir Ibn Ahmad Ibn Bâbshâd was the greatest grammarian of his time in Egypt; it is said that his family belonged originally to Dailem. He is the author of some instructive works, particularly the celebrated *Mukaddama*, or introduction to grammar, to which he joined a commentary. He composed also a commentar yon the *Jamal* of az-Zajjâji, and another on the *Osûl* of Ibn as-Sarrâj (1). During his retirement from the world he compiled a copious treatise on grammar (*which, however, he left unpublished*): it is said that a fair copy of it it would have formed nearly fifteen volumes. The grammarians

into whose hands it afterwards fell, called it the *Taalik al-Ghurfa* (2). It passed first from him to his disciple Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Barakât as-Saadi the grammarian and philologer, who replaced him as a professor; it passed then to Ibn Barakât's disciple and successor, the grammarian Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Bari, and from him to his pupil and successor the grammarian Abû 'l-Husain, who was generally known by the opprobrious surname of *Thalt al-Fil* (*elephant's dung*). It is stated that each of these persons left it to his disciple with the recommendation of keeping it carefully, and students frequently endeavoured to obtain leave to copy it, but without success. By his learning and writings, Ibn Bâbshâd was highly useful. He held a place at the Chancery-office, at Misr, and no paper went out of it without being submitted to his examination; if he perceived in it any fault of grammar or of style, he had it rectified by the clerk who wrote it out; but if he found it correct, he gave his approval to it and it was then sent off to its address. For this service he received a salary from the treasury, which was paid to him monthly. He filled this post for some time (*but at length gave it up*). It is said that he was induced to do so from the following circumstance: Being one day on the roof of the mosque at Old Cairo with some other persons, eating a collation, a cat went over to them and they gave it a bit of meat. The animal took it into its mouth and went off, but soon returned again, on which they threw another morsel to it. 331 This it carried off also, and it kept going and coming a great number of times, at each of which it received from them another bit. Struck with this singularity, and knowing that no single cat could eat all that they had given, they suspected something extraordinary, and followed the animal. They then saw it clamber over a wall on the roof and go down into an empty place like an abandoned room. There they found another cat, but blind, eating of the food which had been brought to it and set before it by its companion. They were much struck with this, and Ibn Bâbshâd said: "Since God has caused this dumb animal to be served and fed by another cat, and has not withheld from it its nourishment, how could he let a human being such as I am perish of hunger?" He immediately broke off all the ties which bound him to the world; he gave up his place, renounced his salary and shut himself up in a chamber, where he pursued his studies in the full confidence that God would provide for him. His friends then took care of him and supported him till he died. His death took place

on the evening of the third day of Rajab, A. H. 469 (January, A. D. 1077), in Old Cairo, and he was interred in the greater Karâfa cemetery. I have visited his tomb and the date here given I took from the stone at the head of his grave. He came by his death in the following manner : On quitting the world, he collected his property and sold it all, except those articles which he absolutely required; he then took up his abode in an upper room (*ghurfa*) of the mosque of Amr Ibn al-Aâsi, or, as it is now called, *al-Jâmi 'l-Atîk* (*the Old Mosque*), at Old Cairo. One night, he went out on the roof of the mosque and having stumbled on one of the openings serving for the admission of light into the interior, he fell through, and the next morning he was found dead.—*Bâbshâd* is a Persian word including the ideas of *joy* and *happiness* (3).

(1) The lives of Ibn as-Sarrâj and az-Zajjâji will be found in this work.

(2) This title means *notes taken in the garret* or *attic*. It will be seen farther on, that Ibn Bâbshâd took up his residence in the attic story, or rather in a small room on the roof of the mosque of Amr.

(3) This derivation does not seem to be perfectly correct.

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## TAHIR IBN AL-HUSAIN AL-KHUZAI.

Abû 't-Taiyib Tâhir Ibn al-Husain Ibn Musâb Ibn Ruzaik Ibn Mâhân—(or, as I have read somewhere else : Ruzaik Ibn Asaad Ibn Râdûyah, or, as I have found it in another place : Asaad Ibn Zâdân (some say, Musâb) Ibn Talha Ibn Ruzaik)—al-Khuzâi, surnamed Zû 'l-Yamînain (*ambidexter*), was a member, by adoption, of the tribe of Khuzâa : his grandfather Ruzaik Ibn Mâhân having been a manumitted slave of Talhat at-Talhât al-Khuzâi (1), him who was so highly celebrated for his nobleness of soul and his excessive liberality. Tâhir was one of al-Mamûn's ablest supporters : when that prince was residing at Marw, the capital of Khorasan, he revolted against his brother al-Amîn and dispatched Tâhir, with an army, to attack him at Baghdad, an event of which the history is well known (2). Abû Yahya Ali Ibn Isa Ibn Mâhân was sent by al-Amîn to repel Tâhir, but, in the battle which ensued, he lost his life. Ibn al-Azîmi al-Halabi (*the native of*

*Aleppo*) (3) says in his History that al-Amîn sent Ali Ibn Isa Ibn Mâhân against Tâhir Ibn al-Husain and that they encountered at Rai, where Ali was slain on the seventh of Shâbân, A. H. 195 (May, A. D. 811); and at-Tabari, in his History, states that the battle took place in the year 195, without marking in what month; but he then says: "Ali was slain in battle and Tâhir sent a messenger to Marw with "the news. These two places are separated by an interval of about two hundred "and fifty parasangs; the express was on the way from the eve of Friday till Sun- "day morning"—he does not mention the month—"and he arrived with the "dispatch on Sunday."—Further on, he says: "Ali Ibn Isa went forth from "Baghdad on the seventh of Shâbân, A. H. 195." It is therefore manifest that Ibn al-Azimi has confounded the date of Ali's death with that of his departure from Baghdad. Al-Tabari then says: "The news of his death arrived at Baghdad "on Thursday the 15th of Shawwâl of the same year." It is therefore probable that he lost his life on the seventh or ninth of *Shawwâl,* and that the copyist wrote the name of this month *Shâbân,* by mistake; and, in that case, he may 332 have left Baghdad in Shâbân as at-Tabari has said, and his death may have taken place in the month of Shawwâl or Ramadân; but this, God knows best. Tâhir then marched towards Baghdad, taking possession of all the places through which he passed, and having besieged al-Amîn in that city, he slew him on Sunday the 6th (or the 4th) of Safar, A.H. 198 (October, A.D. 813). This is the account given by at-Tabari, but another historian says: "Tâhir sent to al-Mâmûn, re- "questing his permission to do as he pleased with al-Amin in case he took him "prisoner; but in reply, al-Mâmûn sent him a shirt with no opening in it for "the head: by this Tâhir knew that he wished him to be put to death (4), and "he acted accordingly." He sent al-Amîn's head to Khorasan that it might be presented to al-Mâmûn, who was then declared khalif. Al-Mâmûn treated Tâhir with great respect for the soundness of his counsels and the services which he had rendered. When Tâhir attained the height of his eminence, some one said to him at Baghdad: "May you well enjoy the rank which you now hold "and which none of your rivals in Khorasan have ever reached!" To which he replied: "That is what I am unable to enjoy, since I cannot see the aged females "of Bûshanj climbing up to the roofs of their houses that they may get a sight "of me as I pass by." He said this because he was born at Bûshanj and had passed his youth there; his grandfather Musâb having been governor of that place

and of Herât. Tâhir was not only a brave soldier, but an elegant scholar (5). As he was one day making an excursion in his barge (*on the Tigris*) at Baghdad, the poet Mukaddis Ibn Saifi al-Khalûki went to meet him at the landing-place and said: "O emir! will you be pleased to hear some verses of my composition?" —"Let us have them," said he. The poet then recited these lines:

> I wonder how the bark of the son of al-Husain can escape from sinking;—and may it never be submerged! It is placed between two seas; one of them (*a sea of generosity*) is upon it, and the other is beneath it. I wonder how its planks, on being touched by his hand, do not shoot out leaves and flowers.

"Give him three thousand dinars," said Tâhir.—"Give me more," said Ibn Saifi, "and you shall have more verses."—"I have got enough," replied Tâhir. —Similar to this are the following well-turned verses addressed by a poet to a man in high station who had set out on a voyage:

> When he embarked on the sea, I implored God with humility and said: "O thou " whose bounty causeth the breezes to blow! let generosity flow from his hands (*as " abundant*) as the waves of the ocean; preserve him from danger, and let the " waves of the ocean be (*smooth*) like his hand!"

When Tâhir was besieging Baghdad, he found himself in want of money and wrote for some to al-Mâmûn. The prince, in reply, sent him a letter addressed to Khâlid Ibn Jîlawaih the *kâtib*, requesting him to lend the sum which Tâhir required; this, however, Khâlid refused to do. On taking Baghdad, Tâhir caused Khâlid to be brought before him and declared that he would make him die by the worst of deaths. On this, Khâlid offered a large sum to save his life, but his proposal was rejected; he then said: "I have composed some verses; " hear them, and after that, do what you will." Tâhir, who was fond of poetry, replied: "Let us have them;" and Khâlid recited these lines:

> A falcon, they say, once met a sparrow of the plain, driven into danger by the decree of fate. He darted on it and was striking it down with his wing, when it said: " I am not a fit quarry for one like thee; even were I roasted I should be a despicable " morsel." The haughty falcon, full of generous pride, contemned his prey, and the sparrow then escaped.

Tâhir approved the verses and pardoned him. He had but one eye, and this induced Amr Ibn Bâna, whose life shall be given later, to compose on him this verse:

O thou ambidexter! thou hast an eye too little, and a hand too much (6).

333 Ismaîl Ibn Jarîr âl-Bajali was assiduous in his praise of Tâhir, and the latter, having been told that the verses Ismaîl addressed to him were by some other poet, resolved on putting his talent to the test, and said: "Make a satire on me." This he refused to do, but being forced at length by Tâhir's insisting, he wrote down (7) and handed to him the following verses:

> I see thee with but one eye, and that eye seeth but little. Since thou hast lost one, thou shouldst find some person to answer for the safety of the other; for I am certain that thou wilt soon have to feel thy way.

Tâhir, having read these lines, warned him not to repeat them and tore the paper. When al-Mâmûn obtained the sovereign power on the death of his brother al-Amîn, he wrote from Khorasan, where he was residing, to Tâhir Ibn al-Husain who was then at Baghdad. In his letter, he directed him to give up to al-Hasan Ibn Sahl—the person of whom we have spoken *page* 408,—all the countries which he had subdued, namely: Arabian and Persian Irak, Fars, al-Ahwâz, Hijâz, and Yemen, after which he was to proceed to ar-Rakka and assume the government of Mosul, Mesopotamia, Syria, and the West (*Egypt and North Africa*). This happened towards the close of the year 198 (August, A. D. 814). The particulars of Tâhir's proceedings are very numerous (*and may be found in any of the works on general history*). We shall give the life of his son Abd Allah and of his grandson Obaid Allah. Tâhir was born A. H. 159 (A. D. 775-6), and died on Saturday, the 24th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 207 (November, A. D. 822) at Marw. "Al-Mâmûn had conferred on him the government of "Khorasan, where he arrived in the month of the latter Rabi, A. H. 206 "(September A. D. 821), some say, 205. He chose for his lieutenant his son "Talha:" such are as-Salâmi's (8) words in his History of the governors of Khorasan. Another writer says: "Tâhir renounced his allegiance to al-Mâ-"mûn, who learned the circumstance from letters forwarded to him by post "from Khorasan. This intelligence alarmed him exceedingly, but the next "day he received other dispatches, by which he was informed that Tâhir fell "ill of a fever after his revolt and had been found dead in his bed." Harûn Ibn al-Abbâs Ibn al-Mâmûn relates the following circumstance in his History: "Tâhir went one day to ask some favour from al-Mâmûn; the prince granted

" it and then wept till his eyes were drowned in tears. 'Commander of the " faithful!' said Tâhir, 'why do you weep? May God never cause you to " shed a tear! The universe obeys you, and you have obtained your utmost " wishes.'—'I weep not,' replied the khalif, 'from any humiliation which may " have befallen me, neither do I weep from grief, but my mind is never free from " cares.'" These words gave great uneasiness to Tàhir, and (*on retiring*) he said to Husain, the eunuch who waited at the door of the khalif's private apartment: " I wish you to ask the Commander of the faithful why he wept on seeing me." He then sent him one hundred thousand dirhims. Some time afterwards, when al-Mâmûn was alone and in a good humour, Husain said to him: " Why did " you weep when Tâhir came to see you?"—" What is that to you?" replied the prince.—" It made me sad to see you weep," answered the eunuch. " I shall " tell you the reason, but if you ever allow it to pass your lips, I shall have your head taken off."—" O, my master! did I ever disclose any of your secrets?" —" I was thinking of my brother Muhammad (*al-Amîn*)," said the khalif, " and of the misfortune which befel him, so that I was nearly choked with " weeping; but Tâhir shall not escape me! I shall make him feel what he " will not like." Husain related this to Tâhir, who immediately rode off to Ahmad Ibn Abi Khâlid (9) and said to him: I am not parsimonious in my gra- " titude, and a service rendered to me is never lost; contrive to have me re- " moved away from al-Mâmûn."—" I shall;" replied Ahmad; " come to me " to-morrow-morning." He then rode off to al-Mâmûn and said: " I was " not able to sleep last night."—" Why so?" said the khalif.—" Because you " have entrusted Ghassân (10) with the government of Khorasan, and his friends " are very few (11); and I fear that ruin awaits him."—" And whom do you " think a proper person for it?" said al-Mâmûn.—" Tâhir," replied Ibn Abi Khâlid.—" He is ambitious (12)," observed the khalif.—" I will answer for his " conduct;" said the other. Al-Mâmûn then sent for Tâhir, and named him go- 334 vernor of Khorasan on the spot; he made him also a present of a eunuch whom he had brought up, and to whom he had just given orders to poison his new master if he remarked any thing suspicious in his conduct. When Tâhir was solidly established in his government, he ceased making the *khotba*(*for al-Mâmûn*); this event is related in the following terms by Kulthûm Ibn Thâbit, the director of the post establishment in Khorasan: " Tâhir mounted the pulpit on Friday,

"and pronounced the *khotba*; when he came to the part in which the khalif's "name should be mentioned, he stopped short. A despatch was immediately sent "off by express to inform al-Mâmûn of the circumstance, and the next morning, "Saturday, Tâhir was found dead in his bed. A second despatch containing "this intelligence was forwarded to al-Mâmûn. On receiving the packet con- "taining the first dispatch, he called in Ahmad Ibn Abi Khâlid, and said: 'Go "'immediately, and bring him here as you promised to do.' He even insisted "that he should set out that very day, and it was with great difficulty that he "consented to his remaining another night. The following day, the second "despatch arrived, bringing the news of Tâhir's death." It is said that the eunuch administered the poison to him in some sauce. On his death, his son Talha was nominated by al-Mâmûn to the government of Khorasan; but some say that he was merely appointed to act as the lieutenant of his brother Abd Allah Ibn Tàhir (whose life we intend to give). Talha died at Balkh, A. H. 213 (A. D. 828-9).—Different reasons have been assigned for the origin of Tâhir's surname *Zu 'l-Yamínain* (*ambidexter*); some say that in the battle with Ali Ibn Mâhân, he smote a man with a sword which he wielded in his left hand, and cut him in two. On this a poet said:

When you strike a foe, each of your hands is a right hand!

It was then that al-Mâmûn gave him this surname. His grandfather Musâb Ibn Ruzaik was secretary to Sulaimân Ibn Kathîr al-Khuzâi, the chief of the Abbaside *mission*. He expressed his thoughts with great elegance, and one of his sayings was: "How indispensable for a *kâtib* is a mind by means of which he may "reach the highest rank, and a disposition which may lead him to the acquisition "of noble qualities, and a generous pride, which may preserve him from mean "desires and base behaviour."—*Bûshanj* is a town in Khorasan, seven parasangs from Herat.—*Khalûki* means *belonging to Khalûk* or *Khalûka,* a well known Arabian tribe (13).—Al-Husain Ibn Musâb, Tâhir's father, died in Khorasan, A. H. 199 (A. D. 814-5); al-Mâmûn attended his funeral, and sent a message of consolation to Tâhir, who was then in Irak.

1) Ibn Khallikân speaks again of Talhat at-Talhât in the life of Abd Allah Ibn Tâhir.

(2) See any of the works on Moslim history under the year 195 of the Hijra.

(3) See page 174, note (6). The historian Ibn al-Azimi must have written subsequently to A. H. 527, as he mentions that Zinki attacked Damascus in that year.—(*Zubdat al-Halab*, MS. No. 728, f. 160, r l. ult.)

(4) A shirt without an opening for the head could not be of any use except to cover a body without a head.

(5) Correct the Arabic text and read وكان شجاعا اديبا.

(6) Meaning by this that he deserved to have his hand cut off for robbery.

(7) This he did lest the company might hear the verses.

(8) This historian's names are Abû 'l-Husain Ali Ibn Ahmad as-Salâmi.

(9) See page 20, note (9).

(10) Ghassân Ibn Abbâd was appointed governor of Sind by al-Mâmûn, A. H. 213," — (Ibn el-Athir )

(11) Literally: "He and his could eat up the head between them." See Freytag's Proverbs of al-Maidani, tom. 1, p. 73, No. 189.

(12) Literally: "He is hungry."

(13) Ibn Khallikân might have mentioned from which of the great Arabian stems the tribe of Khalûka branched off. That it was not *well known*, is proved by the silence of the best genealogists.

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## SAIF AL-ISLAM TOGHTIKIN.

Saif al-Islâm (*the sword of Islamism*) Abû 'l-Fawâris Toghtikîn, the son of Aiyûb Ibn Shâdi Ibn Marwân (1), and surnamed al-Malik al-Azîz Zahîr ad-dîn (*the great prince, supporter of the faith*), held the sovereignty of Yemen. When his brother, the sultan al-Malik an-Nâsir Salâh ad-dîn became master of Egypt, he sent his other brother Shams ad-Dawlat Tûrân Shâh—him whose life has been given, *page* 284,—to take possession of Yemen. That prince got the greater part of the country into his power, but then returned from it, as we have already mentioned. In the year 577 (A.D. 1181-2) the sultan sent thither Saif al-Islâm, who was a man of courage and generosity, noted for his talents as an administrator and his justice as a governor. His bounty and beneficence drew poets about him from the most distant lands, and amongst the rest Ibn Onain of Damascus, whose life will be found in this work, and who came to celebrate his praises in some brilliant *kasîdas*, which procured him rich rewards from the prince's liberality. The favour of his patron then enabled him to acquire a large fortune, and he left Yemen with his riches: On arriving in Egypt, which was now under the rule of al-Malik al-Aziz Imâd ad-dîn Othmân, the son of Salâh ad-dîn, he 535 was obliged by the clerks of the Alms-Office to pay the legal alms (2) on all the

merchandize which he had brought with him. This induced him to compose the following verses:

> All the persons named al-Azîz (*the great*) are not worthy of such a title; it is not every thunder-cloud which brings with it a genial shower. How different is the conduct of the two Azîz—one bestows alms, the other takes them.

Saif al-Islâm died on the 19th of Shawwâl, A. H. 593 (September, A. D. 1197) at al-Mansûra, a city founded by himself in Yemen. He was succeeded in his government by al-Malik al-Moizz Fath ad-dîn Ismaîl, the prince for whom Abû 'l-Ghanâim Musallam Ibn Mahmûd Ibn Nîma Ibn Arslân ash-Shaizari (*native of Shaizar in Syria*) composed his *Ajâib al-Asfâr wa Gharâib al-Akhbâr*, (*wonders of travel and singular narratives*), a work containing a copious account of his travels and much information respecting (*the eminent*) men (*whom he had met*). Al-Izz Ibn Asâkir (3) says that Saif al-Islâm died at Hamra (4), a town in Yemen, and Abû 'l-Ghanâim, the writer above mentioned, states in his *Jamharat al-Islâm zât an-Nathri wa 'n-Nizâm* (5) (*collections respecting Islamism—or Islam—containing pieces in prose and verse*), that the death of Saif al-Islâm took place at Taizz (6), in the college of which town he was interred. He then adds: "His son Fath ad-dîn Abû 'l-Fidâ Ismaîl was slain in "the month of Rajab, A. H. 598 (April, A. D. 1202), at Aji, a place situated to "the north of Zabîd (7). Fath ad-dîn was succeeded by his brother al-Malik "an-Nâsir Aiyûb (8)."—Abû 'l-Ghanâim, the author of this work, was versed in polite literature and had a talent for poetry; he was still alive A. H. 617 (A. D. 1220-1), but he died in that same year or in one of the years ensuing. His father Abû 'th-Thanâ Mahmûd was a grammarian, and professed that art in the Mosque (*jâmi*) at Damascus. The *hâfiz* Ibn Asâkir makes mention of him in the great History (*of Damascus*), and Imâd ad-dîn says in the *Kharîda* that he died A. H. 565 (A. D. 1169-70). Sharaf ad-dîn Ibn Onain relates that this Mahmûd recited to him the following lines of his own composing:

> They pretend that the *k*'s requisite in winter are many (9), but it is not a falsehood to say that there is only one. When you have the *k* of *kîs* (*money-bag*), you have them all; in the wild ass is found every sort of game (10).

—*Toghtikîn* is a Turkish name.

(1) The life of Aiyûb has been already given, p. 243.

(2) The legal alms are a property tax of two and a half per cent.

(3) This is in the margin of the autograph and not in the author's hand. — For *Asâkir* I should read *al-Athîr*.

(4) The town of al-Hamra lay between Jobla and Taizz.

(5) The last word of this title is written نظام in the original manuscript and in the handwriting of Ibn Khallikân himself. All the other MSS. have نظم (*nazm*), which is manifestly a fault, as the first part of the title should rhyme with the second. This work, which is not noticed by Hajji Khalifa, was perhaps a panegyric on the prince *Saif al-Islam*.

(6) *Taizz*, as it is written in the *Marâsid*, is the *Taas* of the gazetteers.

(7) *Zabîd* is the same city as the *Zebid* of the gazetteers.

(8) A fuller account of these princes will be found in Johannsen's *Historia Yemanæ*, p. 150 et seq.

(9) This alludes to a couple of verses composed by Ibn Sukkara, and inserted by al-Harîri in his twenty-fifth *Makâma*. (See De Sacy's edition, p. 262.) Their meaning is nearly as follows: Winter is come and I have for it seven things requisite when wet weather keeps me within doors; they are: *kinn* (shelter), *kîs* (purse), *kânûn* (stove), a *kâs* (cup) of wine, after some *kabâb* (roasted meat — see Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, v.I. p. 180), a plump *kuss* (girl), and a *kisâ* (warm covering). The *kuss* (*arvum genitale*) was frequently designated by the metonymy of the *sixth kâf* (*Al-Kâf as-Sâdisa*).

(10) The Arab hunters considered the flesh of the wild ass as preferable to that of all other animals, because it had the taste and qualities of every sort of game. The expression itself is proverbially employed to designate a single object which can replace a number of others.

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## AS-SALIH IBN RUZZIK.

Abû 'l-Ghârât Talâi Ibn Ruzzîk, surnamed al-Malik as-Sâlih (*the virtuous prince*), was a vizir of Egypt. He had been originally entrusted with the government of Mûnya Bani Khasîb, a place in the province of Upper Egypt (*Saîd*), but on the assassination of az-Zâfir Ismaîl (see his life, *page* 222), the officers of the palace sent to request his assistance against Abbâs and his son Nasr, the authors of that crime. He immediately proceeded to Cairo at the head of an immense multitude of Arabs from the desert. On his approach, Abbâs and his son fled with their partisans, amongst whom was Osâma Ibn Murshid Ibn Munkid, who had been a sharer in their guilt (see his life, *page* 177). Sâlih then made his entry into Cairo and being appointed vizir to (*the khalif*) al-Fâiz, he became the absolute master of the state and director of the government. This took place on the 19th of the first Rabî, A. H. 549 (June, A. D. 1154).—He was eminent by his







personal merit, profuse in his donations, accessible to suitors, a generous patron to men of talent, and a good poet. I have read his collected poetical works forming two volumes, from which I took the following passages:

336 How often does time set before us its vicissitudes, that they may serve for our instruction; yet we turn away and heed them not. We forget that the hour of death must come, and we never think of it till our maladies remind us.

There was a youth whose slender form and pliant waist seemed, from their movements to have acquired a portion of the intoxication which his eyes shed around. His glances were so penetrating that, in the morn of battle, I might have drawn them from their eyelids to serve me as a sword. "The musk of that *izâr*," I exclaimed, "has "traced a double *elif* (ا) on his cheek, and not a double *lâm* (ل) (1). It is not "down which spreads over his cheeks, but the locks of his hair which have broken "loose." Behold with wonder a sultan whose justice is universal and who himself suffers from the tyranny of love (2). By Allah! were it not that flight is a shameful word and shameful in itself, I should have fled to him for protection against his own cruelty (3).

The celebrated preacher and native of Damascus Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Naja Ibn Ghanâim al-Ansâri (*descended from one of the Ansârs*), a member of the Hanbalite sect, and surnamed Zain ad-dîn (*the ornament of religion*), but generally known by the appellation of Ibn Nujaiya, gives the following verses as the production of Talâi Ibn Ruzzik, and mentions that, when he was in Egypt, they were recited to him by their author:

Your hoary age has cast off the dark tint of youth, and the white falcon has settled in the nest of the crow (4). You slumber in apathy, but misfortune is awake and the tooth of affliction will wound you and not be repelled. How can you preserve the treasure of your life if you squander it away uncounted?

The poet Abd Allah Ibn Asaad surnamed al-Muhaddab (5), a native of Mosul, but an inhabitant of Emessa, celebrated the praises of as-Sâlih Talâi in a poem rhyming in *K*, and beginning thus:

Will it not suffice you that I perish under your correction? You only punish me for the excess of the love I bear you (6).

It is an excellent *kasîda* and expresses in these lines the drift of the author:

Why then be angry if secret foes say I have forgotten thee? knowest thou not that I can never forget thee? May thy friendship be withheld from me if what they say is true, and may my thirst be never quenched by the generosity of the son of Ruzzîk!

Were I not afraid of lengthening this article too much, I should transcribe here the entire poem, which is both long and instructive (7).—On the death of al-Fâiz, who was succeeded by al-Aâdid, as-Sâlih not only continued to hold the vizirat, but was treated by the new khalif with greater honour than ever: he married his daughter to al-Aâdid whom he held in complete subjection and a prisoner (*in the palace*), and, seduced by long prosperity, he neglected the precautions of prudence. Fatigued at length with his thraldom, the prince devised a plan against his vizir's life, and formed a conspiracy for that purpose with the portion of the regular troops called the *Aulâd ar-Rât* (*the sons of the shepherd*) (8). These men were to remain concealed in a part of the palace which he indicated, and on the passage of as-Sâlih, either by day or by night, they were to kill him. They lay there in wait, and as the vizir was about leaving the palace, they rose to attack him, but the door through which they had to pass was locked by the mistake of one of the band whilst endeavouring to open it, and their design was thus frustrated for that night; God having had some motive for allowing their intended victim to live a short time longer. Another day they posted themselves in their place of concealment, and, when as-Sâlih entered the palace, they sprung upon him and covered him with wounds, some of them in the head. The alarm was immediately given, and the persons who had accompanied as-Sâlih came in to his assistance and slew the murderers. He 337 was carried home, the blood flowing from his wounds, and he died the same day, Monday, 19th Ramadân, A. H. 556 (September, A. D. 1161). His birth was in the year 495 (A. D. 1101-2). The pelisses of investiture were then borne to his son Abû Shujâ al-Aâdil Muhi ad-dîn Ruzzîk, him of whom we have spoken in the life of Shâwar, *page* 608. He thus became vizir, on Tuesday, the day after his father's death, and received the honorary title of al-Aâdil an-Nâsir (*the just, the protector*). The jurisconsult Omârat al-Yamani lamented the death of as-Sâlih in a long *kasîda* commencing thus:

Is there in that assembly a person well informed to whom I may apply? for the grief I feel has troubled and expelled my reason. I have heard a rumour which makes me envy the deaf, which shocks him who hears it and strikes dumb him who relates it. Can I have an answer to encourage my hopes and make the truth of this fatal news appear less probable than its falsehood? The aspect of things only increases my fears; —I see the throne set out, but he who filled it is absent! Has he retired (*merely for a time*) and left his son to replace him, or has he departed never to return? I see sadness upon all faces such as shows that the faces (*chiefs of the kingdom*) are orphaned by his loss.

It contains also this passage :

> Leave me! this is not the moment for weeping! Later our tears shall descend as the dew and as the showers. Suspect not the sincerity of my grief; that shower (*of generosity*) in which I placed my hopes has been dissipated from over me. Why should we not weep him and deplore his loss, now that our children are orphaned and bereft? After a life of beneficence he has vanished from our eyes; O that I knew the fate which God reserves for us! Shall your guest, the stranger whom you protected, find still an honourable treatment and be induced to remain, or must his baggage be packed up for a prompt departure?

Sâlih was interred at Cairo in the Palace of the Vizirat founded by al-Afdal Shâhanshâh, whose life we have given, *page* 612; but on the 19th of the month of Safar, A. H. 557 (February, A. D. 1162), his son al-Aâdil caused the body to be taken up, and having placed it on a bier, he followed it to the cemetery of the Greater Karâfa and had it deposited in the tomb which is still called the Mausoleum of as-Sâlih. Omârat al-Yamani composed, on this subject, another good *kasîda,* containing the following passage relative to the bier (*tâbût*) :

> Like the ark (*tâbût*) of Moses, it contained dignity (9) and gravity.

He made also a number of other elegies on his death.—This was the Sâlih who built the mosque outside the Gate of Zawîla (10) at Cairo. In the life of Shâwar we mentioned the flight of as-Sâlih's son, al-Aâdil Ibn Ruzzîk, from Cairo, with the date of that event (*see page* 608); he took with him treasures to an immense amount, and accompanied by his family and domestics, he put himself under the protection of Sulaimân—some say, Yakûb—Ibn-an-Nîs (11) al-Lakhmi, an old friend of the vizir's family and indebted to them for the ample fortune which he then possessed. He received them in his house at Atfîh (12), but immediately went off to Shâwar and informed him where they were. Shâwar sent back with him a troop (*of soldiers*) who arrested al-Aâdil and brought him to the door of the palace, where he kept him waiting for a long time and then sent him to prison.—He afterwards said to Ibn an-Nîs : "As-Sâlih reserved you for his son 338 "as a precious treasure, and I shall reserve you for mine;" he then ordered him to be strangled. Al-Aâdil remained in prison for some time and was at length put to death by Shâwar's orders; his head was then brought forth to the great officers of the empire. It is a singular coincidence that as-Sâlih was nominated vizir on the nineteenth day of the month, that he was murdered on the nineteenth

day of the month, that his body was disinterred and that the authority of the Ruzzik family ceased on days of a similar date.—Zain ad-dîn Ibn Nujaiya, the preacher above mentioned, was born A. H. 508 (A. D. 1114-5) at Damascus; he passed his youth in that city and visited Baghdad a number of times; he married Omm Abd al-Karîm Fâtima, the daughter of Abû 'l-Hasan Saad al-Khair Ibn Muhammad Ibn Sahl Ibn Saad, a descendant from one of the *Ansârs* and a native of Valencia in Spain (13). Before his death, he removed to Egypt and there taught the Traditions. He died in that country on Wednesday, the 8th of Ramadân, A. H. 599 (May, A. D. 1203).

(1) See the observations in the Introduction to this volume.

(2) By the sultan, he means himself.

(3) I shall henceforward omit every piece similar to this, unless there be means of disguising its offensive character.

(4) This means in simple language: Your gray hairs have taken the place of your black ones.

(5) The life of al-Muhaddab Abd Allah Ibn ad-Dabbân will be found in the next volume.

(6) The word حبيكا, an incorrect expression, is equivalent to حبى لك. The first تلافى comes from the root لفى and the second from تلف.

(7) Imâd ad-dîn gives this poem in his *Kharîda;* see MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 1414, fol. 177.

(8) Ibn al-Athîr says in his Annals: "Among the Egyptian emirs, he who took the most active part in the "murder of as-Sâlih was the person named *Ibn ar-Râi* (*the son of the shepherd*)." Al-Makrîzi, in his *Khitat*, speaks of as-Salih and gives a short account of his death; according to him, he was attacked and wounded by a *Bâtinite*. An account nearly similar is given in the *Nujûm*.

(9) *Dignity*; in Arabic, *sakîna*. See M. de Sacy's observations on this word in his *Chrestomathie*, tom. II. page 77.

(10) According to al-Makrîzi, as-Sâlih built this mosque for the reception of the mortal remains of al-Husain, the son of Ali, which were at that time interred at Ascalon and in constant danger of being profaned by the Frank army.

(11) I here follow the reading of the autograph.

(12) Atfîh is situated on the east bank of the Nile, about forty miles above Cairo.

(13) Abû 'l-Hasan Saad al-Khair Ibn Muhammad the Traditionist descended from a family of the *Ansârs* and was born at Valencia in Spain. He travelled to the East and went as far as *Sîn* (*China*), for which reason he was surnamed *as-Sîni al-Balansiyi*. At Baghdad he studied the law under Abû Hâmid al-Isfarâini and learned the Traditions from Abû Abd Allah an-Niâli النعالى and other doctors. When in Ispahân he took lessons from Abû Saad al-Mutarriz, and it was in that city he got married; it was there also that his daughter Fâtima was born. His authority as a *hâfiz* was cited by Ibn Asâkir, Abû Saad as-Samâni, Abû Mûsa al-Madîni, and others. He died at Baghdad in the month of Muharram, A. H. 541 (A. D. 1146-7), and the funeral prayers were said over his corpse by the *Kâdi 'l-Kudât* az-Zainabi. He was interred near the tomb of Abd Allah, the son of the imâm Ibn Hanbal.—(Al-Makkari, MS. No. 704, fol. 288.)

## ABU YAZID AL-BASTAMI.

Abû Yazîd Taifûr al-Bastâmi, the famous ascetic, was the son of Isa Ibn Adam Ibn Isa Ibn Ali. His grandfather was a Magian, but became a convert to Islamism, and his two brothers, Adam and Ali, were, like himself, devout ascetics, but in an inferior degree. Abû Yazîd, being asked how he had acquired his knowledge (*of the spiritual world*), answered that it was by means of a hungry belly and a naked body. A person said to him : "What is the greatest "suffering which you have undergone in the way of God?" to which he replied: "It cannot be described." He was then asked what was the slightest mortification which he had inflicted on himself (1)? and he said: "As for that "question, I can answer it: when I summoned myself to do an act pleasing "to God, if I replied not with a good will, I deprived myself of water for a year." He used to say: "When you see a man possessing miraculous powers so as "even to mount into the air, let not that deceive you, but see if he observes "God's commands and prohibitions, if he keeps within the bounds imposed by "religion, and if he performs the duties which it prescribes." His sayings are very numerous, his works of mortification and devotion are highly celebrated and his miraculous gifts were clear and evident. He died A.H. 261 (A.D. 874-5); some say, 264.—*Bastâmi* means *belonging to Bastâm*, which is a well known town in the province of Kûmes (2); some persons state that it lies just within the frontier of Khorasan, near the border of Irak.

(1) The word منك has been omitted by mistake in the Arabic text after نفسك.

(2) This province lies towards the south-eastern extremity of the Caspian Sea.

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## ABU 'L-ASWAD AD-DUWALI.

Abû 'l-Aswad Zâlim Ibn Amr Ibn Sofyân Ibn Jandal Ibn Yamar Ibn Hils Ibn Nufâtha Ibn Adi Ibn ad-Dîl Ibn Bakr was surnamed ad-Dili or ad-Duwali, but a

great diversity of opinions exists relative to his name, his genealogy and his surname (1). He was one of the most eminent among the *Tâbis*, an inhabitant of Basra, and a partisan of Ali Ibn Ali Tâlib, under whom he fought at the battle of Siffîn. In intelligence he was one of the most perfect of men and in reason one of the most sagacious. He was the first who invented grammar: it is said that Ali laid down for him this principle: *the parts of speech are three: the noun, the verb, and the particle,* telling him to found a complete 339 treatise upon it. Others say that he was instructor to the children of Ziâd Ibn Abih, who was then governor of Arabian and Persian Irak, and that he went to him one day and said: "Emir, may God direct thee! I see that the "Arabs have become mingled with these foreign nations and that their tongues "are altered (*so that they speak incorrectly*); wilt thou then authorize me to compose for the Arabs something which may enable them to know their language?" —or, according to another relation,—"to use correctly their language?" —Ziâd refused permission, but some time afterwards, a man came to him and said: "Emir! may God direct thee! *tuwaffia abâna wa taraka banûn* (2) (*mortuus est patrem nostrum et reliquit filii*);" on this he sent for Abû 'l-Aswad and told him to prepare for the public that which he had previously forbidden him to compose.—It is related by others that as he entered his house on a certain day, one of his daughters said to him: "Papa! *ma ahsanu 's-samâi? (what "is most beautiful in the sky?)*"—to which he answered: "Its stars;" but she replied: "Papa, I do not mean to say what is the most beautiful object in it; "I was only expressing my admiration at its beauty."—"You must then say," he observed, "*ma ahsana 's-samâa (how beautiful is the sky)*." He then invented the art of grammar. Abû Harb, ad-Duwali's son, related as follows: "The first section (*of the art of grammar*) composed by my father was on the "verbs of admiration (3)." Abû 'l-Aswad having been asked where he had acquired the science of grammar, answered that he had learned the first points of it from Ali Ibn Ali Tâlib. It is said that Abû 'l-Aswad never made known any of the principles which he had received from Ali, till Ziâd sent to him the order to compose something which might serve as a guide to the public and enable them to understand the Book of God (*the Koran*). He at first asked to be dispensed (*from such a task*), but on hearing a man recite the following passage out of the Koran: *Anna 'llahu bariyon mina 'l-mushrikina wa rasûluhu,* which

last word the reader pronounced *rasulihi,* he exclaimed : "I never thought that "things would have come to this (4)." He then returned to Ziâd and said : "I "shall do what you ordered ; find me an intelligent (5) scribe who will fol- "low my directions." On this a scribe belonging to the tribe of Abd al-Kais was brought to him, but did not give him satisfaction ; another then came and Abû 'l-Aswad said to him : "When you see me open (*fatah*) my mouth in "pronouncing a letter, place a point over it ; when I close (*damm*) my mouth, "place a point before (or, *upon*) the letter, and when I pucker up (*kasar*) my "mouth, place a point under the letter." This the scribe did (6). The art (*of grammar*) was called *nahwu* because Abû 'l-Aswad had said : "I asked per- "mission of Ali Ibn Ali Tâlib to compose *in the same way* (*nahwa*) as he had "done." God knows best, if this be true (7).—Abû 'l-Aswad had a house in Basra, but as he was continually suffering from the maliciousness of a neighbour, he sold it ; and some person having said to him : "You have then sold your "house ?" he replied : "Say rather, I have sold my neighbour ;" a saying which became proverbial (8).—He went in one day to Obaid Allah Ibn Abi Bakra Nukai (9) Ibn al-Harith Ibn Kalada ath-Thakafi, who, on seeing him clothed in a a tattered cloak which he often wore, said to him : "Abû 'l-Aswad, are you not "tired of that cloak?" To which he received this answer : "There are tire- "some things which it is impossible to quit." When Abû 'l-Aswad with- drew, the other sent to him one hundred coats, on which he recited the lines which follow : (some say, however, that it was between him and al-Mundir Ibn al-Jàrûd that this passed) :

> A generous brother, prompt to assist (*nâsiru*), clothed me when I asked it not, and therefore do I praise him. If you are grateful, that man best deserves your thanks who makes you presents while your self-respect remains undiminished.

In this verse, the word *nâsiru* is sometimes read *yâsiru;* the meaning of the first reading is clear, as it comes from *nusra* (*assistance*) ; the second reading implies *pity* and *compassion ;* thus they say : "Such a one has compassion (*yâsiru*) on "such a one."— Abû 'l-Aswad composed a great deal of poetry (10) ; one of his pieces is as follows :

> It is not by wishes alone that you can procure your livelihood ; you must send your bucket down into the well with those of others : sometimes it will come up full, and sometimes with mud and but little water.

His poetical works have been collected into a volume. He is the author of 340 this verse:

Omaiya dyed our hands with blood, but Omaiya withheld from us their wealth (11).

It is related that Abû 'l-Aswad had an attack of the palsy, and that he used to go to the market himself, although scarcely able to draw his leg after him, and yet he was rich and possessed both male and female slaves: a person who knew this accosted him one day and said: "God has dispensed you from the necessity of "moving about on your own business; why do you not remain seated at home?" To which he replied: "No; I go in and out, and the eunuch says: 'He is "'coming,' and the boy says: 'He is coming,' whereas, were I to continue sit- "ting in the house, the sheep might urine upon me without any person's pre- "venting them."—Khalîfa Ibn Khaiyât states that when Abd Allah Ibn Abbâs governed Basra in the name of Ali Ibn Tâlib (12), he had to make a journey to Hijâz, and left Abû 'l-Aswad to replace him; the latter continued in his post from that time till the death of Ali.—He was notorious for his avarice, and he used to say: "If we listened to the demands made by the poor for our money, we should "soon be worse off than they." He said also to his sons: "Strive not to rival "Almighty God in generosity, for He is the most bountiful and the most glorious; "had he pleased, he would have given ample wealth to all men; so strive not to "be generous, lest you die of starvation."—He once heard a person say: "Who "will give a supper to a hungry man?"—"Let him come to me;" he replied. When the supper was over, the man left the table and was going out, but his host called after him: "Where are you going?"—"To my people;" replied the other.—"That," exclaimed Abû 'l-Aswad, "I shall by no means allow; when I "gave you to sup, my sole motive was to prevent the true believers from being "troubled by you for this night at least." He then put him in the stocks and kept him in confinement till the next morning.—Abû 'l-Aswad died at Basra of the plague in the year 69 (A. D. 688-9), aged eighty-five years; some persons mention, however, that he died of the palsy before the plague broke out: others again state that he died in the khalifat of Omar Ibn Abd al-Azîz; now this prince came to the throne in the month of Safar, A. H. 99 (September-October, A.D. 717), and died at Dair-Samân (13) in the month of Rajab, A.H. 101 (February, A. D. 720). When Abû 'l-Aswad was on the point of death, some

one said to him: "Rejoice! God's forgiveness awaits you;" to which he replied: "But where is the shame which I should feel if any of my deeds required forgiveness?"— *Dîli* and *Duwali* mean *belonging to Duwil*, which is a branch of the tribe of Kinâna. In forming the relative adjective from *Duwil*, they say *Duwali* and not *Duwili*, so as to avoid a succession of *kesras* or *i*'s: it is thus that from *Namira*, the name of another tribe, they form *Namari*; this is a general rule. *Duwal* is the name of an animal between the weasel and the fox (14).— The true pronunciation of the word *Hils* is given by al-Wazîr al-Maghribi in his *Kitâb al-Inâs* (15); it is often written incorrectly, and I have found some differences of opinion subsisting respecting it, but *Hils* is the right orthography.

(1) The autograph has نسبة ونسبته.

(2) The man should have said *abûna*, not *abâna*, and *banîn*, not *banân*.

(3) See M. de Sacy's *Grammaire Arabe*, and his edition of the *Alfiya*, page 66. The best published treatise on this subject is contained in Ibn Akil's commentary on the *Alfiya*. printed at Bûlâk, A. H. 1252; the most satisfactory work on Arabic grammar which we possess. It can be only surpassed by Ibn Hishâm's *Moghni 'l-labîb*, a profound and truly philosophical treatise, but not yet printed.

(4) This passage is contained in the third verse of the ninth *surat*. If read correctly, it signifies "This is a "declaration—*that God is clear of the idolaters, and his Apostle also*; but if the last word be pronounced "*rasulihi*, it means—*that God is clear of the idolaters and of his apostle*."

(5) The autograph has لَقَنَا in place of لَقِنَا; the sense is the same.

(6) These are the red points still found in some of the old Kûfic MSS. of the Koran.

(7) The following particulars relative to the origin of Arabic grammar are taken from the notice on Abû 'l-Aswad ad-Duwali in Abû 'l-Mahâsin's *al-Bahr az-Zâkhir*, year 69.—"I once went in," said Abû 'l-Aswad, "to the khalif Ali and found him in deep reflexion, on which I said to him: 'Commander of the faithful! "what are you thinking of?' He answered: 'I heard in your town faults of language, and I wish to compose a book on the principles of Arabic.' I replied: 'If you do so, you will give us new life.' Some days "afterwards I went to him and he handed me his book صحيفة in which was this passage: *The parts of* "*speech are the noun, the verb, and the particle; the noun designates a thing which has a name, the verb* "*indicates the motion of the thing which has a name, and the particle is that which is neither noun nor* "*verb*. He then told me to follow that up and add to it the observations which might come into my mind; I "therefore collected many and submitted them to him. Anbasa learned grammar from ad-Duwali, Maimûn "al-Akran الاقرن from Anbasa, Abd Allah Ibn Abi 'l-Hasan al-Hadrami from Maimûn, Isa Ibn Omar from "al-Hadrami, al-Khalîl Ibn Ahmad, the inventor of prosody, from Isa, Sîbawaih from al-Khalîl, al-Akhfash "Saîd Ibn Masada from Sîbawaih, and the knowledge of it then spread among the public."—(MS. No. 659 A.) The author of the *Fihrist* says that Saad, a newly converted Persian, happened to walk past Abû 'l-Aswad ad-Duwali and was asked by him why he went on foot? To which he replied: "Because my horse is "lame," saying ان فرسى ظالعا, instead of ان فرسى ظالع. Some persons present laughed at the mistake, but Abû 'l-Aswad then conceived the project of rendering Arabic of easy acquisition to newly converted Moslims from foreign countries, and he composed the chapter treating of the *governing and the governed parts of speech* باب الفاعل و المفعول.—(*Fihrist*, fol. 55.)—The following extract from the

same work proves that Abû 'l-Aswad did really compose a treatise on grammar bearing the title: it contains some things not relating to the subject, but they are sufficiently curious to merit insertion: — " Muhammad Ibn Ishak says: there was a man in the city of al-Hadîtha whose name was Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan, but who was generally known by the surname of Ibn Abi Baara بعره. He was a book-collector and possessed a library, the like of which I never saw for its extent. In the division of Arabic books were treatises on grammar, philology, and literature, with some old books besides. I met this man a number of times, and he at length became intimate with me, though he was in general very reserved, and apprehensive that the Hamdân family (*the sovereigns of Aleppo*) might seize on what he had. He then pulled out a large trunk containing about three hundred pounds weight of parchments folded double, and of Egyptian card paper (*kartâs*), Chinese paper (*warak sînî*), paper of Tehâma, and paper of Khorasan. These contained passages of pure Arabic learned from the Arabs of the Desert, a few of their *kasîdas*, and some notes on grammar; with anecdotes, historical relations, stories, genealogies, and other branches of knowledge peculiar to that people. He told me that he had received them from a native of Kûfa, whose name I forget, and who was an eager collector of ancient autographs (*al-khutût al-kadîma*). This person, being on the point of death, left these writings to him because he was a Shîite and had thus obtained his friendship. I looked at the documents (*said Muhammad*) and was struck with admiration; they were all more or less injured by time, but on each quire or roll was a series of certificates to the number of five or six, all in the handwriting of men eminent for their learning, and each of them declaring the preceding to be really in the handwriting of the person whose signature it bore. Among them I saw written: *Koran in the handwriting of Khalid Ibn Abi 'l-Haiyâj, one of Ali's partisans*; then followed these words: *This volume came into the possession of Abû Abd Allah Ibn Hâni*. Among these papers I remarked some in the handwriting of the imâms al-Hasan and al-Husain; others contained protections and charters (*Ohûd*) in the handwriting of the khalif Ali, etc. Among the autographs of the grammarians and philologers, were those of Abû Amr Ibn al-Alâ, Abû Amr ash-Shaibâni, al-Asmâi, Ibn al-Aarâbi, Sîbawaih, al-Farrâ, and al-Kisâi. Among those of Traditionists were some by Sofyân Ibn Oyaina, Sofyân ath-Thauri, al-Aûzâi, etc. And I discovered also in these papers a proof that grammar was invented by Abû 'l-Aswad; it was a document in four sheets, on Chinese paper I believe, and bearing this title: *Discourse on the governing and the governed parts of speech, by Abû 'l-Aswad, in the handwriting of Yahya Ibn Yamar*"—one of Abû 'l-Aswad's disciples, see *Fihrist*, f. 55 v.— " underneath were inscribed in old characters (*bikhatt atik*) these words: *This is the handwriting of such a one the grammarian;* then followed a note by an-Nadr Ibn Shumail. When the owner of these papers died, the trunk and its contents disappeared and we never heard more of it."—(*Fihrist*, fol. 54 *et seq.*)

(8) Al-Yâfi remarks that the proverb is this: I have sold my neighbour, not my house; and that a common saying is: *Al-jâr kabl id-dâr*, examine the neighbourhood before you buy the house.

(9) This is the reading of the autograph.

(10) In the Arabic text read أشعار.

(11) Correct the Arabic text and read دنياها. Ibn Khallikân might have explained this verse and mentioned the fact to which it makes allusion. Al-Yâfi says of it: This seems to mean: The Omaiyides sent us to fight, but were too avaricious to recompense us.

(12) Al-Yâfi says in his Annals, A. H. 68, that Abû 'l-Aswad was kâdi of Basra.

(13) Dair Samân lay in the neighbourhood of al-Khonâsara, a town at about two days' journey east of Aleppo.

(14) Perhaps a species of ichneumon.

(15) See page 451.

## ZAFIR AL-HADDAD.

Abû 'l-Mansûr Zâfir Ibn al-Kâsim Ibn Mansûr Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Khalaf Ibn Abd al-Ghani al-Iskandarâni (1), generally known by the surname of al-Ḥaddâd (*the blacksmith*), was a poet of talent and celebrity. He celebrated the praises of many eminent persons in Egypt, and the greater part of his collected poetical works is very fine.—The *hâfiz* as-Silafi and other illustrious men taught, with his authorisation, some of the poems which he had composed. One of his best known pieces is the following:

Had he taken refuge in an exemplary patience, his tears had not gushed forth in dews and showers. The troops of love ceased not to attack his heart till it was broken and torn to pieces. His passion has not left him any remains of life, except the mere principle of existence contained in the (*sole*) fragment of his heart (*which still remains*). He who desires to live in safety should always avoid the languishing eyes of the fair. Let not that languor deceive you; those glances wound your heart even when they give it pleasure. Charming gazelle! thou whose eyes lance arrows which pierce to the inmost heart! who arranged those pearls which shine in thy mouth? who prepared the intoxicating moisture in which those pearls are bathed? what artist gave such straightness to the lance of thy figure? with what steel were pointed the arrows of thy glances? Use thy body gently, lest it melt away; I fear lest thy silken vest (*soft as it is*) may hurt it. The magic effects of thy beauty surpass the enchantments of Hârût (2), yet he is the ablest in that art; tell me (3) now who is his master? By Allah! if once a man is captured by thy charms, all human art can scarcely set him free. Thou hast sent love to attack the hearts of men, and they willingly submitted, for its victorious power had already reduced them to the last extremity.

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I knocked at every door which leads to fortune—I spared no efforts; why then does she always fly and shun me? Avoid the vain wishes hope inspires; the favourite of fortune is (*as wretched*) as he whom she oppresses, and the man enriched by her favour is still a beggar for more.

A poem (4) of Ibn Duraid gained him the hearts of men, when Baghdad, the place of his dwelling, rejected him. Subdued by the charm of his verses, they hoped to retain him among them, and that troop of foes whom he had prostrated by the power of his talent—or rather the enemies who wished to tear him to pieces—dispersed and left him unharmed (5). The Being who hath granted thee his richest favours cannot be offended by thy spending them on others.

The *kasída* from which these extracts are taken is of the highest beauty; but I must here notice a singular circumstance: my professor Imâd ad-dîn Ibn Bâtish (6) has inserted these verses in his work intitled the *Moghni* (*sufficient*),

which contains the explanation of the obscure passages met with in (*Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi's*) treatise on jurisprudence the *Muhaddab*, and gives a short account of the persons whose names are mentioned in that work; he then comes to speak of Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn al-Haddâd, a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi and a native of Egypt, and after giving an account of him, he says: "He composed "some fine poetry, and a certain jurisconsult recited to me a number of verses "from a *kasîda* which he attributed to him;" he then cites some of the verses, and they are the same as those given above. But this is an error into which he could only have been led from confounding Zâfir al-Haddâd with the jurisconsult *Ibn* al-Haddâd.—The following lines also are by Zâfir:

(*The family of my beloved*) have departed, and did I not hope for their return, I should die. By Allah! it was not they, but my own heart from which I then was separated.

Imâd ad-dîn mentions these lines in his *Kharîda,* but attributes them to al-Aîni (7), and then says: "Al-Aîni was an able officer and noted for his bravery; "he died A. H. 546 (A. D. 1151-2)." But the truth is, that they are by Zâfir, and Imâd ad-dîn himself gives them again in the life of that person.—One of this poet's *kasîdas* contains the following verse:

Lovers speak ill of the spies who beset them; O that I was in such favour with my mistress as to be in dread of spies!

He died in Egypt in the month of Muharram, A. H. 529 (October-November, A. D. 1134).—We have already spoken of the surname of *Judâmi* (*page* 148). —The following lines on the weaver's loom were composed by Zâfir: 342

Look at the beauty of my products, admire my construction and the skill of him who made me. I resemble the hands of two lovers, clasped in each other on the day of separation, the fingers of one inserted between those of the other.

Ali Ibn Zâfir Ibn Mansûr praises him highly in his work entitled *Badâï 'l-Badâya* (8), and relates the following anecdote respecting him, on the authority of the kâdi Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn al-Husain al-Aamidi, who had been acting for some time as deputy to the kâdi of Alexandria: "I went," says he, "to see al-Amir as-Saîd (*the fortunate emir*) Ibn Zufar whilst he was go-"vernor of the city, and I found him putting some drops of oil upon his little "finger. Having asked him the reason, he answered that the tightness of his

" ring had caused his finger to swell, on which I observed that it would be best " to have the ring cut off before things grew worse. He then asked me who " would be a proper person to do it, and I sent for Abû 'l-Mansûr Zâfir Ibn al-" Kâsim al-Haddâd, who cut the ring and extemporised these verses:

'The human race could not reckon all thy excellent qualities, even were their ' prose-writers and their poets copious in thy praises. A ring must be too small for ' the finger of him whose generous hand is as ample as the ocean (9).'

" The emir was pleased with the lines, and gave the ring, which was of gold, " to their author. There was a tame gazelle lying at the emir's feet with its " head on his lap, and Zâfir extemporised on it these lines:

' I wondered at the courage of that gazelle and the boldness of its conduct. I mar-' vel to see it crouching down; how can it be tranquil near you who are a lion?'

" The emir and the company present admired this piece even more than the " preceding, and Zâfir, having then remarked a net placed before the door to " keep out the birds, recited as follows:

'I saw a net at your exalted door, and that caused me some embarrassment; but ' after reflecting in my mind, I said: The sea is the place for nets (10).'

" He then retired and left us in admiration at the readiness of his wit and the " elegance of his talent."

(1) The autograph has الاسكندرانى (*native of Alexandria*); most of the other MSS. read الاسكندرى, a word bearing the same signification.

(2) Hârût and Mârût, two rebel angels, were chained at Babel, where they taught men magic.

(3) The autograph has يُرِى in place of ترى: the sense is nearly the same.

(4) Literally: A poem rhyming in *d* ذ (*with a point*). The autograph has ذالية, which is no doubt the true reading. The poet here recals to mind the effects of a poem by Ibn Duraid rhyming in the same letter as his own *kasîda*. The fact to which Ibn al-Haddâd alludes is not mentioned by Ibn Khallikân in the life of Ibn Duraid.

(5) I have been obliged to paraphrase a very obscure verse, in order to make its meaning intelligible.

(6) See page 187, note (5).

(7) See *Kharîda*, MS. No. 1374, ff. 58 et 76.

(8) This work is noticed by Hajji Khalifa, who states that its author, the vizir Jamâl addîn Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Zâfir, a member of the tribe of Azd and a native of Egypt, died A. H. 623 (A. D. 1226).

(9) Literally: To whom the sea is a hand.

(10) He calls the emir a sea for his vast generosity.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

# ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

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PAGE 3, *line ult.* "I put this work in order in the year 654." The autograph manuscript is dated 655, but considerable alterations were afterwards made in the work by the author, who continued to correct and improve it till the last years of his life.

P. 6, *note* (4). The reading of the printed Arabic text is confirmed by the autograph MS.

P. 16, *line* 27. For *as-Ibn Dobaithi* read *Ibn ad Dobaithi*, and for *ad-Samâni* read *as-Samâni*.

P. 18, *lines* 7 *and* 9. For *Muhârik* read *Mukhârik*.

P. 20, *note* (5). For *Abû 'l-Fadâ* read here and in some of the following pages *Abû 'l-Fedâ*, or rather *Abû 'l-Fidâ*.

IBID., 4 *ab imo*. For *Bahmân* read *Bahman*.

P. 22, *line* 24. For *Sûl-Takin* read *Sul-Tikin*.

P. 25, *note* (3). It appears from the *Nujûm* that Moslim Ibn al-Walîd died A. H. 208.

P. 26, *note* (12). Suppress the words, *This title, etc.*

IBID., 3 *ab imo*. For *Orfa* read *Arafa*.

P. 28, *line* 21. For *Book of Dictates* read *Book of Dictations*.

P. 33, *note* (2). Add: see also a notice from the *Fihrest* on the Sabeans, *Journal Asiatique*, t. XII. p. 246.

P. 35, *note* (5). Add: I have since discovered that the work of Abd ar-Rahmân al-Korashi merits no confidence.

P. 36, *note*. My friend the Abbate Arri died at Turin on the 2nd of September, 1841, leaving his work unfinished.

P. 37, *lines* 13 *and* 15. For *Sukr* read *Shukr*.

P. 38, *note* (8). Orwa Ibn Hizâm Ibn Mujâhir, an Islamic poet and a member of the tribe of Azra, composed all his poems in praise of his cousin Akrâ, the daughter of Ikâl Ibn Mujâhir. Their love was mutual, but Orwa's poverty was an obstacle to his marriage, and Azrâ was forced by her father to become the wife of another. The poet died of grief soon after, and his mistress survived him only a few days. – (As-Soyûti's *Sharh Shawâhid al-Moghni*, MS. 1238. f. 97, verso.)

P. 44, *line* 11. For *Doma* read *Domti*.

P. 49, *note* (2). The works entitled *Mawâkit* contain astronomical tables, serving to determine the right times of the five daily prayers from the position of the sun.

P. 61, 6 *ab imo*. For *Kanas* read *Konos*.

IBID., 5 *ab imo*. For *Zahr* read *Zohr* or *Zuhr*.

P. 87, 3 *ab imo*. For *dictates* read *dictations*.

P. 98, *note* (5). Add: the reading given in the printed text is in conformity with the autograph.

P. 100, *note* (2). For *Ad-Dakkâk* read *ad-Dahhâk*.

P. 108, *note* (20). Read: Was generally known by the name of *Idân as-Sikâ*, an appellation which signifies *the sticks of the water-bag*, which were the implements necessary for carrying it conveniently; he was, in fact, a water-carrier, for which reason this poet was sometimes called *Ibn Idân* or *Ibn as-Sakkâ* (*the son of the sticks* or *the son of the water-carrier*).

P. 110, *line* 20. For *Fadi Ibn Omaid* read *Fadl Ibn Amid*.

P. 121, *line* 6. For *the life-giving breeze* read *the parching gales*. and in the printed Arabic text substitute لوافح for لواقح. The first is the reading of the autograph MS.

P. 131, *line* 7. For *Kitâb al-Ismâ fi 'l-Asma* read *Kitab al-Asma fi 'l-Asmâ*. The title is thus written in the autograph MS.: كتاب الاسمى فى الاسماء.

P. 142, *note* (13). Read: See note (4), page 89.

P. 147, *line* 1. For AN-NAFIS AL-LAKMI read AN-NAFIS AL-LAKHMI.

P. 151, *line* 18. For (*after sunrise*) read (*after sunset*)

P. 157, *note* (1). Addition: I here give the genealogy of the *Bûwaih* family, after the autograph of Ibn Khallikân:

بُوَيْه بن فَنّاخُسْرُو بن تَمّام بن كُوهى بن شِيرْزِيل الاصغر بن شِيرْكَذَه بن شيرزيل الاكبر بن شِيران شاه بن شِيرْفَنَّه بن شستان شاه بن سَسَن فَرُو بن شَرْوَزِيل بن سَسْناذ بن بَهرام جُور الملك بن يَزْدَجِرد الخ

It may be seen that the difference between the genealogy given in the autograph and that which I drew up from other sources is very slight.

P. 170, *lines* 1 *and* 3, *and p*. 171, note (1). For *Mastawfi* read *Mustawfi*.

P. 175, *line* 22. For *Hamid* read *Humaid*.

P. 181, *note* (1). Add: According to the Moslim law, conquered provinces and cities taken by storm become the property of the state; therefore the *imam* or *chief of the empire* alone can dispose of territories or grounds situated in these places. It was a disputed point between the Shafites and the Hanifites, whether Muhammad had taken Mekka by storm or by capitulation; the Shafites maintained the former opinion and the Hanifites the latter. It was also taught by some doctors that Mekka was God's metropolis حضرة, and that consequently houses in it could neither be let nor sold, as they were as much God's property as the Temple itself.—(See *Kitâb al-Mizân*, MS. No. 369, fol. 162 v.) Hence the discussion to which Ibn Khallikân alludes. I am now preparing for the press some observations on the laws relative to landed property situated in the countries subdued by the Moslim arms. In this essay I shall endeavour to prove that, in most cases, the sovereign *is not* the proprietor of estates under cultivation.

P. 211, *line* 27. For *Kâli Kâla* read *Kâli Kala*.

P. 218, *lines* 1 *and* 2. For *Khalf* read *Khalaf*.

P. 221, *note* (3). The piece from which this verse is taken may be found in the volume of the *Kitâb al-Aghâni* which belongs to the Asiatic Society of Paris, *fol*. 176. The poet's name is there written: المعقر بن اوس حمار البارقى حليف بنى نمير بن عامر

P. 223, *line* 17. The physician and historian Abû Jaafar Ibrahim Ibn Abi Khâlid, surnamed Ibn al-Jazzâr, was a native of Kairawân, where his father and his paternal uncle Abù Bakr practised also the art of medicine. He had studied in that city between A. H. 300 and 320, under Ishak Ibn Sulaimân al-Israili, the physician to Ziâdat Allah Ibrahim the Aghlabite. As a teacher, a practitioner, and an author, he attained a high reputation, and disdained courting the favours of the great. The only man of rank whom he visited was an old friend of his, Abû Tâlib, uncle to the Fatimite prince al-Moizz, and him he went to see every Friday. He passed the days of summer, every year, in one of the *ribâts* or garrisons on the sea-coast. According to Ibn Abi Osaibiya, he died, aged upwards of eighty. Hajji Khalifa, in his Bibliography,

No. 3090, places his death in A. H. 400, but ad-Dahabi conjectures that it took place before A. H. 350. He was a man of great information in various sciences. The list of his medical works is given by ad-Dahabi and Ibn Abi Osaibiya, and may be found in Wustenfeld's *Arabische Aerzte*. His *Zâd al-Musâfir* (*provisions for travellers*) has been translated into Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. His historical works are the *Taarif Tashih at-Tarikh* (*the truth of historical statements*), which is a short treatise; and the *Akhbâr ad-Dawlat* (*History of the present Empire*), containing an account of the rise and progress of the empire founded by Obaid Allah al-Mahdi. He left a fortune of twenty-four thousand dinars and twenty-five hundred weight (*kintar*) of books on medicine and other subjects. — Ad-Dahabi's *Târikh al-Islâm*; Ibn Abi Osaibiya. This last author cites some verses from a poem composed by Kushâjim in praise of Ibn al-Jazzâr.)

P. 223, *last line but one*. For *Ibn Abd al-Hukm* read *Ibn Abd al-Hakam*. The same fault occurs in other parts of the volume.

P. 225, *line* 4. For *Nâfi who was* read *Nâfi was*; and *line* 6, for *was governor* read *who was governor*.

P. 269, *line* 14. For *Hamid Ibn Abd al-Hamid* read throughout *Humaid Ibn Abd al-Hamid*.

P. 271, *note* (11). Add: The autograph MS. also has تُوَر.

P. 275, *line* 13. Note on the words *Muin ad-din Anez*. William of Tyre calls this person *Enarius*, which seems to prove that his name should be written *Aner* انر, not *Anez* انز.

Ibid, *note* (5). In the autograph, the word التى referred to الخانقاة, a feminine noun, which word the author struck out and replaced by مسجد, which is masculine; he forgot however to change التى into الذى as he should have done.

P. 283, *note* (1). I shall here give the genealogy of Tamim after the autograph:

تميم بن المعز بن بلديس بن المنصور بن بُلُكّين بن زِيْرى بن مَناد بن مَنْقوش بن زَناك
بن زِير الاصغر بن وَاشْفَال بن وَزْغفى بن سَرِىّ بن وَتْلُكِى بن سليمان بن الحرث بن عَدِىّ
الاصغر وهو المثنّى بن المِسْوَر بن يحصب بن ملك بن زيد ابن الغوث الاصغر بن سعد وهو
عبدالله بن عرف بن عدى بن ملك بن زيد بن سدد بن ررعه و هو حمير الاصغر بن سبا
الاصغر بن كعب بن زيد بن سهل بن عمرو بن قيس بن معوبة بن جُشَم بن عبد شمس بن
وايل (sic) بن الغوث بن حَيْدان بن قَطَن بن عوف بن عريب بن زُهير بن أَيْمَن بن الهَميسع
بن عمرو بن حمير الخ

Ibid, *note* (2). Add: The name of *Zanâk* was altered by the Arabs, who pronounced it *Sanhâg* and *Sanhâj*. This Sanhâj was the progenitor of the Sanhâjites or Sunhâjites.

P. 289, *note* (4). Add: But this is an error, for Muhammad Ibn Musa died A. H. 259, and al-Motadid was proclaimed khalif, A. H. 279. He must have met al-Motamid.

P. 315, *line* 6. For *Ibn ar-Rahmân* read *Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân*.

Ibid, *note* (4). It is noticed, however, by M. de Sacy, in his edition of al-Hariri, p. 74, line 26.

P. 318, *note* (44). For *al-Amim* read *al-Amin*.

P. 339, *line* 18. For "his (*merits*) are" read "his merits are."

P. 340, *note* (11). For *as-Sahraurdi* read *as-Suhrawardi*.

P. 347, *note* (23). Add: See page 600.

P. 354, *note* 9. Abbân al-Lâhiki ابان اللاحقى Ibn Abd al-Hamîd Ibn Lâhik Ibn Ofair ar-Rakâshi (*member of the tribe descended from Rakâsh, the daughter of Kais Ibn Thâlaba*), was a poet of considerable reputation. He versified a number of prose works, and amongst others the following: *Kalila wa Dimna*, *Sirat Anushirwân*, and بلوهر وبوداسف (?). He composed also a book of epistles.—(*Fihrist*, fol. 164.)

P. 355, *note* (11). Add: The autograph writes this word مذال.

P. 377, *line* 4. For *Abû Taglab* read *Abû Taghlib*.

P. 398, *line* 27. For *Hafs Ibn Shâhin* read *Abû Hafs Ibn Shâhin*.

P. 390, *note*. Al-Jurjâni composed also a celebrated grammar, the *Jumal*. He died A. H. 471 (A. D. 1078-9), or 474; not in 461 (1068-9) or 464, as printed by mistake in the note.

P. 402, *lines* 1 *and* 2. For *Abû 'l-Juwâiz* read *Abû 'l-Jawâiz*.

P. 439, *line* 8. For A. H. 589 (A. D. 1200-1), read A. H. 582 (A. D. 1186-7).—This historian is sometimes cited under the name of *Ibn Kizoghli*. This last word is Turkish and means *son of the girl*.

P. 453, *line* 3. For *Khalf* read *Khalaf*.

P. 476, *line* 17. For AUB SULAIMAN read ABU SULAIMAN.

P. 477, *note* (1). The true reading is most certainly الشجاج. A number of the philological treatises bear this title and contain the explanation of the Arabic words employed to designate the different sorts of *wounds*. In that language, as in English, there exist particular terms to signify *a scratch*, *a gash*, *a cut*, *a stab*, etc., and as uneducated persons thought them synonymous, the early philologers felt themselves obliged to fix their real meaning. Ibn Kutaiba, in his *Adab al-Kâtib*, has a short chapter on this subject.

P. 486, *line* 6. This Hassân an-Nabati is spoken of by al-Masûdi. He was revenue-collector in Irak under the khalif al-Walîd Ibn Yazîd. See Dr. Sprenger's translation of the *Murûj ad-Dahab*, or *Meadows of Gold*, vol. I. p. 255.

P. 492, *lines* 13, 14, *and* 28. For *Haiyât* read *Khaiyât*.

P. 493, *line* 3. Read: al-Akhfash (*Saîd Ibn Masada*).

P. 493, *line* 10. For *Bâlous* read *Bâlûs*.

P. 500, *note* (1). For *al-Efshin* read *al-Ifshin*.

P. 505, *line* 8. For *rhyming in* e, read *rhyming in* l.

P. 510, *line* 11. For *Obaid Allah* read *Abd Allah* and annul the note (9), p. 511.

P. 516, *line* 14. For *Abi Shawwâl* read *Abû Shawwâl*.

P. 519, *lines* 10 *and* 12. Read: al-Bûwaiti.

P. 525, *line* 1. For *He protecteth, suffiseth, directeth, and healeth—from fire and flood*, read *is protected, aided, directed, and preserved—from fire and flood, etc*,

P. 544. Sharaf ad-dîn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad, surnamed Ibn al-Halâwi, was a native of Damascus. His abilities as a poet joined to his personal appearance and agreeable manners procured him the favour of the princes whom he went to visit in different parts of the Moslim empire and whose praises he celebrated in his *kasîdas*. Badr ad-dîn Lûlû, prince of Mosul, received him at his court and conferred upon him a rank in the army. Ibn al-Halâwi died A.H. 657 (A. D. 1259), aged 53 years —(*Nujûm*; Ibn Habîb, MS. No. 688; Abû 'l-Fedâ, etc.)

P. 555, *line* 10. For *Bahâ ad-dîn* read *Bahâ ad-Dawlat*.

P. 555, *note* (4). The alteration of the letter ر into ز and of س into ش is very common in Arabic manuscripts, and was almost always caused by the very means which had been originally taken to guard against it.

Thus in words of doubtful pronunciation, when one of these letters occurred they placed a ˀ or *jasma* over it to denote that it was unpointed; but subsequent copyists changed the *jasma* into a point for the ر and into three points for the س.—As for the derivation of *Ardashir* given by Ibn Khallikân, it is hardly necessary to say that it is absurd.

P. 557, *line* 14. For AR-RAFA read AR-RAFFA.

P. 567, *line* 2. For *into* read *in*.

P. 568, note (2). Add: I have here misunderstood the text of Ibn Khallikân, and given a wrong sense to the words سماعا and عرضا. The first means, *to learn* by listening *to the master's instructions*; and the second, *to repeat the lessons to the master who make observations on it*. A similar difference exists between the significations of the words قارى and مقرى *koran-reader*. The first teaches the Koran by reading it himself to his auditors; the second makes his disciples read it to him and corrects them when they go wrong.

P. 599, *note* (5), *line* 11. For *Itâsh* read *Itâkh*.

P. 624, *note* (2). For *Omaiyides* read *Abbasides*.

# INDEX TO THE FIRST VOLUME.

## PART I.—PROPER NAMES.

N. B. The names preceded by an asterisk are those of persons or places particularly noticed in this volume. The letter *n* placed after the number of the page indicates that the name occurs in a note. In consulting this list, search for the name or surname by which the person was *usually* known, and neglect all prefixes, such as *Abû*, *Ibn*, etc.

B.

D.



F.

T.

## PART II.—NOTES.

END OF VOL. I.



